

THE VANGUARD.

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

Vol. 3. No. 5. MILWAUKEE, WIS., JANUARY, 1905. Whole Number 25.

I ask you to think with me that the worst which can happen to us is to endure tamely the evils that we see; that no trouble or turmoil is so bad as that; that the necessary destruction which reconstruction bears with it must be taken calmly; that everywhere—in state, in church, in the household—we must be resolute to endure no tyranny, accept no lie, quail before no fear, although they may come before us disguised as piety, duty or affection, as useful opportunity and good nature, as prudence or kindness.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

"The great truth of the importance of man," said Henry Ward Beecher, "which God is driving through our time as with a chariot of fire—when this truth comes up to the church, does the church welcome it? No. The church is busy dusting the flitches of old truth that have hung for years in the smoke-house of theology." That was an indictment of the church made in the midst of the struggle against negro slavery fifty years ago. Shall such an indictment be made possible in this greater contest against wage slavery? Where are the preachers in this tremendous fight for mammon on the one side and for humanity on the other? Stand up, Mr. Preacher, and be counted!

Mrs. Florence Kelley in a recent magazine article graphically describes the life of thousands of young boys who work in the glass-bottle factories of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. It is said that many boys are sent to these factories from the orphan asy-

lums on reaching the age of 12 and that they practically become the peons of the blowers for whom they work. Mrs. Kelley says that there are no restrictions on night work. The pitifully little children were found at work at 2 o'clock in the morning. On going out into the black, cold winter morning from the heat and glare of the glass ovens the boys went, as the men did, to the nearest saloons to drink the cheap drinks sold, just across the street from the works. All the boys used tobacco, usually chewing it. They were stunted, illiterate, profane and obscene—wrecked in body and mind before entering upon the long adolescence known to happier children. The sharp contrast between the heat of the glass ovens and the frost of the winter morning produces rheumatism and affections of the throat and lungs, so that many of the boys die before reaching the age of apprenticeship, from disease due directly to the circumstances attending their work, and more common elsewhere among adults than among children.

What society needs today is not charity, but justice. There is no greater impertinence and fraud perpetrated upon the disinherited poor than that which is known as professional charity. The following anecdote from an English exchange hits off the situation finely:

"A little girl from an East End slum was invited with others to a charity dinner, given at a great house in the West End of London. In the course of the meal the little maiden startled her hostess by propounding the query:

"Does your husband drink?"

"Why, no," replied the astonished lady of the house.

"After a moment's pause the miniature querist proceeded with the equally bewildering questions:

"How much coal do you burn? What is your husband's salary? Has he any bad habits?"

"By this time the presiding genius of the table felt called upon to ask her humble guest what made her ask such strange questions.

"Well," was the innocent reply, 'mother told me to behave like a lady, and when ladies call at our house they always ask mother those questions.'

Some persons, either through ignorance or malice, still confound Socialism with infidelity or imagine that in some way it is hostile to religion. Not so, however, the editor of the Blue Glass Blade, the most rabid anti-religious paper of which we know. The following reply, which he makes to some one who asks him to open his columns to a discussion of Socialism, indicates that in the eyes of the avowed infidel Socialists are at least not antagonistic to religion. He says: "If you know anything about Socialism you know that

there is not a Socialistic paper in the whole world that advocates infidelity, and you cannot get the editor of any Socialistic paper in the world to say in his paper that he is an infidel. There came in the same mail that brought your letter *The Worker*, published in New York City, the largest Socialistic paper in the world. The very first thing in it is headed, 'A Stirring Speech of Rev. Alexander F. Irvine,' in which the Reverend Smart Aleck is boosted to the skies in nearly three columns. I looked all over the paper and did not find a single word or hint or insinuation in favor of infidelity, but under the head 'Landlordism in Heaven' there was a piece alluding respectfully to religion and to Bishop Maes."

"The religious leaders may be loath to acknowledge the fact, but there is an estrangement between the workingmen and the churches," says Rev. Leighton Williams, pastor of Amity Baptist church, N. Y. "Facts prove this estrangement. The preponderance of women over men at the public services of the church; the creeping in of class divisions; the accentuation of an American as against a foreign element in our population; the general subserviency to wealth and fashion, which tends to make the churches uncomfortable for the 'plain people,' as President Lincoln called them, if it does not altogether exclude them; and, lastly, the prevalence of a type of preaching which is alien to current thought and the practical questions of every-day life among ordinary working people. In its periods of greatest power and fruitfulness the gospel of Christ has always been emphatically 'good news' to the poor, and when it ceases to be so it

loses its attractiveness and power. Filling his church is not the main business of the minister, but bringing in the kingdom of God on earth, and that kingdom is another name for the right social order, which the Socialist seeks. 'Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teaching of his Master is at heart a Socialist; and every Socialist bears within himself an unconscious Christianity,' said the great Belgian publicist, the late M. de Laveleye."

The next time you hear anyone peddling that old slander about Socialism "destroying the home," just read to them the following paragraph from the Social-Democratic Herald, which contains the facts in the case: "The Socialists boldly declare that it is capitalism that is against the home. That it cares nothing for its sanctity; that it drags little children away from their homes and puts them amidst demoralizing factory conditions; that it forces women into wage earning and in many factory localities obliges the men, who have been forced out of their jobs, to do the housework, take care of the babies and bring the noon hour lunch to the factory gates for the wife and children who have the jobs; that it forces up the price of living and lowers wages, so that men cannot afford to marry and undertake to rear families; that it forces many working women into prostitution by paying wages they cannot live on; that it produces slums in every large city and causes people to live several families in one room, thus making modesty an impossibility; that it so divides the classes of workers that some industrial towns are frequently referred to as 'he towns' and 'she towns,'—some of the

cotton mill towns of New England, for instance, being made up principally of female employes. That it breaks up homes through mortgage foreclosures, and through the arbitrary removal of large factories from one place to another, thus rendering almost valueless the little properties that some of the workers have been cheating their bodies and stomachs to acquire; that—but why go on? The indictment of capitalism as the foe of morality and the family life is so plain that it is hard to think of a defense being set up."

This country belongs to our big business men and they therefore are the ideal citizens according to the capitalistic morality. And yet these ideal citizens cut up some pretty rusty tricks, tricks that do not harmonize with their vaunted highness. Following on the awful revelations in connection with the Slocum excursion boat horror comes the news that five ideal citizens have just been arrested in Camden, N. J., for frauds in connection with the supply of plates of cork for life preservers, their firm being shown to have weighted the cork by burying iron bars in the inside of them and thus getting more money for them, they being sold by weight. Now mind you this cork was for life preservers which were supposed to buoy up ship passengers in cases of wrecks, and yet they were weighted down with iron! Such fiendish operations would never happen if these men had not been under the business pressure that commands its votaries to make money at all hazards. Talk of Frenzied Finance—frenzied commercialism can play a few desperate tricks also.

Subscribe for The Vanguard.

THE "DIGNITY" OF LABOR.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.



We hear much about the "dignity of labor," especially from those who do not labor. They have inherited the notion of the feudal barons of the Middle ages. The laborer should be contented with his lot. God knows what is best for him. Even the scavenger should fill the sewer with song and work overtime from pure joy.

To create discontent in the mind of the menial, to tell him that his lot is a beastly one, and that he should rise above it, is and always has been regarded as wicked and harmful, and such mischievous offenders are known to us as agitators and demagogues.

The toil of the scavenger is necessary to present society, but that does not make it honorable. It is the reproach of society. If the human scavenger were necessary and society were civilized, every man would take his turn in that repulsive role. To shirk his share of this necessary social service would be as abhorrent to the mind and morals of a civilized being as to impose upon his fellow-men in any other way.

By what moral right is the health of one citizen conserved by destroying that of another?

If Edison had to do his share of the "dirty work" of commercial society—and unless it is done he could not do his—there would soon be mechanical appliances for such service and scavengers would rise to the dignity of human beings.

This is pre-eminently a commercial age. Almost everything is viewed from the commercial standpoint, and to have any value at all it must have commercial value. This is as true of the human being as of any other animal, or any other commodity.

If this fundamentally true proposition be denied, let the "labor market" be explained.

How do those who expatiate upon the virtues of the "horny-handed sons of toil" a few days before election reconcile the "dignity of labor" with the "labor market"? The one is a denial of the other. . . .

Society to-day has two commanding types, namely, capitalists and workers. The workers only are merchandise. The "labor market" silences all doubt upon this point. The laborer goes with his labor power, and when he sells that, as he is now compelled to do or starve, his industrial bondage is sealed and rarely is there any escape from it.

To plead in extenuation that certain millionaires were once boot-blacks and errand boys is beside the point and begs the question. These are the rare exceptions that owe their rise to fortunate circumstances, and they but serve to prove the rule.

The great mass of wage workers live and die wage workers. There is no release for them except as a whole, and this is the fundamental tenet of the modern labor movement, the mission of which is to emanci-

pate the whole mass of wage labor by abolishing the wage system; and to make the workers themselves the owners of the means of production, so that they, and they alone, shall control their labor and enjoy its fruit.

In that hour labor rises from the low level of merchandise to the exalted plane of manhood.

If it be true, as some affirm, that capitalists are also laborers and in the same category with laborers, then why do we not hear of a "capital market" as well as a "labor market"? The fact is that there is no such market for the simple and sufficient reason that there is no such merchandise. The capitalist is a buyer of labor power, the expression of the laborer's energy and life, at the market price. He deals in that commodity, that kind of merchandise; but he, himself, as a capitalist, is not for sale at any price. Perish the thought.

The "labor market" has upon it the everlasting seal of social execration. The useful have always been detested by the useless. The parasite scorns the gudgeon he preys upon.

In this classless land of democratic institutions, where all are free and therefore equal, the working millions are barred from breaking in by statutory enactment, under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Of course they are all right "in their place," but their place is in their class, and their class is in the labor market.

The line is drawn between the classes by social custom, which, after all, is the court of final resort.

No workingman, though pure as Christ, and wise as Socrates—not though his character were adorned with every virtue—would be admitted to the exclusive circle of the famed four hundred. He would still be a workingman—plebian, inferior, vulgar, repulsive. Such is the social standard of capitalist society, and to protest against it is almost a crime. If a man belongs to the "working class" his social status is fixed. He must not aspire to associate above his class.

"Oh dear," said a society lady in the hearing of the writer, "it is too bad that laboring people can't live off by themselves; they are such coarse creatures, and out of place among refined and well-bred people."

The innocent woman should not be blamed. She but voiced society's barbarous verdict. She did not know that labor's degradation is society's shame and crime, and that the penalties are blazoned in every issue of every paper and periodical in every civilized land on earth.

This good woman and the thousands like her do not dream that the "coarse creatures" they despise provide them with food and raiment and shelter; that without these "coarse creatures" they would be stripped nude of their fineries, live upon roots and lapse into savagery.

Nor does "society," as is the small and useless section of it called, know better than the misguided sister I have quoted; and, so far as "society" is concerned, labor will not only remain unappreciated, but will wear forever the badge of degradation and its menial servility will continue to excite the world's contempt.

Society needs to be reconstructed upon a new foundation, and the working class—the only class without which society would die and the race perish—the working class alone is equal to the task. The change is needed not only to end the tragedy of toil, but the tragedy of idleness.

Pure morals wither in the exclusive upper atmosphere of the four hundred as certainly as they do in the depths of the social cellars of the slums.

The social revolution now in progress will end only when the means of wealth have been secured to all for the use of all and wealth is produced by all for the enjoyment of all. The working classes are the motive power in that revolution, for they know at last that they never can be free until they free themselves.

The labor question, intelligently understood, embraces the whole program of human emancipation.

The working class is the power and a united ballot the means to end the tragedy of toil.

In collective society, organized upon an industrial basis, all will work; none will toil. Modern machinery will be the only slavery.

Freedom will be the heritage of all.

The tragedy of toil will have ended and man will be civilized.

THE FAILURE OF COMMUNISM.

By REV. EDWARD E. CARR.

"But," the objection runs, "the communism of the Apostolic Church, and every other attempt at communism, has failed. It is a beautiful idea, but it is not practicable."

True enough. We admit that the communism of the early church eventually failed; but not until the church itself had become worldly, selfish and ambitious. We admit that every communistic effort that has ever been made in all the ages has proven a failure.

WHY?

The communism of the church failed first, for lack of the legal power to protect itself; finally, from selfishness. And for the same reasons every private communistic attempt has failed, those of modern times included.

In the midst of the universal competitive system, surrounded by a sea of cruel selfishness forever seeping in; forced to compete in the markets of the world for everything bought and sold; subject to the incompetency of leaders or the treachery of

men whose financial interest it is to play sharper, to fleece the flock and use them for their interest in the markets of the world of competition, it is well-nigh impossible to make a success of private communism. If it has ever been done, I know not where.

And herein appears the difference between the communism of apostolic times (and of modern times also) and the proposals of Socialism.

SOCIALISM HAS NEVER YET BEEN TRIED. "The letter killeth, the spirit maketh alive." Take the **PRINCIPLES** and **SPIRIT** of the apostolic church and apply them to a **GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE** in which all the means of creating and distributing wealth are **COLLECTIVELY OWNED** and they not only become practicable, but they are **THE ONLY PRINCIPLES** upon which a government ever can be managed "for the people."

True Socialism had to wait for two things: First **THE SOCIALIZ-**

ATION OF GOVERNMENT, which was partially accomplished with the winning of THE BALLOT for the masses within the last century, and is being perfected in the adoption of DIRECT LEGISLATION. Second, THE SOCIALIZATION OF INDUSTRY, which is now so rapidly taking place.

The age-long struggle for liberty seemed to achieve final victory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by securing the ballot and representative government. But the enthusiasm of freedom which marked the eighteenth century has died down before the slow but sure realization that freedom on the political field is an empty delusion accompanied by slavery on the industrial field. The man who owns the tools of production upon which the workman depends for the chance to make a living, OWNS THE MAN, and the man is finding that out to-day.

The revolution of industry brought about by the development of machinery is the largest element so far manifest of the socialization of industry. One hundred years ago labor was done by hand exactly as it was 5,000 years ago. More machinery has been invented in the last 100 years than in all past ages combined. As a result the hand work of

100 years ago has passed away. Instead of the lone shoemaker is the shoe factory employing 1,000 men. The blacksmith shop, in which one or two men made rude wagons, etc., complete, has now given way to the mighty machine shop and foundry. MACHINERY HAS CONQUERED MAN. The men who own the machinery of production now own the men who must use the machines or starve. Thus capitalism has grown wellnigh omnipotent and correspondingly arrogant. Thus trusts and monopolies have sprung up to exploit the people and fasten their chains forever.

But the very fact that PRODUCTION has ceased to be individual, and become COLLECTIVE, forces upon the nation the inevitable necessity of making OWNERSHIP COLLECTIVE also. Only thus can the people be saved from the wholesale robbery and exploitation of capitalism, which is now insufferable and grows worse all the time.

With the ballot and modern machinery, Socialism is inevitable, and the dream of the apostolic church is about to be realized in the practical brotherhood of man through the Co-operative Commonwealth, protected by laws made and enforced directly by a free and prosperous people.

Why the Capitalist Press Lies About New Zealand.

The Aurora Socilis of New Zealand is not so brilliant as the blaze that met the astonished eyes of Europe, as she gazed across the sea in 1776, at the crimson flame around our Declaration of Independence, nor so intense and awe-inspiring as the lurid glare of the French Revolution, but the light of New Zealand is whiter, cleaner, steadier than

its predecessors, though it flows from the same eternal fountains of energy and draws its political electricity from the same great dynamo of liberty, equality and fraternity.

There are no blood-red jets in freedom's new-lit altar fires as in the days of French awakening, nor is it streaked with slavery's black,

as when our Western colonies burst into flame and liberty's camp fires glorified the clouds of war for all but the negro slave.

France and America had to use bullets as well as ballots. New Zealand is waging her battles with ballots alone.

France guillotined aristocratic men and women; New Zealand guillotines aristocratic institutions.

New England fought the despotism of a foreign government; New Zealand is fighting the despotism of the dollar.

The average New Zealander, though enjoying the largest average income in the world, is nevertheless of an economical turn, and does his political thinking for himself instead of paying a boss or a machine to do it for him.

He is not a fanatic. He does not lock himself up in a little party to wait until the caravan gets to the millenium, but puts his shoulder to the wheel to help the wagon out of the particular slough that is hindering its progress now.

He saw that the government was controlled by monopolists, and he joined with all who wished it to be in the hands of the people and put it there.

He felt that he was paying too large a share of the taxes, and he voted to put more of them on the rich, who could bear the burden better.

He found that the railways, under the commissioner system, were being operated largely on capitalistic principles, and he voted for candidates pledged to see the roads managed for the public service.

He does not organize a strike against the coal ring of the shipping trust, or other aggressive monopoly, and then vote to keep the mono-

polies in power by electing men who represent them.

The remarkable thing about New Zealand is that she applies common sense to politics.

The people know that the government is the great monopoly that underlies and controls all the rest. They believe that legislation should be in the interest of the public and not of any class.

They know that poverty, aristocracy and wealth and private monopoly are opposed to good government and they have resolved on their extinction.

The people control the government and are using it to secure the gradual abolition of commercial conflict and industrial mastery.

They are using democratic political institutions to secure democratic industrial institutions through political ownership, careful regulation, judicial decision and co-operative industry.

The whole movement amounts simply to this: The common people united at the ballot box to obtain control of the government, and by means of that they have made more progress toward industrial harmony and justice than any other nation on the globe.

The island commonwealth has shown the way to the solution of the great problem of wealth diffusion and equalization of opportunity.

A new civilization has come. A new age has dawned. New Zealand is the birthplace of the twentieth century.—From "The Story of New Zealand" by Prof. Frank Parsons.

"You can have Socialism without Christianity, but you cannot have Christianity without Socialism." is the way a transoceanic exchange puts it.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

The New York judge who issued an anti-8-hour decision, does not have to eat his noon meal out of a tin can!

Socialists face the ever rising sun of progress. The bats of the night, if they were given the ballot, would all vote against Socialism.

The awakening of the people of this country to the necessity of Socialism is causing great consternation to the mountebanks called statesmen. We've fooled 'em once too often, they seem to say.

That "brilliant assemblage of diplomats," that the papers told you of as helping to unveil the statue of Frederick the Great at Washington the other day, was in reality a shameful assemblage of rascals, if foreign diplomats are made of the same kind of clay that ours are!

The railroads of this country kill ten thousand workmen a year. A person does not have to go to war to serve his country and get killed these days. Railroad service is a much more useful service, and it is fully as deadly as war service. Moreover, there is also gold braid connected with it!

The big bread-lords of the industries of the country are practically a unit in holding that the man of 45 is worked out. Poor wretch of a working man. The reward for his industry is an unripe old age instead of the ripe one the poets sing of. But of course the capitalists have the whole say. The people vote them the power to run our gov-

ernment and our industries, so the people have only themselves to blame.

In Milwaukee the growing strength of the Social-Democrats forced the capitalist officials to provide natatoriums and public lectures in school halls. So great has been the response of the people that the natatoriums cannot accomodate all who apply, and the school lectures turn hundreds away. There are many other things the people need quite as much—and they will get them by voting in the Social-Democrats.

In a Sunday article on Anarchists in Milwaukee, the Milwaukee Free Press says that there are hardly any to be found, but that those that do exist vote the Social-Democratic ticket. That's odd, to say the least, for if there is one thing the Anarchists are down on it is the ballot! If the Milwaukee Anarchists do actually vote, it is a cinch that they cast their ballots for the rank individualism represented by the Republican and Democratic parties.

N. O. Nelson, the wealthy St. Louis manufacturer-Socialist, has written Walter Thomas Mills a letter of appreciation for his book, "The Struggle for Existence," from which we take the following excerpts: "With the benign influence and common sense that this book will carry with it, there will be no danger of any such foolishness as a revolution of blood. The uprising of common sense and common fairness against the criminal credulity of the industrious class submitting

to property traditions and party superstitions, will do the business. When this book of yours has met its just dues by selling like Looking Backward and Merrie England, Debs will get not a plurality but a majority of the American voters and sail into Washington on a Baldwin air ship."

The alarming frequency of railroad wrecks due to the capitalistic passion for keeping expenses down and profits up has set the editorial writers to work. The New York Herald and other papers are tabulating the wrecks and they find that since July 1, 240 lives have been lost, not counting the usual accidents and deaths where there were no wrecks or collisions. There were 86,000 casualties during the fiscal year of 1903 and nearly 10,000 death, or to be exact, 9,840, an increase over 1902 of 1,252! In Great Britain, where railroad profit greed is not so highly developed and the roads are better built and more carefully operated, there were only 6 people killed during the last fiscal year! The day is not far away when the people will own the roads. When that day comes, travel will be properly safeguarded and not before.

Now it appears that McKinley was killed by capitalism, that it, by capitalism in the crooked ways in which it inevitably works out. When the stricken president's wound was being dressed, the doctors sent out for Arisatol, a substitute for iodoform. The drug was bought at a near by druggist's and after it had been applied it was noticed that it was not acting as it should. Finally becoming suspicious the doctors refrained from making further applications of it, and attributed to it the president's turn for the worse.

This week the U. S. postal department has been making raids on fake medical companies in Chicago and have found that one company was conducting a mail order business in supplying the drug trade all over the country with poisonous cheap substitutes for Arisatol and other powerful drugs under counterfeit labels. It was this dishonest product that got to McKinley's bedside. McKinley stood for the capitalist system—and he died because of it!

The following pregnant paragraph is taken from the New York Sun's financial statement:

"The fact is that there is something else beside the quantity of money in a country that affects the value of property there. Wealth does not consist of money, but of the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life; and if, for any cause, those necessities, comforts and luxuries sell at so high a price that the consuming portion of the population is not able to buy them freely with the fruits of their labor, that country is distressed and poverty-stricken, even though every grain of soil in its territory were a grain of gold."

The Sun better be careful! It is treading on thin ice when it gets to the point where it can give out such give-away secrets of capitalism as the above. Capitalism does regard the necessities of the people as potential wealth to the robber class, we know—but the Sun ought to be more cautious in what it says!

Wretchedness is written all over the lives of the toilers. Even those who escape actual disaster are so haunted by the insecurity of exist-

ence under capitalism that the food they eat tastes bitter. No worker is secure; his existence hangs on the caprice of the bread master, the changing requirements of the competitive system. And a little farther down the scale is the unskilled worker, who gets jobs and loses them easily, with periods of being out of work which reduce the average of his daily wage, let alone doctor bills, undertakers' bills for luckless members of his family, etc. Like the beggar in "Ninety-three," he is slowly dying of hunger all his life. There are at all times over a million men out of work in the United States. Three million of our pauperized fellow citizens apply to charitable institutions every year. And this awful poverty forces men into the tramp class, a class that numbers over two millions of men, and women into the prostitute class, a class that numbers 500,000, and is constantly increasing. Yet we are coolly informed by the capitalist press and pulpit that this is the best nation on the globe!

If you will refer the matter to Mr. Parry, Mr. Worker, he will gladly tell you how the capitalists in control of business, government and the cost of living, would like to have you cast your ballot. They know what's for your best interests, you know. You were given your own brains by mistake and are not expected to make use of them!

Anyhow Christmas is one of the holidays that capitalism has not been able to abolish. There used to be 150 church holidays in the year before the capitalist system got control of the lives of the people. Yet the church is trying to help capitalism by traducing Socialism!

CLASS PENALTIES.

Stealing a chicken....6 years
Stealing \$54,000...18 months

An Iowa bank president stole \$54,000 of his depositors' money.

The judge in passing sentence upon this man gave him eighteen months in the penitentiary.

In the same penitentiary to which this bank president is committed a man is serving six years for stealing a chicken.

In giving an account of the rich prisoner's demeanor the press reports say he "took his sentence very calmly."

No doubt of it.

And so did the judge who sentenced him take the sentence "very calmly" — too calmly to suit the sense of justice of decent people.

The Socialist can hold up the deadly parallel at the head of this editorial and say, "That is justice as it is exemplified under your present system of society! How do you like it?"

The people are slowly formulating this belief:

If you steal a little, you will get the limit.

If you steal enough, you will be let off easy.

That is a dangerous belief, but not so dangerous as the facts that go to make up the belief.—Des Moines News.

The Vanguard is a wonderful grey-matter agitator. One year, 50 cents.

Send for a copy of our complete Socialist book catalogue.

SOCIALISM AND THE CITY.

By WINFIELD R. GAYLORD.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY, AND ITS RELATION TO SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The story of civilization is the story of the city. Savagery and barbarism indicate those earlier days in the history of the human race, before men had learned to live together, in any permanent form, or in any certain place. When armies were but wandering hordes, without any headquarters except the tent of the chieftain, and the instruments of labor were cruder than the weapons of war, a settled abiding place was not yet felt to be a necessity.

But with the coming of slavery, and so of a master class, there came the desire for a place in which to store the extra product of the labor of the slave, and the booty of battles. Hence came the first city, and the need which brought it into existence also determined its nature and purpose. The first city was a fort, built for defense, and to be a storehouse of plunder,—the Warriors' Home. Proof of this comes to us in many ways. All the great cities of antiquity were forts. Athens, Rome on her seven hills, Babylon with hanging gardens and mighty walls, Jerusalem upreared on Palestinian cliffs, and Nineveh—long lost but for her walls and books of brick. The word municipality comes from the Latin word for wall, "munus." The ancient name of London, "Llyndin," signifies "a lake fort," and the city was probably built originally in the midst of a swamp, or watery place, for better protection against invading enemies. St. Augustine, the oldest of our American cities, still shows to visitors, with pride, the ancient city wall built by the Spanish.

The City Fort was built by slaves. Within it might be found the age-long struggles of the classes, so obscured by the modern writers of history. Barbaric splendor of art and architecture, massive palace and stately temple, the tramp of liveried troops and flash of precious stones,—all these were there. Music and wine and dancing, pleasure and ease and luxury, for the masters. But neath the city wall there cowered also the trembling slave, whipped to his hovel at the close of day. The fighting man, trained from his youth to fight the battles of the king, chafed under the restrictions of the city wall and the royal palace discipline. Revolt of soldiers, and rebellion of slaves played a much larger part in those ancient days than we have been allowed to know. Spartacus was one example of the slave trained to fight, who longed for freedom for himself and his class and at length could no longer bear the torture of his humiliation. And when he rose in revolt, he took with him thousands of his fellows, and Roman nobles found that not without cost could they regain their former control over those whom they so cruelly exploited for pleasure and for gain.

But if the city fort was built by slaves, and even though it contained such antagonistic and diverse elements, it marked a step in advance for human life, and furnished conditions for the development of the later and better city life.

To the City Fort came the traveling caravans, with products of foreign soils and labor. At first with gifts for kings they came, and precious wares for noble men to buy. Then as the demand for these grew with knowledge of them, more artisans were set at work, more cloths were woven, more stones were polished, more jewels made, more weapons fashioned in the manner peculiar to the place; until at last between city and city there came to be the well known paths of commerce, and the city fort had within it a place given up to the traffic of the merchants,—and the Market City was born.

For centuries the Fort protected the Market, and was the master over all. But within the market was a power that grew and swelled until at last the master was no longer in the fort, and the soldier no longer made the law for the merchant. Slavery itself was found to be a thing outworn and too expensive far for the needs of trade, and slaves became freemen.

In the days of the Middle Ages when Feudalism was supreme, the cities did not grow as they had done before, nor as they did again, later. The castle wall sufficed to guard the treasures of the nobles, and the country was magnified over the city; because the city was likely to be made up of men who, because they lived close together and so were able to co-operate against the power of the nobles, were likely to be troublesome for rulers.

These men of the mediæval cities were free workmen, owning their own tools, selling their own products and living a life quite independent of their rulers. Moreover, because they were well organized in guilds, and were able to save money, they were also able at times when the nobles and kings were in need to secure larger freedom from the exactions of the nobility in return for loans of money, and for aid in the form of supplies for war. Thus grew up the Free Cities of Europe, of which for many years Lübeck was the greatest. They organized a great league of cities, called the Hanseatic League, and this league fought battles with kings and nobles, winning victories and exacting penalties. Their influence and favor were much sought after by the royal heads of Europe for many years, until at length kings began to learn the "tricks of trade," and to organize their own national and international commerce.

But the days were past when locations of cities were fixed by considerations of military defense alone. Amsterdam is said to have been "built upon herrings," and the meaning of the saying is very interesting as an illustration of the new power that was at work in the building of the Market City. In those days the Catholic faith was strong in many lands. Every Friday was a day to be honored by abstinence from meat, and therefore by eating fish. Accordingly, salt fish came to be an article much in demand, and those who could supply it were sure of large and lucrative trade. The mysterious herring came at that time in immense shoals through the waters bordering on the location of this new city, and so there sprang up a fishing village which grew at last into a mighty city, and came to have many and various lines of trade. But "Amsterdam was built upon herrings."

Battles were fought under barbarism, because of the wish to steal the plunder of the conquered foe. But with the coming of the merchant and the masters of the Market City, war took on a different phase and purpose. War became now, not a battle to steal, but a battle to sell. The struggle for trade became the form which the struggle for life had assumed, and thus within the Market City there grew the seed of another, a younger and more powerful organization still, and that was the modern Factory City.

For, it became plain in the struggle to sell, that it was he who could sell cheapest who would win in the battle for trade; and so the wits of men turned, not so much to the shaping of swords as to the invention of spinning wheels, and weaving looms, and engines of power to turn the new machinery. Then came the Modern City, which has no city walls, but builds battle-ships and sets its forts afar along the coast; and which is not itself so much a market, as it is a place in which things shall be made to sell in other markets. For the Market is no longer in a city: the Market is The World. Along the distant lines of rail and trackless ocean paths, across the prairies and beyond the seas the Market stretches. It is all the civilized World. It does not haggle with screaming voice with the seller and buyer. It reads the morning paper and the Mail Order Catalogue. And it is hungry, omniverous, wanting everything, and willing to buy, so long as it has money to buy. To feed and clothe and house and comfort those who constitute this Market is the business of the Farm and Factory. The Farm cannot be a City—at least not yet. But the Factory cannot be anything else but a City. And the great City today is little else than a Factory. It need not be a Fort. It cannot be a Market in the modern sense. It is not built for a Home. It is just a place to make things—things which must be sold somewhere else.

And so we have the history, very briefly, to be sure, of the city. It is clear at once that it has been the vantage point of progress all the while. The city has furnished the conditions for ever larger co-operation.

Man lived in the city at first because it was safer than to live outside, where prowling foes could easily attack. Then living together bred the liking for society, brought into practice new methods of enjoyment. The ancient, like the modern slave, preferred the city life, although the master and the service might be harder and the surroundings much more unhealthy; while to those whose circumstances gave them guarantee of leisure and plenty the city offered opportunity for intercourse with other minds and stimulated wit and fancy. Thus came art and literature. Printing was invented in a city. Temples adorned with paintings and statuary were found in the cities. The best men were most in demand, and found the largest appreciation, where there were the most of other men. Here was the world in miniature—here the market for everything from salt fish to genius. Here the world's problems were discussed, because here men learned to know that there was a world. The history was made, in the main. Here, in a word, men learned the benefits of association, and having learned, were unwilling to give up the blessings they had found.

The City today is the industrial social unit. It is coming to be recognized as the political social unit. As yet the State is legally the political social unit, and the battles of the people have to be fought out in the field of the state, while the city is made to depend upon the state for its liberties. But the development of machinery which is purely municipal in its uses, together with the appearance of problems in governments which are purely municipal in their origin and character, if not in their interests and effects, is compelling recognition of the necessity of giving to the city a larger autonomy in those matters in which it is itself concerned. And so, the spirit of Democracy, which in all time has found in the City its most favorable soil, is again having its way in the City, and again is compelling the city-dweller to lead in the van of the social progress of today.

THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL CITY, AND THE CAUSES OF MODERN "MUNICIPALISM."



HE Factory captured the Market City, and has in more than one instance compelled the old Fort City to throw down its walls and build its narrow streets anew, as in the case of Vienna, Austria. Any one who will read "Shaw's Municipal Government in Great Britain and Europe" will be able thereafter to understand the power of the Factory in our modern civilization.

But not only has the Factory captured the old cities and rebuilt them after its own new and not altogether beautiful ideals. It has also gone out into the most unlikely places, and there compelled men to build its walls and man its machines, while they have been given scant leave to live. Characteristic of modern civilization, with its specialization in all lines, is the specialization of the city. Nearly every city, large or small, has some characteristic line of manufacture. There are the "coal towns" of the coal belts, east and west. There are the "iron towns," the "lumber towns," the "railroad towns," the towns whose names indicate at once the character of their origin and the reason for existence. Such are Pullman and Plano, in Illinois, Corliss, Arpin and Cudahy in Wisconsin; Pittsburg stands for iron, as does Birmingham; Brockton stands for shoes; Fall River for cotton goods; Minneapolis for flour and lumber; Telluride and Cripple Creek for mining; Milwaukee for beer and machinery, etc. The location or growth of these depends upon their fortunate proximity to certain natural resources of mine or forest or wheat belt, or else to the more artificial advantage of unusual railway or waterway connections by which the manufacturer can bring in his raw materials and ship out his product. Cities rise and fall, with scant reference to whether or not the spot of their location be healthy or otherwise, or indeed whether many people live there or not. Does it pay to run the smelter? Then the workingmen who have built their little houses are fortunate. Will it pay better to shut down this mill and run some others of the great properties of the trust? Then it is not for the workingman to "reason why." He must move. The architecture (?) of these factory towns is also characteristic. If the city is large enough,

as in the cases of Cleveland and Milwaukee, there will be beautiful drives along the bluffs, lined with modern palaces, in which a small portion of the people will be permitted to live, while mile upon mile stretch away upon surrounding hills and valleys the hovels of the slums, the flats of the people who can answer truthfully to the landlord's question that they "have no children," and farther out on the city's limits the little cottages of the poor.

But where the town has been built only for industrial purposes, and has no variety of industry or population, the place takes on the character of a more or less permanent camp for the "operatives." A street or two will be lined on either side with houses which look as if they had been dropped of some great stamping machine, and manufactured by the dozen. Front porches exactly alike, pitiful little cellars dug and built, not to use but to rent, by the owners of the mill. Often in the lumber towns one will find boarding houses lined with bunks, stores owned and run by the company, and even saloons and gambling dens, which pay a high rental for their shelter to owners of mine or mill. The lumber towns of north and south, the cotton mills of Georgia and the Carolinas, the coal pits of the mountain lands, the iron centers,—all are just a hive of hovels and a hum of hopeless toil.

But the growth of the Factory City has other restrictions upon its development than the mere cost of buildings and machines. Out of the very conditions created by the building of the Factory City, out of the life of those necessary to its operations, have arisen circumstances connected intimately with the profits of the proprietors, and which have compelled a new kind of social progress. And this has not always been accomplished willingly—much less has the improvement come in the way of a chivalric undertaking or crusade for the freeing of slaves. It has been forced by sheer physical necessity and the greed for gain.

That method of organizing municipal life which is sometimes called "Municipalism," and by others, ignorantly, "Socialism," has not been introduced by those in power out of any love for the "dear people." It has involved, indeed, healthier conditions for the poor, better dwellings for them at cheaper rates of rent, it has introduced cheap street car fares and free lighting of all the streets, it has furnished splendidly appointed libraries and technical schools, and has even given the very best of hospital accommodations for the benefit of all the people.

It has also taken the functions of the waterworks, the lighting plants, the electric railways and other enterprises out of private hands where they yielded tremendous dividends, and placed them in the public ownership, and control with service practically at cost in many instances.

Yet, in the face of all this, it must be understood that the compelling and dominating motive in every step of this transformation has been the motive of more secure and larger profits for the possessing class.

As an illustration of this let us take the story of the English city of Birmingham, which is one of the famous cities of that country on account of its long history as a manufacturing center. Birmingham grew to greatness under the "laissez faire" regime, because it had none of the restrictions of the ancient guilds to hinder the development of the capitalistic spirit and method which was new in the latter part of the

seventeenth century. And so it was quite a city, of the old sort, when modern machinery came into existence and with it the modern Factory.

Ancient cities were seldom "laid out": they just grew. And growing, the growth followed along the lines of the old roads, which had first been calf paths, then cow paths, and later roads for human beings. The streets between, as houses were built to fill the intervening spaces, followed the lines of the old roads until they met, and then went where they could. All were narrow, unpaved, and mostly ungraded. The old houses, at one time the dwelling places of the rich and noble, became tenements, loathsome with vermin and packed with human beings. Alley ways and climbing stairways led to dark corners where the poor lived, and all were filthy, and dangerous to life and limb and health of mind and body.

There were few sewers excepting those in the gutters, and the flushing was done mainly by the rains. A franchise had been granted by Parliament to a private water company, which was perpetual in its rights, and which furnished river water through wooden pipes at a tremendous profit to the stockholders, and also caused a tremendous amount of sickness by the impurity of the water. In a word the city was one vast festering cess-pool of corrupt conditions, in which crime, ignorance and disease were favored by almost every law and custom. But this was not because the laws and customs had not been good enough in their day. It was because the factories had drawn the people by thousands to a city which was not built for thousands to inhabit.

In 1873 the leading citizens of the place took hold of a difficult situation with resolute hands, and carried the matter to Parliament, where alone could be found the legal power necessary to reorganize the city government, and give to one municipal government the legislative and executive powers which previously had been scattered among a dozen smaller bodies. The water company was compelled to give up its perpetual franchise, the gas monopoly was made to disgorge its prey, and a civic revolution took place. The price of gas was reduced one third, and an eight-hour day was granted the workmen. In 1876 the water works was taken over and means found to guarantee a supply of clean water. Then the price was successively reduced. The supply was increased until it was over five times larger and with a forethought that was magnificent, the future supply was provided for, in the mountains of Wales, and a mighty aqueduct planned to bring the water from the hills to the city. Then came the clearing of the slums. Narrow streets and filthy alleys vanished, and in their places one finds today "Corporation Streets," and broadly paved and shaded modern thoroughfare, lined with modern dwellings, which are rented to workingmen. And all of this has been made to "pay." Ah! there is the secret of the whole matter. Affairs had come to such a pass that it was no longer safe to do business in Birmingham without making these changes. And every new change, from the water works to the School of Technology, was seen to be a paying investment from the point of view of the modern business man.

Disease interferes with business. Manufacture and commerce can not go on profitably in the presence of the plague. Workingmen must be able to work steadily day by day if the profits of the employer are to be

secure. Crime is also an expensive element to have in the life of a city. It makes property uncertain,—and life as well. And there is no satisfaction in heaping up wealth, if one is in danger of losing it all at the hands of a robber. And so at last, and in the most expensive way indeed, the business men and capitalists of the city learned the lessons of the common life, and set about making the city a good place to do business in. But since business involved the health of the poor, and the safety of all, they must needs provide for the health and safety of all.

For the rich are not safe themselves in the city, if infection is in the haunts of the poor. Those who work handle the food and clothing of the rich, and if there is disease in the homes of those who work there is no escape for those who live in the palaces on the hill. Death is no respecter of persons. And so there must be clean water for all. Hence the modern municipal water works. Sewers must be had in a city, and the people who work must be provided for as effectively, if not as artistically, as those who do not work. Dark streets put a premium on crime, and crowded tenement houses not only breed crime, but also hide the criminals, besides being also the hot houses for disease. Ignorance is not a good thing in one who is to work for wages and to do business for the employer. It is better to have intelligent people about. And so the **school and the library and the technological schools for teaching trades, to train the workers to do better work and more of it.**

In 1874 the death rate of Birmingham was 26.8 per 1000 of inhabitants. In 1892 it had been reduced to 20 per 1000—a reduction of 25% in the death rate.

Mr. Shaw, in his "Municipal Government in Great Britain" (page 90), says: "An epidemic destroys valuable lives, and it also paralyzes trade and industry and causes immense pecuniary loss," and so saying, gives the key to the compelling motive of all modern sanitary science. When the filthy condition of Havana becomes one of the reasons why the United States government should go to war with Spain, in order to stop the danger attendant upon the infection from yellow fever, it is not surprising that the Factory City has compelled its owners to "clean up" in their own interests.

That others besides the Social-Democrats have recognized this principle is shown by the following quotation from Mr. Shaw: "These considerations of the public good which dominate the public control of such services as those of light and water can have only small weight in the counsels of a private money-making corporation; and herein lies, perhaps, the most fundamental reason for the municipal assumption of such functions" (page 120).

But there are other causes which have led to the municipalizing of some of those enterprises formerly privately owned and exploited. It has come to pass that our modern manufacturer and business man must have water and light, in large quantities. And when the business community discovers at last that this enterprise which is privately owned and profited by, can be so operated as to furnish cheaper service to the majority of them—and also to help pay their "rates" or taxes—they become enthusiastic advocates of the advantages of municipally owned water works and electric light and gas plants. Nottingham, England,

furnishes one example of this "municipal trading" as it is sometimes called, since "in the course of five years \$720,000 has been turned into the treasury as the surplus derived from these various undertakings after charges for interest have been adequately met." (Mil. Free Press.) And we need go no further than Milwaukee to find profits from the water department of the city to the amount of \$200,000 turned over to the "general fund"—which can only mean that this was used to reduce the amount of the taxes.

Even in the matter of the destruction of slums it will usually be found that the thrifty capitalist has seen a way to make the actual destruction of "valuable property" yield a handsome return somehow. Quoting from Mr. Shaw on this point, we learn that "Glasgow's action was hastened by the fact that several railway companies were seeking access to the heart of the city for great terminal grounds and buildings, and the time seemed especially opportune for a rearrangement and improvement of the streets." And again: "Their operations were very vigorous from 1869 to 1876, and were co-incidental with, if not directly the cause of, much house-building and real estate speculation in Glasgow." (pages 101 and 102.)

But if effective philanthropy has had to wait upon motives of profit, there is more assurance that the lessons learned will be all the more surely carried out in practice in the future. And thus human progress again has its basis and assurance of permanence in the economic facts.

EVOLUTIONARY LAW IN MUNICIPAL SOCIALIZATION.—THE SOCIALIZING PROCESS IN MUNICIPAL INDUSTRY, AND ITS RESULTS FOR THE WORKING CLASS.

PROFESSOR E. R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, N. Y. City, has indicated the operation of the evolutionary law as applied to the development of public ownership, as follows: "In all the media of transportation and communication there seems to be a definite law of evolution. At first they are in private hands and used for purposes of extortion or profit, like the highways in medieval Europe, or the early bridges and canals.

"In the second stage they are affected with public interest, and are turned over to trustees, who are permitted to charge fixed tolls, but are required to keep the service up to a certain standard; this was the era of the canal and turnpike trusts or companies.

"In the third stage the government takes over the service, but manages it for profit, as is still the case today in some countries with the post and the railway system.

"In the fourth stage, the government charges tolls or fees only to cover expenses, as until recently in the case of canals and bridges, and as is the theory of the postal system and of the municipal water supply with us at the present time.

"In the fifth stage the government reduces charges until finally there is no charge at all, and the expenses are defrayed by a general tax on the

community. This is the stage now reached in the common roads and most of the canals and bridges, and which has been proposed by officials of several American cities for other services, like the water supply."

It is evident to any casual observer of society that the above statement will apply not only to the media of transportation and communication, but also to many other things. Especially it is applicable to enterprises municipal in their character, as is proven by the recent developments of our modern cities. In the history both of water and light service all these steps have been followed, though not, of course, in every case. At first altogether, as still in many cases, they were the means of extortion and exorbitant profit. Then the public laid restraining hands upon them, and limited the prices which could be charged. Next came the taking over by the people, or the building by them of their own plants, which were operated largely, and still are in many places, at a profit, used to reduce the taxes of the capitalist class. Pressure of public opinion and the growth of the social consciousness have resulted in the reduction of the rates of service to cost figures; while in some places, notably with respect to the water supply of Hancock, Mich., and New Orleans, La., the service is free and the expense is paid out of the common treasury. The latter has many things to commend it, not the least of which is a considerable saving of expense, owing to the doing away with the cost of keeping accounts, and collecting.

To those who have never gone over the ground at all, it is worth while to recognize the long list of enterprises and functions which have been private at some time in the history of the city, and which have by the very gradual degrees mentioned by Professor Seligman become so completely socialized that none but the rankest imperialist would dare to suggest that they be taken again out of the public hands. Vrooman, in his work on "Government Ownership," enumerates 300 different varieties of national and municipal undertakings. Of course every one of these was at one time "private," and has become "public" only by the same kind of a troublesome process which is today thought by so many to be something radical and unheard-of.

In the days when government was vested in an individual, taxation was a distinctly "private" matter, as we should view it today, and was handled in the interests of the particular persons who happened to "own the franchise." Police protection, i. e., protection for property, could only be had by those able to furnish their own police. The same was true of protection from fire. Today one calls on the public officers appointed and hired for these and similar purposes as naturally as though their functions had been eternal, and were not a comparatively recent "invention for the purpose of doing away with the development of the individual." One can scarcely speak of the courts yet as being open to all, in face of the fact that it costs money—which poor people do not have—to appear in court properly represented by the legal expert, called a lawyer; but it is worth remarking that there was a time when the judge himself could not by any manner be brought into court, unless it were the court of the revolutionary tribunal. Justice may be bought today, and is bought; but it is at least not "privately owned," as it once was. The same is to be said of legislation and the executive functions of

government. When we come to such matters as the streets, the care of the poor, education and sanitation, we are on more modern ground, but still on ground all too unfamiliar to the opponents of Socialism. It is in connection with the furnishing of water and light, and the more recent enterprise of public baths, that we approach what is still for some a debatable ground, in the United States.

In other countries there is a long list of enterprises which have already become "affected with public interests" more or less, and some of which have even come to the last stage, as in the case of the free public baths in many cities. In this list may be mentioned the following: Street car lines, telephones, laundries, ice supply, wood and coal supply, milk supply, bread supply and restaurants, dwelling houses, markets, abattoirs (slaughter houses) amusements—such as concerts and theaters—medical treatment, medicines, crematory, news service. Others might be added very easily, but this list will serve to show the next steps which are to be taken in this country, as well as to show the hesitating conservative that what he has regarded as a deluge of "Socialism" in the municipal water and light service is just a little spatter of drops, attracting attention to the shower that is to fall, in the not distant future.

No one really believes that these things have been done, on the whole, with any purpose of benefitting the working class. And even where a man like John Burns of London (England) has succeeded in having his way to some extent, because his way was a better one for the men who work, he has only been allowed to make the experiment in the hope and promise that a showing could be made which would, after all, be really better for the masters also. By the promise of facilitating "business" on the whole, and by the magical influence of reducing the "rates" or taxes, the class in control has been led into this new path. That they take a real pride in their accomplishments,—in the better service and cheaper cost, in the shorter hours and better wages of the men, and also in the more honest government which invariably accompany the changes which we have been discussing—there can be no doubt. But this pride is vastly strengthened as yet by the wholesome consciousness that "it pays," i. e., it "pays" the capitalist class as a whole.

On the other hand, the Socialist who would ridicule these items in the list of events important for social progress will make a great mistake. For, as one of the authors of the Fabian Essays has said: "It is the municipalities which have done most to socialize out industrial life:" and we cannot afford to miss taking account of the revolutionary value of every one of these achievements. It is to be noted, that in both national and municipal affairs the tendency of the development, quite apart from any influences which could be called "socialistic" in the political sense, has been always in a certain definite direction, as characterized by Professor Seligman. And we can also safely credit this development under capitalism with certain other things which are definitely and directly beneficial to the working class as such.

To begin with, even the matters of better and cheaper service, while bringing their first benefits to the capitalist and his class, are not without their value for the advancing proletariat, in the way of raising the standard of service to which that class becomes accustomed, and so edu-

cating them in the things that pertain to and make for civilization. Nor can it be a matter of indifference to one interested in the advancement of the working class that the capitalist class has found it necessary, even to a slight extent—no matter for what reason—to furnish better sanitary conditions, purer water and food supply, and more of educational facilities.

But there is something which holds within it more promise still than these, because it shows how the working class can be treated when once the pressure for "profits" or "dividends" is taken off the manager, and the ones employed are only a small portion of those who have even a theoretical ownership in the plant which they operate. I am speaking now of the fact that in enterprises publicly owned and conducted the wages and conditions of labor are already decidedly improved. The following table will show at a glance that this is true. (Taken from Parsons.)

HOURS AND WAGES UNDER PUBLIC AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

	PUBLIC.		PRIVATE.		
	Av. Hrs. per day.	Av. pay per year.	Av. Hrs. per day.	Av. pay per year.	
Railway mail clerks	7	\$1080	12	\$540	Western Union operators
Postal Carriers	8	900	12	720	Conductors and motor-men, Phila. St. R'y.
Brooklyn Bridge R'y Trainmen	8	1000	10	700	Trainmen on N. Y. and Brooklyn L. Roads
Boston Police	7½	1210	10	520	Employees West End St. R'y, Boston.

It will be observed that those given on the same line under Public and Private Ownership are occupations which may fairly be compared for the amount of ability required, or the previous training necessary, while in one instance the service is identical and the locality the same. It is well known that the common rule for public employes is the eight-hour day.

The following parallel statement furnished by Parsons shows the comparison between the service of the Western Union Telegraph Co., and that of the English National Telegraph, which has become a part of the British Postal system:

WESTERN UNION.

Two big strikes in 25 yrs.
Serious losses and interruptions.
Large drops in wages.
Progressive lowering of labor conditions.
Poor service and discontented employes.
Persistent policy of lowering wages and increased burdens of workers.

ENGLISH TELEGRAPH.

No strikes.
Harmonious uninterrupted operation.
Large increase in wages.
Progressive improvement of labor conditions.
Superior efficiency of well treated and contented employes.
Persistent policy of Postal Telegraph department from first to

Managers took advantage of defeat in '83 strike to get "one-third more work out of a man for a day's service." (Words of Pres. Green.)

Organization frowned upon.

Employment insecure.

Promotion at a minimum.

Dismissed after long service and replaced by cheap labor.

No provision for sickness, disability, etc.

last to raise wages, shorten hours and add to the privileges of labor.

Employees free to organize.

Employment secure.

Merit finds promotion.

Increased pay after long service.

Liberal provisions for pensions.

Another fact to be recognized by those interested in the struggle of the working class, is the fact that every enterprise brought under public ownership marks another step towards the "democracy of industry" which alone can guarantee their freedom. Every important social function removed from private control removes from capitalism that much of its power, and furnishes so much more of underpinning for the future democratic state. First of all in the city it is likely that the great experiments must be made, and every lesson that can be learned in advance is so much preparation for the time when the working class as such must assume the responsibility for the maintaining of civilization in the city.

Civil Service, even though imperfect, is the recognition of a principle for which Social-Democrats contend. And Civil Service is an almost inevitable accompaniment of Municipal Ownership, even in spite of the politician's pull.

CONSTRUCTIVE MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.



SOcialists have been critics in the main until today, because they have had no opportunity to be anything else. They have been sufficiently occupied in most localities to maintain their right to criticise even. But with the growth of the party to political strength and the approach to political power and responsibility, comes the obligation to assume the constructive attitude and frame of mind, and begin to answer the question, "What are you going to do?" in some definite and coherent fashion.

And those who are wise in the Social-Democratic ranks will be thankful that the day of opportunity comes upon us gradually, that the doors do not open to us widely at once. The natural process of acquiring political power, under our form of government, will bring us to control first in the local, then in the state, and lastly, in the national government. And while we say, and must say, that we cannot accomplish our aim until we shall have a majority in Congress and a Socialist president in the chair; let us also recognize the fact that the very ability to elect a majority of congressmen and a president involves the responsibility for local and state administrations for some time in advance. Moreover, we do not want to leave behind us any unoccupied positions

in the hands of our enemies, by means of which they could defeat us even if we were intrenched in the national seats of power.

But meanwhile, there is much to be done in the smaller circles of collective action and interest. The experiments which capitalists have been compelled to make in collective ownership and control are to be supplemented and followed up sympathetically. The "blind struggle in the dark" which has marked the evolution of the city and the state in collective ownership and control is to be replaced by a "conscious evolution." The type of the collective unit is to be brought into the course of development; the principles of collective industrial control are to be worked out; the problem of industrial democracy is to be attacked upon the smaller field, so that when it comes to its working out upon the larger national field we shall not be ignorant either of the principles nor of the practical difficulties. There will be need also of men who have the confidence of the people,—confidence won in the local fields of administration and legislation, who have proven their ability and honesty in the service of those they represent.

Let us be frank enough to say, that if the complete political power were to come at once and all at once into the hands of the Social-Democratic party we should be embarrassed by its possession now, and in the end would probably be hindered by very excess of responsibility in the doing of those things which we desire to do. It is the recognition of such facts as this that has brought the majority of the members of the party face to face with the necessity for the adoption and working out of a program, and has put the impossibilists gently but firmly outside the ranks of the working class political movement. Those who expect to achieve the Co-operative Commonwealth, not by hard intellectual and social labor, but by some sudden catastrophe, belong not among the ranks of Social-Democrats, but among the Anarchists.

For should the catastrophe come, in spite of the patience of the working class and the unwillingness of the Social-Democrats to make or suffer violence, it will mean that we must face problems only the more difficult because of the social disorganization and the personal bitterness that will inevitably follow any such outbreak.

Government is organized today on the basis of certain arbitrary bounds of territory. The unit of government, the political unit, in this country is the state. The national government is the "federal government," that is to say, it is a federation of states, having certain uniform rights and powers within themselves. Local governments, such as county, town and city, are completely under the control of the respective state governments, under the limitations of the national constitution. Charters are granted to cities by state legislatures, and can be amended only by state action. Even the taxing power is completely in the hands of the state, which can and does exempt certain properties from municipal taxation, in view of a certain tax paid to the state. Municipalities are limited, expressly, by state law from entering into any lines of industrial or commercial effort, unless specifically permitted to do so. The stronghold of private property is in the state government. But the natural point at which the socialization of industry begins is the municipality.

Thus the Social-Democrat has a two-fold problem to work out. He must secure from the local state governments permission for the municipalities to act freely within the sphere of their own life and interests. To do this he must overcome the prejudice and ignorance of the dwellers in the country who know little and are likely to care less about the affairs of the city. But he will be strengthened in his efforts by the growing interests of the small towns and cities, and the fact that the representatives of these in the state legislatures will be better organized and more accustomed to organized action than those from the country.

Thus it becomes plain that Municipal Autonomy is really the first one of the planks to be put in the Social-Democratic State and Municipal program. Until this is had, in all matters which concern the interests of the municipality, there can be but scant progress in social development. Indeed this is today the chief obstacle in the way of municipal progress.

Municipal Autonomy should be secured for every municipality, giving the following powers:

1. Complete political home rule.
2. Complete control over all taxing and bonding transactions which are proper to the life and welfare of the city.
3. Freedom to engage in any enterprise, within or without its own territory, except as specifically prohibited by state or national law.

The ideal is, self-government for city, state and nation. And this can and must be attained for the city, if Democracy is to have its way. That it will be attained, is guaranteed far more by the growth of urban population than by any propaganda or agitation of the Social-Democrats. Indeed, it is the purpose of this article to show that the guarantee of all the things for which we have reason to hope lies rather, and much more, in the economic and industrial development than in our own actions as a propaganda, or even as a political, movement. It is the function of the Social-Democratic party to consciously seize the opportunity, direct the arousing social consciousness, and by study and forethought provide against reactions which might destroy in a month the whole fruit of centuries of civilization.

The Social-Democratic members of state assemblies and local governments will do well not to regard themselves merely as the representatives of a political machine which has thrust them into positions of more or less power, as rather the forerunners of that coming industrial state, or social organization, which has cast them on ahead, as the breaking crest of a coming wave, or as scouts before an army.

They are to fight "on a parliamentary basis the class struggle which brought into existence the Socialist movement" in all lands. And their functions may be spoken of as being two-fold, (1) educative or agitative, and (2) effective.

The first of these functions will doubtless be the principal one while the party is so far in the minority that it cannot gain sufficient aid to carry out any portion of its program. It will be most effectively accomplished by the introduction of well-drawn measures which look to-

ward the immediate benefit of the working class of the community; by minority reports, when the Social-Democrat is appointed on committees of various bodies; by administrative or executive decisions and actions which give decided advantage to the working class as such, if there should offer opportunity for such action. Even if the latter should be over-ruled, or perhaps, even more by its being over-ruled, the attention of the working class will be attracted to the facts connected with its present enslavement, and so made the more intelligent as to the way of release.

The second function, of effective action, by which is meant the actual securing of political action favorable to the working class, while likely to be somewhat deferred with respect to large results, should nevertheless be kept constantly in mind, as having sufficient promise of immediate results to warrant some plan of procedure and some program of effort.

All measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing upon the working class as such. Those which will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle—by increase of their intelligence, by strengthening their bodies, by securing independence of livelihood for them—are to be considered as so many weapons making for their victory. On the other hand, the taking away from the capitalist class of exclusive privileges, making the courts free to all, and securing as far as possible the limitation of those powers—financial, legal, social and political—which have accumulated in the hands of that class, will tend of course by weakening the opposing class to make the victory of the working class more easy and more certain at every step.

And this same idea of the "class struggle" may well be the guiding star of the Social-Democratic legislator and administrator: for the problem of Constructive Socialism is after all not so much like the planning and building of a great dwelling, as it is like the organization of an army, with which to take possession of the enemy's camp and territory. It is to organize for taking possession, for keeping possession and for proper use in possession, of the social and industrial structure already in existence, that we must bend our energies and intelligence. And here is the reason why the Social-Democratic strategist must know thoroughly the nature of the country to be possessed, and the nature of the enemy's organization, his strength and weakness.

The previous chapters have shown that the capitalist class, by reason of the industrial development, has been compelled to give up one position after another. This is due to the fact that while there is a capitalist class which can be considered as a unit politically and socially, on the industrial and commercial field there are antagonistic elements within this class which endeavor to take advantage of each other. In their struggle for mastery among themselves, they voluntarily abandon one position after another to the people as a whole—the working class, which thereby has been strengthened, educated, uplifted, given political equality etc. But hitherto the working class has exerted itself to gain these things for itself in only a slight degree. The control over the government has always been maintained by the capitalist class, and the control over the essential means of exploitation. They are today, though they

have given up so much, still the masters. The ownership of the labor-saving machines of the world gives to them the great power of controlling civilization. If the hours of labor have been reduced, they still have a larger product than before; if wages even are somewhat higher, they have control over the throttle that determines the price level; if water is cheap through municipal ownership, and streets are lighted free, the price of rent makes up the difference to the ready capitalist, while street-car fares and electric light bills fill in the crevices made by the struggle of the trades unions. Coal we know how to mine and ship, but we do not control the machinery that must be used to handle it; ice we have at our door in winter, and willing hands to handle it, but we do not—alas—own even land enough nor buildings enough to store the stuff until hot weather makes of it a necessity in a great city.

Yes, it is possession that we are striving for. And all gifts of law and liberties are as nothing, if the people do not control those things which have become necessary to their common life.

It is for the Social-Democrat to understand and take advantage of the fact that, in the struggles now going on in society, there are social groups which at various times will find their temporary interests to be served, by the application of some principle which the Social-Democrat knows to be permanently valuable to the working class. An illustration of this is to be found in a recent occurrence in Milwaukee. The formation of an ice combine had forced the price of ice to an unheard of level. Merchants of all sorts who used ice protested, but to no effect. A mass meeting was called, but attended mainly by Social-Democrats. A local lawyer appealed to the State Attorney of Wisconsin for an investigation, which will doubtless turn out very much as have all other attempts at "trust-busting." Co-operative ice companies have been organized and their stock offered for sale. The public mind is greatly stirred, and, most important of all, certain business elements see that their interests will be as well served by the public ownership and operation of an ice plant as by the same sort of water supply. Accordingly, when the Social-Democrat goes to Madison next fall, as some of them expect to go in the capacity of legislators, they will find the way prepared for the enactment of a law which, while benefitting a class which is more or less temporary in the nature of the industrial development, will at the same time provide permanently for one of the necessities of the life of the people being furnished under their own control and ownership.

It is for the Social-Democratic legislator to see to it that the organization of this plant is of such a character that it will not too easily fall a prey to the profit-hungry corporation or the boodle-seeking politician, and this he will do by following well-established principles of public control and democratic discipline.

It is the duty of the working class representative in legislative office to forward the socialization of all enterprises as much as possible, and secure their operation on the lines of industrial democracy. In doing this he will meet the opposition of the capitalist representatives, who will of course wish to have these enterprises operated as much as possible for their own benefit. And he may anticipate efforts on their part along the following lines, essentially:

(1) By operation on the usual principle of commercial transactions, giving special privileges to large users and rebates or reductions to large consumers.

(2) By operation at a profit, and the application of these profits to the reduction of private taxes.

(3) By keeping remunerative positions in connection with such enterprises at such a salary level as to provide comfortable positions for members of their class, and insisting that only members of their class are fit for such places.

(4) By perpetuation of the contract system in public works, to give opportunity for "rake-off" and "graft" to members of their class or friends.

(5) By limitation of financing and bonding powers of the municipality, so as to throw the financial control into the hands of the present financial aristocracy, etc., etc., etc.

On the other hand, the representatives of the working class will constantly endeavor to modify these activities in ways like the following:

(1) Public enterprises to be operated,

(a) either free of cost to the public, and paid for out of the general fund;

(b) or service to be furnished at cost of production;

(c) or service furnished at a profit, the profit to be applied in such a manner as to benefit the whole people, and not to reduce taxes.

(2) By application of civil service principle and equalization of salaries.

(3) By inaugurating a complete system of public works departments in state and local affairs.

(4) By enlarging bonding and financing powers of state and local governments, so as to deliver the people from the money power and the bankers.

(5) By introduction of initiative and referendum on all matters pertaining to the public welfare or the holding of public office. Under this head will come the use of all modern methods of facilitating the voting of the people, such as electrically connected voting machines, etc.

From what has been said it will be seen that the Social-Democrat will not have to violate any principle of his party faith which prohibits fusion or trading votes in legislative action. But knowing, as others do not know, the undercurrents which are at work, he will forward the plans of the working class now through this and now by that channel, or by the aid of the co-operative social or industrial group which may be composed of representatives from different and opposite political parties. As an economic expert he will know how to clear the channel of popular legislation for those things which will benefit his class, while understanding also how to play opposing forces against each other for hindering legislation hurtful to his class.

Constructive Socialism is like constructive landscape gardening. It consists not in a mere upheaval of existing forms, so much as in a shaping and forming of elements already present and in process of growth. And the wise men will realize that their part lies in disturbing

as little as possible the normal constructive process, and in pruning only the useless and dead or dying branches of the social and industrial organism.

This point of view will not prevent the pruning process, but will rather give the required nerve for that operation when it is necessary, since it will enable the social architect to understand and properly balance in his mind the value of the various forces and elements with which he has to do.

It will not all be gentle action. Now and then there may have to be quick and hard action. But the writer is persuaded that the point of view maintained in these chapters is the one which will best prepare the public representative of the working class to meet all emergencies, and do the least of harm as well as the most of good, when opportunity shall be given him to act.

ARGUMENTS. FOR AND AGAINST MUNICIPAL SOCIALIZATION.



IN view of the ground still to be gained in the forwarding of the principle of collective ownership and control, even in the case of municipal enterprises, and especially in view of the fact that there has existed both in Europe and America an organized effort to discredit the principle of municipal ownership, it is well that the case should be reviewed in such form as will put the material conveniently at hand for those interested in the matter.

It is worth while to observe that the arguments and alleged statistics used against the idea of municipal socialization have been furnished and published in the main by paid attorneys and representatives of corporations which had a stake in the matter; while on the other hand, those who are presenting the case for municipal socialization are almost without exception either investigators who simply report their findings, or else men who have nothing to gain personally by the adoption of the principle, except as they would profit along with the whole people.

Parsons (The City for the People) lists the following objections to municipalization: 1. It will increase political corruption; 2. Paternalism; 3. Socialism; 4. Liberty will be less; 5. It is not properly the government's business; 6. Vested interests; 7. It will lead to extravagance and debt; 8. Private initiative will be lost; 9. Public ownership is non-progressive; 10. Public ownership is inefficient; 11. It is less economical than private ownership. Some of these may be passed without discussion here, as the mere phrases of "Paternalism" and "Socialism." Others may be condensed into three main points as follows: 1. Corruption; 2. Expense; 3. Non-progressive.

We will take these up in their order.

1. Municipalization leads to further political corruption.

In view of the fact that the water department has never been known to bribe the fire department, nor vice versa, this discussion will seem useless to some. But it is worth while to state the known facts with regard to these statements, and also to draw inferences.

The possibilities of corruption in any organization are two-fold, viz.: (a) within the organization itself, and (b) between the organization, or some part of it, and outside forces. Under the first, in the case of a municipal enterprise, would come favoritism on the part of officials towards friends and relatives, leading to inefficiency on the part of the working force. A properly organized Civil Service completely answers this objection; and civil service is facilitated, not interfered with, by municipalization.

Under the second head come all the briberies, having for their purpose the sale of materials, or special favors in the way of service by the municipality. But this second does not depend upon the fact that the municipality controls the enterprise. It is quite as common in private business.

But there are other and convincing arguments to be brought, which completely establish the case.

Private companies, under the necessity of producing for profit, and under the limitations of private capital, are constantly found guilty of violations of laws. They evade taxes; they refuse to furnish the service required by franchises and charter provisions; they destroy property of their own and other companies to carry out their purposes; they systematically bribe public officials of all grades.

Municipal enterprises WOULD NOT FIND ANY INCENTIVE FOR DOING ONE OF THESE THINGS.

The proof that private companies have carried on transactions in violation of law and of the public good is found in the fact that they have falsified their reports, made under the law; and is further demonstrated by the fact that they have frequently preferred to completely destroy their records, rather than allow them to be brought into court as evidence.

No municipal enterprise would or could do either.

There is no fact better attested than the fact that the corporations are "in politics." It would be impossible to bring them more completely and corruptly into municipal campaigns than they now are. They have corrupted every party that has been in power; they have been the focal point around which campaign after campaign has been organized; they have furnished funds to both the old parties for their campaigns; they have had their secret and open rings in council chambers and in executive offices; their stock-holders become city officials, and in their positions represent the corporation interests more than those of their constituents.

None of these things would be possible to a municipal department.

The methods and interests of the private corporations are such as to attract the worst men into public office. There is a premium placed upon this class of men in public office by the well known practices of corrupt and corrupting corporations. Men prominent in social and business circles seem to find it necessary to use the most degrading, dishonest and disreputable methods, in order to "safe-guard the interests" of their companies.

None of these things would be "necessary" from any point of view to secure the successful carrying on of any municipal enterprise.

On the contrary, with the incentive of corruption removed, with the removal of the big corporations having favors to seek from the city, disreputable men would no longer be willing to serve in public office, and the way would be open to men who are now unwilling to run for office owing to the fact that "it is a disgrace to be known as an 'alderman.'"

It is dangerous at present for any man in public life, or any newspaper, to criticise the corrupt practices of the politicians and the corporations. Man after man has suffered defeat at the hands of mysterious influences, because he has endeavored to investigate only the practices connected with the granting of special privileges, the remittance of taxes, the failure to enforce existing laws, or the introduction of laws calculated to strengthen the hold of the corporation upon the public life. The same men who are the principal and controlling proprietors of these great corporations are also the proprietors of the great dailies, or are able to control enough of the newspapers so as to neutralize any attacks that may be made upon them by honest men and editors who wish to expose corrupt practices.

No municipal enterprise could thus stifle public opinion, prevent criticism of its practices, drive men out of public office, purchase the public press, frighten the pulpit and platform speakers, compel all political parties to come to it for campaign funds and all ambitious men to approach it for political favors.

Thus an analysis of the forces and facts at work in connection with the great public utilities shows that nearly every force that now makes for corruption under the private ownership of these enterprises, would under a collective ownership make for clean government.

2. The second objection is that municipalization is more expensive than private ownership and control. Let us see. This will fall into two heads, viz.: expense of acquirement, and expense of operation.

In view of the fact that it is usually an expensive matter for a corporation to secure a franchise, while this would cost the municipality nothing, it does not seem that the acquiring of the machinery should be any more expensive to a municipality than to a private corporation. It is notorious that there are "rake-offs" to officers of these corporations, for favors shown in the way of contracts. And at any rate, the economy in the matter of franchise ought to more than offset any little difference in the cost of the machinery.

When we come to the matter of operation, we are on familiar ground, owing to the fact that there is a sufficiently large number of plants, both public and private, in this country, to furnish basis for comparison. Since the experience of American cities has been confined so far to the municipalization of water works, gas and electric light plants, we will have the data for these only. But these are sufficiently convincing to warrant conclusions of no uncertain nature.

First, let us take the water works. The Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, date 1899, furnishes us the following data. A table giving returns from a total of 1,014 plants, 374 of which are privately owned, and 640 publicly owned, shows the following facts:

AVERAGE COST PER 1000 GALLONS WATER.

Water furnished (gals.):				Private Number of Plants:	Cost:	Municipal Number of Plants:	Cost:
1 million and under	5 millions			5 *	\$.6928	35	\$.8789
5 " " " 10 "				12	.4966	35 *	.4486
10 " " " 15 "				12	.4092	45 *	.3050
15 " " " 20 "				10	.3066	41 *	.2636
20 " " " 25 "				12 *	.2471	26	.2911
25 " " " 50 "				50	.1874	105 *	.1754
50 " " " 75 "				44	.1375	52 *	.1180
75 " " " 100 "				26	.1520	24 *	.1371
100 " " " 125 "				20	.1084	23 *	.1015
125 " " " 150 "				9	.1285	22 *	.1265
150 " " " 175 "				14	.1108	6 *	.0879
175 " " " 200 "				8	.1339	12 *	.0845
200 " " " 250 "				23	.1165	15 *	.1046
250 " " " 500 "				51 *	.0796	58	.0858
500 " " " 750 "				30 *	.0762	38	.0902
750 " " " 1 billion				14 *	.0672	20	.0745
1 billion " " 5 "				30	.0651	78 *	.0639
5 " " " 10 "				4	.1163	6 *	.0444
10 " or over						13	.0476
Total plants reported						374	640
* Total showing less cost than similar plants of opposite group						112	464
Percentage of total showing less cost than similar plants of opposite group						29.94	72.5

In the above figures are included (for the public plants) depreciation, estimated taxes, interest on total investment, etc., so that the comparison is complete so far as it can be. In all but three of the groups where the showing is favorable to the public plants there are more of these than of the private; so that it cannot be said that these were a few exceptional instances. The verdict is completely in favor of the public plant, so far as the cost of production is concerned. But when we come to the average price per 1000 gallons of water sold the difference is still more apparent, and still more in favor of the municipal plants, showing that even when the privately owned plants are able to produce cheaper that fact is of scant value to the community, since they charge more for their product than the people could secure the same for, even in a more expensively managed plant. For economy of space, the reader is referred to page 42 of the report cited above for the table last referred to.

M. N. Baker, in his Manual of American Water Works, concludes that the charges of private water works average 43 per cent more than public water works for similar service. Of the fifty largest cities in the country, only nine are supplied by private companies. For further material, see The City for the People, by Parsons.

The municipal ownership of Gas Plants has not extended as widely as in the case of water works in this country, but it has gone far enough, and there is information enough at hand, to furnish convincing evidence in connection with this kind of municipal industry, also.

Professor Bemis, in his "Municipal Monopolies," shows that 75 cents per 1000 cubic feet is an ample charge for gas in any city east of the Rocky Mountains. The one exception to the complete and permanent success of the municipal gas plant seems to be Philadelphia, where the notorious Quay ring bought and sold all kinds of franchises almost at will. The following table is taken from the Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, date 1899, and shows the fact that in every one of the 11 cases reported the municipal plant furnished gas at less cost than similar private plants.

AVERAGE COST PER 1000 CUBIC FEET OF GAS PRODUCED.

Gas produced (cu. ft.):						Private Number of Plants:	Cost:	Public Number of Plants:	Cost:
Under 2 million						10	\$3.71	1	\$3.34
2 million and under 5 million						69	2.17	2	1.18
5	"	"	"	10	"	63	1.84	2	1.51
10	"	"	"	15	"	43	1.44.....		
15	"	"	"	20	"	45	1.52	2	.96
20	"	"	"	25	"	23	1.35	1	1.03
25	"	"	"	50	"	38	1.25	1	.91
50	"	"	"	75	"	17	1.14.....		
75	"	"	"	100	"	9	1.06.....		
100	"	"	"	500	"	18	.92	2	.63
500	"	or over				8	.76.....		
Total number of plants reported						316		11	

This table includes depreciation, estimated taxes, interest on total investment, etc., for the public works.

Here there is absolutely no excuse whatever for the statement that private ownership can even produce more cheaply. There need be no discussion as to what the benefit to the public would be under these circumstances, if the gas plants were owned by the municipalities.

In the matter of Electric Lighting there has been some confusion, and more misrepresentation, because of the differences of local elements, and the differences in kinds and quantities of currents used. But even so we still are in possession of facts which will enable any fair minded alderman to decide whether under any circumstances it is wiser for the people to own their own electric light plant or to hire the lighting done by a private company.

The following table is taken from Parson's pamphlet on the subject.

COST OF ELECTRIC LIGHT BEFORE AND AFTER PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Total cost per year for electric street lights, the "after" service being as good or better than the service it replaced.

	1. Before: Price paid private company per street arc, just before public operation began.	2. After: Cost per arc including taxes, insurance and depreciation.	3. After: Cost under COMPLETE public ownership, including taxes, insurance and depre- ciation, but no interest, there being none to pay.
Aurora, Ill.	\$325	\$72	\$61
Elgin, Ill.	228	65	56
Marshall, Iowa	125	40	30
Bay City, Mich.	100	67	58
Detroit, Mich.	132	83	68
Allegheny, Pa.	180	86	75
Bangor, Me.	150	58	48
Lewiston, Me.	182	58	52
Peabody, Mass.	185	73	62

To this may be added Chicago, which was paying \$250 per arc, under private ownership, and in 1899 had reduced the cost under public ownership to \$55.93 per arc. If there is a city on earth where public ownership would naturally be affected for the worse by political corruption, Chicago is the city. But in spite of the corrupt political conditions, the city saved \$195 PER ARC PER YEAR on its street lighting, under municipal ownership. Detroit has reduced the cost per arc to \$60.30 per year.

Another short table of comparative costs will serve to make the matter still clearer.

	Charged by private plant:	Cost of public plant—same years:	
1893-4, Pittsburg, Pa.	\$195	\$83	Allegheny, Pa.
1890-7, Troy, N. Y.	146	75	West Troy, N. Y.
1896, Buffalo, N. Y.	127	83	Detroit, Mich.
1897-8, Buffalo, N. Y.	100	73	Detroit, Mich.

The above is only a suggestion of the material that may be had, by referring to the authorities quoted, as well as others.

The true main objection to municipal ownership is on the ground that public ownership is not as progressive as private ownership, owing to the lack of personal interest. But all facts thus far submitted go to show that it is a decided advantage to have the personal interests eliminated, and the interests of the public made the dominating factor in any given enterprise.

To begin with, we will quote Mr. Cowdery, of the Milwaukee Gas Co., on the subject with which he is most familiar and where he may be accepted as an authority. He says: "The gas business, and progress in it, has been greatly retarded by methods which are not sound in principle, but greatly speculative in their nature." No doubt he is more than ever of this opinion, after his recent deal with the Semet-Solvay

concern! Prof. Bemis rightly says on the same point: "Private gas companies, with an assured monopoly, often feel less impelled to make improvements than public companies controlled by the voters, whose demands for cheap light, etc., can be brought to bear upon their own agents far more easily than upon private companies."

This argument is often supported by reference to the publicly owned railways of Europe as being far behind those of the United States, which are privately owned. But those who bring the argument forget to compare the publicly owned railways with those privately owned in the same or adjoining countries, where they will find the proof that it is not because they are publicly owned, but because all railroading in Europe is behind that of America. It is said that they do not even have baggage checks in England; but the railways are not publicly owned there as yet!

Comparing two similar services in this country, let us ask, which has been more progressive, the United States Post Office or the Western Union Telegraph Company? The latter has pigeon-holed inventions, refused to extend service when requested, has fostered gambling on race-track returns, kept its prices up to the highest possible limit, and to cap the climax, employs babies! Compared with the English National Telegraph it is old-foggyish and out of date, and recently had to send for some English Telegraphic Engineers to tell it how to get its lines into proper shape. It has refused so far to use the two best and latest inventions in connection with wire telegraphy. Its stock in 1897 was found to be \$97,000,000, of which about \$92,000,000 was water. There is private "enterprise" for you!

But publicly owned plants have shown themselves to be progressive, in their efforts to serve the public. Extension of water mains, gas mains, electric light circuits and street car lines is the rule, as soon as these are taken under public ownership. They are progressive also in constantly reducing the price of the service, until at least it is reduced to cost. This kind of progress can never be expected of private companies. Only a municipal plant can progress in that direction. That is the big argument, after all, for the municipal plant, from this point of view.

Another favorite argument of the mouthpieces of capitalism has been shivered! S. S. McClure, in McClure's Magazine, shows by statistics that it is just in the states where the Yankee blood is the purest that the most murders are committed. It is pretty hard on the editorial scolds to have to drop the "ignorant foreigner" argument, eh?

cial-Democrat. What is required is the deep determination to work relentlessly for the collective ownership of the wealth-producing forces of our modern industrialism, to meet and conquer every situation with the great end-aim in view. Works, not words, is the test.

A. REINHARD, Scientific Optician



206 GRAND AVE.

We make glasses.



We prescribe glasses. Artificial Eyes inserted

The mouthing of revolutionary phrases does not constitute the So-

Books on International Socialism

Avelling, Edward. The Students Marx.....	\$1.00
Berger, Victor L. What Shall We Do to be Saved. 2c, per 100	.50
Bax, E. Belfort. The Ethics of Socialism.....	1.00
— — Story of the French Revolution.....	1.00
— — The Religion of Socialism.....	1.00
Benson, Allan L. Confessions of Capitalism.....	.05
— — Socialism Made Plain	.10
Bernstein, Edward. Ferdinand Lasalle.....	1.00
Blatchford, Rob't. Britain for the British.....	.25
— — Merrie England	.10
Brown, W. I. Open Letter from a Catholic to Pope Leo XIII	.02
Carpenter, Edward. England's Ideal.....	1.00
— — Civilization, Its Cause and Cure.....	1.00
Deba, Eugene V. Liberty.....	.10
— — Prison Labor	.05
DeVillie Gabriel. State and Socialism	.10
Dawson, W. H. Bismarck and State Socialism.....	1.00
— — German Socialism and Lasalle	1.00
Engels, Frederick. Conditions of the English Working Class in 1844	1.25
— — The Origin of the Family.....	.50
— — Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.....	.50
— — The same in paper.....	.10
Heath, Frederic. Socialism in America.....	.50
Kautsky, Karl. Life of Frederick Engels.....	.10
— — The Social Revolution	.50
La Fargue, Paul. The Evolution of Property.....	1.00
Liebkecht, Wilhelm. No Compromise.....	.10
— — Memoirs of Karl Marx.....	.50
— — Socialism, What it is, and What it Seeks to Ac- complish	.10
Loria, Achille. The Economic Foundations of Society.....	1.25
Marx, Karl. Capital. Cloth, 847 pages.....	2.00
— — Revolution and Counter-Revolution	1.00
— — Wage Labor and Capital.....	.05
Marx and Engels. The Communist Manifesto.....	.10
Massart and Vandervelde. Parasitism, Organic and Social..	1.00
Morris and Bax. Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome.....	1.25
Plato. The Republic. Book I.....	.15
— — The same. Book II.....	.15
— — The same. Book III.....	.15
Robertus, Karl. Over-production and Crises.....	1.00
Rogers, J. E Thorold. Work and Wages.....	1.00
Schaeffle, Dr The Quintessence of Socialism.....	1.00
Simons, A. M. The American Farmer.....	.50
Sombart, Werner. Socialism and the Social Movement in the 19th Century	1.00
Vail, Charles H. The Socialist Movement.....	.10
Vandervelde, Emile. Collectivism and Industrial Evolution	.25
Wilshire, H. Gaylord. Trusts and Imperialism.....	.05

Send for complete catalogue of socialist books, free for the asking.

**THE VANGUARD, 344 Sixth Street,
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.**