

THE VANGUARD

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

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The Month's Story.

The Split Has Split

From the split in the Industrial Workers of the World, the workingmen may draw some useful lessons. That organization, which started out with the ambitious prospect of uniting in one body the "workers of the world," and began this task by dividing the labor movement of America, has come to its natural fate. At its last convention after the one in which it was organized, it has split into two fiercely hostile factions. A lawsuit over the money in the treasury now threatens to give the final blow to the I. W. W.

Men of experience in the labor movement foresaw this end from the beginning. Every split or dual organization in this movement is liable to split and split again, from the very nature of things. Just like the dissenting sects which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, divided and subdivided till at last one of them contained only one family, the pious head of which daily prayed, "Oh Lord, bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four, and no more."

Now, the lesson to be learned from all this is an object lesson. To study it well, look first at the I. W. W. and consider its record from the time it began to antagonize the American Federation of Labor, to the last squabble of its last disastrous convention. And then look at the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association.

Have the Merchants and Manufacturers split? Have they attempted to start a dual organization? Not they!

Go to the capitalist, thou wage slave, consider his ways and be wise.

It is time that workingmen should learn to live together even when they disagree. If the A. F. of L. still remains a conservative body, that is all the more reason why you, Socialist workingman, should remain in it and revolutionize it. A little leaven, if it is such lively leaven as the Socialist idea, in time will leaven the whole lump. If the members of your union are not Socialists, all the more reason why you should stick to them and belabor them with arguments. If you were in a union composed only of Socialists, you could make no converts.

And as for the lesson of the I. W. W., Frederick Engels once said, "A great class, like a great nation, never learns more quickly than through the consequence of its own mistakes."

Now it is just because, in this case, the American workingmen have not learned quickly that we are pointing the moral of this melancholy tale. Otherwise we should let the Industrial Workers of the World die in as much peace as their officers will permit. But unfortunately, it has required two lessons, the history of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and the history of the I. W. W., to teach us the folly of dual organizations, however well meant.

"Here endeth the second lesson." Let us study it so thoroughly that we shall never need a third.

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**Those
Empty
Pews**

In the good old anti-bellum days, the ministers in the South, as well as many in the North, preached most convincing sermons in justification of slavery. That is, they were thoroughly convincing to the slave-holders. And what seems queer to us now, these sermons did not drive the negroes from the churches. The slave with back still bleeding from his master's lash would listen with open mouth and pious eyes uprolled to a learned lingo on the text "Cursed be Canaan". He still revered the clergy, although they insisted that slavery was a divine institution.

But then, he was only an ignorant slave, whose grandfathers believed that their Gods were cannibals, and that it was a holy duty to feed them on human sacrifices. The idea of a just God and a humane religion was far from his conception.

Times have changed. The wage-slave of today can read and think. He does not swallow everything that drops from the pulpit.

A few weeks ago, a Milwaukee clergyman by the name of Perry, took it into his head to preach a sermon defending the "open shop" and bitterly attacking the heroic striking molders.

"Is there anything American," thundered the Rev. Mr. Perry, "about this idea that those who have control of the employment, the control of the production, those who have the factories, and those who have the machines, and those who have the capital, which are all necessary to production on a large scale, shall deny to other people than a favored few the opportunity to work for them?"

No, we regret to say, that at present there is nothing un-American in the idea that "those who have control of the employment" shall do with it "just as they pleased." And once there was nothing un-American in the idea that the slaveholder could do what he pleased with his slave, even if the latter should "die under moderate correction".

Yet we have changed all this. And now it is discovered, not only that chattel slavery is un-American, but that "Cursed be Canaan" had no reference whatever to that "divine institution".

But until the ministers of Rev. Mr. Perry's type make some such discoveries about wage slavery, they must not be surprised that the workingmen are fast becoming a non-church-going class. The clergy have sometimes debated the reasons for this falling-off in the attendance of the workingmen. We would suggest Rev. Perry's sermon as a horrible example of one of these reasons.

Just as long as ministers of this type preach such sermons they will not preach them to workingmen. Until they really study the labor movement and discuss it intelligently, they cannot expect to see anything before them but empty pews or the emptier faces of credulous female fools of the "upper" class. Even the men of the capitalist class absent themselves from the churches when such capitalistic white-wash is solemnly ladled out.

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An Old Trick Well, Uncle Sam has "tranquillized" Cuba. Of course, he says he will get out as soon as the Cuban people get good and quiet. But as the Cubans are not much given to keeping quiet, this seems a pretty safe promise.

Now the Vanguard is not in the prophesying business. But there are some tricks which are repeated so often in capitalistic politics, that a good guesser can know just when they are coming. And one of these is a "strong foreign policy" whenever the people are dissatisfied at home.

The English capitalistic politicians are past masters of this trick. This is one reason why England, which contains "darkest London" and other frightful city slums, still brags "that the sun never sets on her possessions". For every rising discontent, a glorious colonial war is used as a side-show to divert the people's attention. And since the average Briton is the worst possible victim of patriotic clap-trap, and the poor workingman who can barely make a living boasts of "the land, boys, we live in", and the laborer who does not own an inch of land swells with pride because "Britannia rules the waves"—this trick until recently was very successful.

With the growth of Social-Democracy in Germany, the Kaiser began to look about for various means to distract the people's minds from the Socialist propaganda. One of these measures was the German colonial policy. This has been an expensive policy for Germany. Although the German colonial possessions are nearly five times as large as Germany proper, these possessions have brought the Germans nothing but expenses. The net expense of the German possessions, besides those in China, was in 1901 over eight million dollars. Still the government clings to its colonial policy, since glory is a good antidote for discontent with internal conditions.

Our own ruling class in this country has had a bad scare of late. True, the tide of discontent is not yet over their shoe-soles. Still they know it is rising. Every capitalist, politician and every capitalistic paper is now declaiming against Socialism. But this sort of defensive fighting, the capitalists well know, is not sufficient.

And therefore it is a pretty safe guess that they will try the old panacea of a strong foreign policy and if possible a "glorious war". Wars with equal powers are too risky, but there are always plenty of savages or semi-civilized people to be easily whipped. Uncle Sam has a perfect bonanza of this sort in the South and Central American republics, always in a turmoil, and always furnishing a good excuse for interference.

So we predict an era of "glory" for the Stars and Stripes. And first, of course, it is necessary to gobble up Cuba, in order to have it for a base of operations. After that, there will be more to follow.

But jingoistic clap-trap has not stopped the rise of Social-Democracy in Germany or France, nor even in England. And it will prove of just as little avail when ground out by American money kings.

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The Senate The American public, that most long suffering beast of burden, is becoming suspicious of the United States Senate. One would say it is about time. They even talk of so amending the constitution as to provide for the election of the United States Senators by the people. **Success** Several state conventions have recently demanded such an amendment.

We say, down with the Senate altogether. Abolish it totally.

It has stood long enough as the bulwark of the rights of property against the rights of men. And that was just what it was designed to be. The framers of the United States constitution wanted the Senate to act as a "brake". They regarded the people of the United States as a sort of runaway wagon. They wanted to put the brakes on popular government.

The constitution of the United States was in fact a compromise. A capitalistic and conservative element, which was in the majority at the constitutional convention of 1787, viewed the common people with deep distrust. As an offset to the popularly elected House of Representatives they created the aristocratic Senate. It was a splendid trick. The people thought they had a free, popular, representative government. It has taken them one hundred and seventeen years to get their eyes open to the fact that they were humbugged. And their eyes are not wide open yet.

It was an old trick—not unlike that played upon the Roman plebeians, when the Roman Senate was established. In consequence, as Lewis Morgan well says in his "Ancient Society", "As a whole, the Roman government was anomalous. The patchwork of its composition was the product of the superior craft of the wealthy classes who intended to seize the substance of power while they pretended to respect the rights and interests of all."

The United States Senate has not been a failure. It has been a tremendous success. It has fulfilled its mission. While slavery was the great capitalistic interest of America, the Senate was the "dough-face" slave of the slaveholders. While the trusts and corporations were yet in their infancy, the Senate at once became the pliant tool of the trusts and corporations. That is no more surprising than that a hammer should drive nails, or a saw cut wood, or any other tool do just the work for which it was made.

And the Senate will be needed to do one more work for capitalism. The capitalists will use the United States Senate as a "brake" against the rise of Socialist ideas among the people. The Senate will

be about the last stronghold for the Socialists to capture. And in fact they will never take it except by destroying it.

Senator Bailey of Texas, who is making a fight for his life, in his own home state, is even now trying to divert popular fury by attacking the Socialists. "It would be hard," he says, "to be a good man and be a Socialist." The people of Texas might ask whether Joe Bailey is an expert judge of "good" men. But it makes little difference whether they ask him this and other knotty questions, such as the query which they are steadily firing at him, "Why don't you sue the much-rakers for libel?" He will probably outlive this storm and bob up serenely in the Senate for another six years, and then retort on the people of Texas with Boss Tweed's still unsolved conundrum, "What are you going to do about it?"

The best answer in this case is—abolish the Senate outright. We want no "brake" upon the will of the people. If legislation needs a brake, apply it through the referendum. The capitalists have had the inside track long enough. Now let us clear the way for *Social-Democracy*.

An American Horror.

In glaring contradiction to the way the capitalist authorities fawn over the rich when they come within the pale of the law is the utter brutality with which they visit their contempt for the working class when they are in trouble. Very few workingmen have been arrested who were not prejudged by their jailors and insulted in a ruffianly way. The rule is: If you haven't wealth you are presumably guilty.

Some time ago an Iowa boy fifteen years old went to Des Moines to get a start in life. He got employment in a restaurant, and when a circus came to town pieced out his salary by helping the men load. When the circus left town the management asked the police to arrest a lot of hangers-on and the

young man was among those indiscriminately pounced upon. They did not believe his explanations, nor did the court give him any chance to prove his innocence but sent him with the others to the bum cell in the jail. He was too proud to write home, and when his letters stopped his father came to the city but was unable to get trace of him. Finally he got an inkling that he was in jail, but the records failed to show such a commitment. Not satisfied, the father came again and demanded to be taken through the cell room. There he found his boy, sickened by the fetid odors of the place and broken in spirit. He died three days later.

If this had happened in Russia how terrible it would sound!

Failure That Teaches.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

"Littlefield is already defeated and I look to see an overwhelming vote registered against him," declared Samuel Gompers on the eve of the election in Maine. Yet Littlefield went in with a larger vote proportionately than some of the other Republican candidates against whom Gompers had no objections. He was *not* "overwhelmed" by the labor vote in the old parties.

We have no thanks to give for the success of Littlefield, for he deserved to be beaten the same as other servants of capitalism and betrayers of the working people who produce the votes, but we hold that Gompers' tactics—and they are really Gompers' tactics, his present campaign within the old parties not having been authorized by the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor—are bad tactics from the Labor standpoint.

* * *

Everyone knows that the two old parties are not labor parties, that the candidates of those parties are candidates by permission of the capitalists for whose interests the parties exist, and that it is folly and madness for Labor to dream for a minute that it can coax or frighten those parties to swerve from the interests they are maintained to serve. Capitalism is not going to allow Labor to run its politics for an instant. The only true way for Labor to get any opportunity to make the laws is for it to go to the polls in its own name, in the name of Social-Democracy, which is the world wide aspiration of the toilers for political and economic justice. Gompers makes Labor ridiculous by his tactics, and a few signal defeats such as that in Maine the past week will enable it the sooner to get on the straight and sane path.

The workers all over the country are enrolling themselves under the banner of the Socialistic movement, and the American Federation of Labor is already honeycombed with men who now believe in our philosophy. And Mr. Gompers' tactics will open many more eyes.

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The Federation is to-day in a transitional stage, as Gompers' sortie into politics itself shows. It is now between the old and the new. Fate and progress both decree that before very much longer its politics will have to be Socialistic in character—that is to say, dictated by Socialistic minds. And the Littlefield episode is a blessing in disguise if it points the way how *not* to proceed. The way to get labor legislation is not to beg for it from men sworn to do the service of capitalism when once elected, or to afterward make personal war upon them for turning down labor bills, but to mass to the polls as a Social-Democratic party and put men in congress and the legislatures and councils *who are not pledged to the enemy*.

Words of the Saints.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

THE Catholics recently held their annual convention in Buffalo, N. Y. The Socialists, as usual, were bitterly attacked.

Several speakers again declared that the Socialists were on a *level with thieves* because they do not recognize the present "legal" property system.

Other speakers, for instance Archbishop Messmer, acknowledged that Socialism contained "much that is good." But Messmer fiercely assailed the plank in the Social-Democratic platform that "*religion is a matter of private concern.*" This our friend Messmer pronounced godless and wicked, and therefore every Catholic should fight Socialism.

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And before we go any further I want to state again that this fight with the Roman Catholic church is disagreeable to us, because it brings in the element of religion into a purely economical and political matter. I am free to say that we would rather run away from *this* fight if we could. But we cannot, the "holy" church would not let us. So "willy nilly" we must defend ourselves against the "dear old priests."

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Archbishop Messmer's argument is not hard to answer, because we do not yet have any *state church* in America.

We willingly believe that our archbishop and other priests of his type *wish* that the Roman Catholic church in America was made the state church. He also *hopes* that this will be done some day with the help of the big capitalists who, whether Protestant, Jewish, or heathen, see in the Roman Catholic church their last bulwark. And we also know that the Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, Goulds, etc., would go right over to the Roman Catholic church if such a re-enforcement of that church were necessary for the preservation of the present system. Even now they are very munificent towards the church.

Yet a state church will *never* exist in America. To begin with, its establishment would require one of the *most terrible civil wars* the world has ever known. True, the church has started such wars before. But the fact is, even if the Roman Catholic church allied with the capitalists should conquer once, and even if it should conquer ten times, it could never maintain its rule in the long run.

It has just lost its rule *once more in France.*

Therefore we should advise our friend Messmer that it would be better for the Roman Catholic church to adopt the Social-Democratic principle, "Religion is a private affair." This maxim is generally accepted in America. And yet the "only holy church" is *doing a fine business here.* Just consider its growth during the last twenty years.

Furthermore we should advise our friend Messmer not to accept annual passes — we mean *annual passes*, not clergymen's half-fares — from so many railroads. It looks bad when the archbishop has to shuffle them like a pack of cards before he finds the particular paste-board that gives him a free ride to Chicago. The archbishop is getting money enough to live like a grand duke—he smokes the best cigars and drinks the most expensive liquors—and he ought to be able to pay his fares. Some unbelievers and heretics might be inclined to consider the “annual pass” as one of the connecting links between the hierarchy and the railroad magnates.

So much for our friend Messmer.

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But to the other brothers in Christ who reproach the Socialists with being on a “level with thieves” because they regard the *present* property system as *unjust*, *anti-social* and the source of social-disorder, we will say this.

Not we, but the capitalists and their *defenders* stand on a “level with thieves.” Capitalist ownership is continuous graft and alienation. The working people have produced all wealth, the capitalists have simply *confiscated* it and are confiscating it *every day*.

Of course this continuous graft and “alienation” is now legal and passes for ownership.

The present laws are made just by the ruling class, and in their interest. They represent might, and not right.

And as soon as this sort of thing has gone a little too far for the people to endure, they will surely proceed to *restitution*.

Our opponents, the capitalists, may call this “expropriation.” But we don't care what they call it as long as it is done. And expropriation also sounds well to us.

Just here we wish to explain that the advocates of the new order of society will use the extreme application of their principles—that is, the expropriation of the capitalist class—for the *general use*, for collective ownership, and *not* to put other men personally in possession of land, machines and other means of production.

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By the way, in former centuries, the holy church often undertook such expropriation of heretics or those who did not follow its blessed doctrines. And this was done for the *private use* of lords, bishops, cloisters, etc. And usually they took away the *children* also, after the parents had been killed or driven away.

And the pious in the land always regarded such “expropriations” as godly acts and sang “te deums” and other praises to God in the Roman Catholic churches.

Later on, of course, when in the Reformation period the *Protestants* played the *same game* against the bishops and cloisters, the church did curse it as outright robbery.

But then the Protestant preachers on their side thought the deed was good. And *they* praised God for it and gave thanks.

So the Lord at least was praised any way.

In other words, the thing was always *legal*, when it was done by the *strongest* party. And we hereby *solemnly promise* not to undertake any expropriation *until* we have the *power*.

And we will take only "means of production" and we will harm nobody.

And after it is done, those of us who are pious will, no doubt, thank God for it. And the Lord at least will be praised any way.

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Moreover we do not have to rummage the history of former times for example and precedents. Even *today* expropriations are made by the federal, state and city governments, when for any reason they are considered necessary.

In later issues we may take occasion to return to this subject.

But today, for the profit and edification of the brothers in Christ who cursed us in Buffalo, we wish to cite the opinions of the *saints* on the expropriation question.

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St. Luke writes of the Christian community at Jerusalem, "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common.—Neither was there any among them that lacked, for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and *distribution* was made unto *every man according* as he had need." (Acts. IV, 32-35.)

Now that is clear communism.

Indeed, it was the logical application of the command, "Go sell all that thou hast and give to the poor."

If the communists are in need of a patron saint, they ought to take St. Luke.

The fathers of the church, St. Chrysostom, St. Hieronymus, St. Basil, St. Gregory, St. Clement, and St. Ambrose express themselves with equal clearness.

"It is not without reason," says Hieronymus, "that the gospel calls earthly riches 'unrighteous mammon,' since they have their source in injustice, *for one cannot possess them except through the ruin of others*. It is even a common saying that they who possess them are rich only through their own injustice or the injustice of those whose heirs they are." (Works of St. Hieronymus, published by Malongues, Paris, 1678.)

St. Chrysostom denounces the grain usurers.

"The land lay dry, parched by the sun, the fruits could not grow, famine threatened. Suddenly black clouds rolled up, it rained, deliverance came, every one rejoiced — except one rich man. When he was asked the reason, he said: 'I had stored up ten thousand bushels of wheat, and now I do not know what to do with it.'

"Does he not deserve to be quartered as an enemy of the community?" asked St. Chrysostom.

St. Chrysostom must have received the anarchist *John Most* with open arms, when he got to heaven.

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And the good saint is no less radical where he speaks of property in general:

"For one to use his property only for himself is to rob the poor of it, that is, to *play the robber* with the property of another, and subject himself to all the penalties which threaten him who steals. What thou mayest keep for thyself is that which is really necessary, the rest belongs to the poor. It is his property and not thine." (St. Chrysostom, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, Vol. 19, pages 27, 35, 40, 51, and 52.)

St. Gregory says, "The earth is the common property of all men; it is vain for those to think themselves innocent who appropriate to themselves alone the wealth which God gave to all men in common. When they do not share with others what they have received they become man-slavers." ("Des Soins et des Devoirs des Pasteurs," XXI. pages 303 and 304. Lyon, 1682.)

Pope Basil the Great proclaimed these truths.

"Art thou not a thief, thou who appropriatest to thyself that which thou hast only received in order to distribute it? If he is called a thief who takes one piece of clothing, can any other name be given to him who, seeing before him a naked man, can clothe him, and yet leaves him naked? The rich have just got into their possession the *communal wealth*, and make of it *private property*." (Sur l'Avarice by Victor Meunier, page 23.)

No Socialist could speak with more fervor.

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St. Clement makes communism or communistic ownership an article of faith when he says:

"The communal life is a duty for all men. It is injustice which permits one man to say, 'This is mine,' another, 'This belongs to me.' From this has come inequality among men."

Now that is a good deal more than any Social-Democrat ever asked.

In conclusion, also hear the father of the church, St. Ambrose.

"God created all things to let every one enjoy them and to make the earth the property of all. *Nature* originated *communist* right, and it is force which has produced the rights of property. Since the earth was given to all in common, no one can call himself the owner of what exceeds his natural needs; what is over and above this, he has alienated from society." (St. Ambrose, Sermon 64 on Luke, Chap. 16.)

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Well, this is a small selection from the writings of men who lived in ages when the "rights of property" had not by far such ruinous consequences for the masses of the people as in this century of "culture and civilization."

And we ask our friend Messmer, who has studied church history, and knows his saints as well as we do, whether we have not quoted them correctly?

Let him show us one single misquotation, and we will buy a five-pound candle at Candlemas for the Capuchin church, to be lit before the statue of the saint that we have misquoted.

And of this be sure, dear Christians—these saints, if they living to-day, would be Socialists.

Victor L. Berger.

An Old Crime Renewed.

By WAYFARER.

The shortsightedness of the master class is one of its great besetting sins. The very conditions of its existence force it to recklessness. "Each man for himself and the Devil take the hindmost"—the present need must be satisfied, with no thought for what results from it. When the people of the South imported negroes from Africa in order to make slaves of them, they served a need of the time, the consequences they were too engrossed with their own personal interests to foresee. And in time it came to pass that the situation had so altered that there was the cry of "negro domination!" Ever since they have been stewing and fuming to know what to do with the Negro Question. It is still their chiefest problem.

Just now, out of a present necessity, the government through its Panama canal board has decided to import coolies to do the work on the big canal. Coolies are cheap. They will be able to stand the climate without the care with which the nation surrounds its officials at Panama—care that costs money—with the capitalist mind it is *always* a question of *money*! It is a present necessity which the rulers meet in the usual shortsighted way. The coolies will come just as the African slaves came—and then time will go on and the very same crowd who brought them here will have another big problem on their hands. Up will go their hands in holy horror. The crime of universal suffrage for coolies will set their blood to boiling, there'll be talk about "coolie domination" in certain sections, and the "coolie question" will engage the politicians and the editorial hacks. How to get the coolie out of the country again will be the problem, and "Judge Lynch" will probably help a little!

Capitalism likes to exploit weaker people, slaves (wage or chattel) it must have—but it does hate their society.

It likes to get its slaves here and exploit them, but always makes a wry face at the consequence.

It never learns. Consistency is impossible to it. And in almost the same breath in which the South is still denounced for Negro slavery, those who do the denouncing are satisfied to reenact the old crime. For there is no difference in morals between the slave traders bringing blacks here from Africa as prisoners of force, and Roosevelt and his kind bringing coolies here for the canal as prisoners of economic necessity.

Chips from a Blockhead.

By EDWARD SLADE.

Politicians beg from workingmen one day out of 365, and workingmen beg from politicians the other 364 days of the year.

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The promises of political tricksters, (and it is of these that the old parties are made up), are like mirages in the desert—they lure you into disappointment.

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The capitalists have long been organized politically and are now organizing themselves industrially into "civic federations" and "protective leagues." The workers have been organized industrially, but in this country they have yet to organize themselves politically. Now, if the capitalist fights with a gauntlet on each hand, why should not the worker.

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Science teaches that man evolved from the brute; history that the gentleman of culture evolved from the savage, the genius from the untutored barbarian; philosophy that the divine will be an outgrowth of the human.

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Nonconformity is the soul of progress. Disobedience is the cardinal virtue of the human race. Agitators are the salt of the earth. The Utopia of to-day is the society of to-morrow. Progress sweeps by those who cry "impossible." The world climbs ever up to higher and better things.

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The difference between the man in stripes and the man in broadcloth is largely the difference of having "dough" and having it not, of having influential friends and

having them not, of being a successful scoundrel and being a blundering rogue.

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Ballots are better than bullets, for they determine where the bullets are to lodge.

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Swindle a man through forgery and you get "pinched." Swindle him through misrepresentation of your goods, make money through deception, and you are accounted a respectable citizen. Poison a man with arsenic and you swing from the gallows; poison him with adulterated foods, quack medicines and diseased meat, and no "sleuth" haunts your footsteps. Kill a man with a crowbar and you sit in an electric chair. Kill him by overwork and you are called a "captain of industry."

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Have you ever noticed that those who shout loudest of their patriotism are the fellows who possess it least, that those who go into hysterics over "old glory" are those who violate every virtue, whose souls are blackened with corruption and whose slates bear the record of a thousand crimes.

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Posterity will honor those who *live* for their country rather than those who *die* for it.

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Editors of bourgeois periodicals constantly harp upon the chord of patriotism. Let them practice a little of this virtue themselves, and sacrifice dollars as disinterestedly as they enjoin soldiers to sacrifice their lives and comforts. If the

press was genuinely patriotic it would not prostitute itself unto advertisers and dirty politicians.

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The difference between lawlessness of workingmen and the lawlessness of capitalists is one of method only. The latter are more refined, more subtle, more cunning, in their anarchy than are laborers. And naturally so. They possess all the advantages of wealth, knowledge and legal machinery in their war against labor, whereas the knavely toiler can only hit back with dynamite, sandbags and fire. Yet these latter weapons are sometimes used by the plutocrats to defeat the democracy.

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Don't be any person else's moon, nor another man's tablet on which he writes opinions not your own, nor a gramophone which repeats the phrases of your teachers, nor the mule on which another rides, but be THYSELF.

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The workers pay the salaries of the judges who issue writs of injunction against their unions, the salaries of legislators who are menials of the plutes, the wages of the soldiers who shoot them down, in short, the cost of the whole system which keeps them in subjection. In what way do they differ from the slave who fetches the whip with which he is to be lashed?

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It is neither your business nor mine how *much* money a man has, but it is our business how he *gets* it.

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There is no struggle between capital and labor; there is only a struggle between capitalists and those who toil for them.

The brains of Andrew Carnegie and Johnnie D. Rockefeller dazzle some people's imagination so much that they assert the right of these men to their enormous wealth on the strength of their business acumen. By this same process of reasoning, the swindler and safe blow-er are entitled to their "boodle" by virtue of their cunning and abilities, for it takes a clever man to be a successful criminal.

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A civilization of swindlers, that is what a visitor from Mars would find present-day society to be.

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For a city to control its own public utilities and build a library out of the proceeds, according to bourgeois ideas, is paternalism: for it to accept a library endowment from a multi-millionaire is—well, anything but paternalism!

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Have you ever noticed that the average man's opinions bear a close relation to the contents of his pocket-book?

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The pronunciation of lawyers and liars is very similar. If they are not derived from the same root, they ought to be.

* * *

Let a workman walk down the street and kill another workman, one with whom he has a quarrel, say a scab, and he is branded as a murderer. Let him march with murderous intent into a foreigner's country and kill a fellow workman, say a trades unionist, with whom he has no quarrel, and he is hailed as a hero!

* * *

Pick out any ten laborers from yonder excavation. March them down the street in their overalls, and what do they get? Snowballs and jeers. Dress them in red coats

and striped trousers, put a feather in their cap, then march them down the street, and what do they get? Applause and their photographs in the illustrated weeklies! Or give each of these same men a fortune, clothe them in broadcloth, put a diamond in their necktie, and where before they could not even lie down in my lord's backyard, now they recline on the couches of his luxurious drawing room!

* * *

From the fountain of discontent flows the stream of progress.

* * *

The radicalism of to-day is the conservatism of to-morrow.

* * *

History tells us of the Lincolns, John Stuart Mills, Hugh Millers, Andrew Carnegies and Marshall Fields who have climbed out of the mire of poverty into which they have been born and won the applause of the world through sheer perseverance and pluck, but history does not record the names of geniuses who were the equals of these men, but who had the misfortune to be held in the mire so thick

that not even the strongest could overcome.

* * *

Under the competitive system it is the Machievellian virtues, cunning, unscrupulousness and hypocrisy, that pave the high road to success.

* * *

Capitalism puts premiums on dishonesty.

The persecuted of to-day are the heroes of to-morrow. Humanity loves to honor great men after they are dead.

* * *

Let those English critics who object to Socialism on the ground that it is an importation from Germany reflect that the present House of English Royalty was brought over from Germany. King George I. came from Hanover and it is his descendants who now sit on the throne of England.

* * *

The generality of mankind in Ancient Times were slaves, in the middle ages vassals, in modern times servants and toadies, but in the future they will be MEN.

* * *

Time and Tide and Socialism wait for no man.

If workingmen go into politics they must go in with their eyes open. To merely hold out their massed votes as a bait for the old party politician who can lavish the greatest blandishments on Labor before election is the sheerest stupidity. The old party politician after election serves his real master, the capitalist interests. Then when Labor punishes him by going over to some other flatterer to take his place, that worthy too gives it the

same kind of experience, and no good to Labor has been had from the experience. The only way for Labor to go into politics with safety is to mass to the party of the working class, the Social-Democratic party, where the candidate elected does not have to serve the capitalist masters, and where their every act after election is subject to the scrutiny of the class that elected them.

Pointed Queries.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

MR. Voter!
Do you really think it is the best kind of government which gives *bonds* to the *rich* when they ask for help, and *bullets* to the *poor* when they are dissatisfied?

Have you not learned that every day some men and women suffer from want, from cold, and from disease, and that, too, after these wretches have given twenty, thirty or fifty years of their lives to making all that we enjoy?

Can you forget that in every hospital, prison, factory and tenement there are human beings whose wrongs cry for vengeance to heaven?

* * *

Can you forget that children—*little children* as precious as *yours*—are this minute suffering hunger and *absorbing the germs of all vices*?

Can you tell why a nation that provides for teaching children to *spell*, should not interfere with conditions that cause children to *starve*?

Is there any reason why a nation that furnishes an education for the *brain* should not furnish employment for the *hands*?

* * *

We have steamers. But how many workmen travel to Europe or even to Cuba?

We have telephones and telegraphs. But do the overwhelming majority of the people *use them*?

There is an undeniable increase of comfort for many. But do we not have ten million paupers in this country? Has the telephone *diminished the hunger of the hungry*?

Did it ever occur to you that we have a *government* that *does nothing* for those who are skilled in *useful arts*, but does *all* it can for those skilled in the arts of *lobbying, stockjobbing, and defrauding* the people?

* * *

Is it not true that LaFollette and some well-meaning people about him have failed absolutely in Wisconsin? That the Stalwarts, the railroads and the corporations are on top again in the Republican party of this state as in every other state?

Is it not a fact that the corporations and railroads *own the Democratic party*, and have dictated the Democratic state and county tickets?

Is it not *ridiculous* to expect anything else, as long as the majority of the voters vote the capitalistic tickets?

* * *

Are we not likely to get class legislation in favor of our *lords*, so long as we have *land-lords*, *rail-lords*, and *machine-lords* for *legislators*?

And shall we continue to base our public policy upon the presumption that the rich and powerful class will act in a manner *contrary to their own interest* and in favor of the interest of the workers?

Don't you think it would be wholly their own fault if *monopolists* and *trustocrats*, having seized upon the government and powers, did not make laws for *their own benefit*?

Did you ever think that "if you want a good servant, you must serve yourself"? That if the working class wants the government administered in its own interest, the working class must take the government into its own hands? That the workmen *must* vote for *their own party*, the *Social-Democratic party*?

* * *

Did it ever occur to you that the money kings and trustocrats have political power because they have *economic power*? That this is a vicious circle which we must break up?

Is it not contrary to the interests of the republic and dangerous to its existence that the profits of the trusts shall accumulate in a *few hands*?

But is it not admitted on all hands that the trusts have wonderfully organized industry? That they are grand things—for the owners, for those who are "*in it*"?

How are we to bring the benefits of scientific organization into the hands of the many instead of the few? In other words, how can we put the *whole American people inside the trusts*?

* * *

Or do you believe that we have *reached the end of civilization* and that there is nothing beyond the present system, the so-called capitalist system?

Do you know that the capitalist system was not here always? That it followed the feudal system, and that feudalism followed slavery? *Why* should the capitalist system last *forever*?

We pride ourselves on our refinement, on our culture. But will not our descendants a hundred years hence consider us and our institutions with the *same contempt* which *we* cast upon the *people of the Middle Ages*?

* * *

Do you realize that the citizens of this country have the ballot and can get whatever they want, and that it is their *own fault* if they do not get it?

Have you read the platform and the principles of the Social-Democratic party? Have you spoken to your *neighbor* or to your *co-laborer about it*?

And what are you going to do *for yourself*, *for your wife and children* and *for humanity in the next election*?

How Classes Arise.

By GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

Why is it that men with good character are generally very poor and men with bad character very rich, and why is it, on the other hand that men who are engaged in doing half an hour's steady work a day are enormously rich?

The reason is that there is no desire whatsoever to have wealth distributed by moral methods.

No one will give wealth in return for mere labor. If you want to produce wealth you must exercise your labor on material objects of some kind, and the first thing you have to exercise your labor on

The difficulty, of course, is that is the land—earth itself.

land is unfortunately not all of equal fertility. One man gets a piece of land on which you can make nothing grow. Another man will get a piece of land which in return for his labor produces great, bounteous crops.

Another man discovers that his land will not produce crops, but will produce coal and iron, but in order to get coal and iron he has to sink a shaft, which takes twenty years and an enormous amount of capital.

One man will have land, but without water, and that means that he will have to construct very expensive systems of irrigation in order to make his crops grow.

The conditions of the people settled in that way will depend not on their own exertions, but to an enormous extent on the natural conditions under which they work.

If you want to bring about any sort of equality among these people you cannot allow them to be perfectly independent proprietors.

You must practically throw all their contributions into a pool and they must share it.

That is a fact which our great landlords have always grasped and always acted upon.

If you take a man with a very large estate you don't find that he parcels it out among a number of farmers or manufacturers and allows them to get out of the land just what a particular bit of land will return.

No! To do that he feels would destroy all their incentive, and he says: "You, for instance, have got a very fertile piece of land, and I will charge you a very high rent, which will make you just as poor as the man who has got the poor piece of land."

To the man who has got a stream he says: "I will charge you a rent which will make you as poor as the man who has not got a stream, and that will put you all on an equality."

"You will all have to work hard, so that all the profits will come into my pocket and I will have an excellent time."

But the difficulty is that the moment the landlord does that, and becomes a very rich man, then his character goes to pieces, and he has only to invent different methods of amusing himself.

Let us come to a further stage of the social process. The population of the country goes on increasing; fresh people come into the world, and these fresh people have got no land left for them; everybody is already in possession of pieces of land, and people who have once got land are tenacious of it.

These people who come in later are the proletariat. They can get no land to work on, and the only way they can live is by selling themselves in the market. That is the meaning of "the proletariat"—people who have to sell themselves.

Your price does not depend in the slightest degree on what your work may be worth or what your industry may bring forth. It really depends on the number of people being sold in the market at the same time.

There is nothing in the world that is so valuable to man as air to breathe, but there is such a supply of air that nobody pays anything for it; whereas there is nothing in the world that we could so easily dispense with as diamonds and rubies, but they are very scarce, and people pay fabulous prices for them.

When the proletariat consists only of a small body of people, all the other people, who have land, are very anxious to get labor and spare themselves the trouble of having anything to do. The wages, which is the price paid for the proletariat, are high.

But if the proletariat increase in number wages go down and down.

The English laborer's wages are only enough to keep him for the time you want him; there is not enough to keep him for a term of his natural life.

The term of the laborers' working age is very short. That is always the case where a class is underpaid and underfed. You can see that by looking at the death rate, but look also at the death rate of their babes. It is incredible that our present system is murdering children in heaps—and we don't seem to mind.

I want to show you exactly how the proletariat comes into existence.

There comes a time when people are competing with one another for employment and cannot afford to stand out for reasonable terms at all. If they stop work the laborer begins to starve at once, and therefore he must take the terms offered in the market.

And if these terms include poisoning, he has to put up with slow poisoning.

The people become repulsive. It is impossible for them to be clean in the conditions in which they live; the operation of living is so very painful for them that it requires an anaesthetic. The cheapest is gin and the next is beer. It is astonishing how many of them try to support life with them.

All those ladies and gentlemen, who drink very much more expensive drinks, with some moderation—not always with as much as may be desired—feel more and more that they cannot enjoy the society of these people. The two classes become abhorrent to each other.

In every great city there comes a movement; always the rich class goes to the west and the other classes go to the east.

You cannot ride in the same railway carriage with these people; you cannot regard them as human beings.

You are quite right to hate poverty and the fruits of poverty, and they have always got to hate you. Not that they hate riches, but still they don't like to have the spectacle of riches always before them.

Fitting Survivals.

By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

In northern zones the ranging bear
Protects himself with fat and hair.
Where snow is deep, and ice is
stark,

And half the year is cold and dark,
He still survives a clime like that
By growing fur, by growing fat.
These traits, O Bear, which thou
transmittest,

Prove the survival of the fittest!

To polar regions, waste and wan,
Comes the encroaching race of
man;

A puny, feeble little lubber,
He had no fur, he had no blubber.

The scornful bear sat down at ease
To see the stranger starve and
freeze;

But, lo! the stranger slew the bear,
And ate his fat, and wore his hair!
These deeds, O Man, which thou
committest,

Prove the survival of the fittest!

In modern times the millionaire

Protects himself as did the bear.

Where Poverty and Hunger are,
He counts his bullion by the car.

Where thousands suffer, still he
thrives,

And after death his will survives.
The wealth, O Cræsus, thou trans-
mittest

Proves the survival of the fittest!

But, lo! some people, odd and
funny,

Some men without a cent of money,
The simplest common Human
Race,

Choose, to improve their dwelling
place.

They had no use for millionaires;
They calmly said the world was
theirs;

They were so wise, so strong, so
many—

The millionaire? There wasn't any!
These deeds, O Man, which thou
committest,

Prove the survival of the fittest!

It is reported "from a reliable source" that the United States Steel Corporation, the great controlling corporation of the nation, is already considering the plan of controlling politics direct as well as the finances and manufacture of the country. The plan under consideration seeks to mold the politics of the vast army of employes of the many industries controlled by the corporation by having it generally understood that promotion and better jobs await the men who subscribe to the political wishes of the

corporation interests. This new display of strength is, after all, a confession of weakness. It shows the corporation fear of the advancing Socialist conscience of the people.

Every time you shovel a shovel full of black diamonds into your stove this winter thank Roosevelt for the way he settled that coal strike two seasons ago! The capitalist way is always fine for the other fellow!

New Zealand Lessons.

A recent visitor to New Zealand, the country which the late Henry D. Lloyd, borrowing a thought from Danton, called "The least bad country," has the following testimony to give with regard to the people there and their lack of criminality. It is probably a trifle overdrawn, still it is interesting just the same:

"Perhaps the most wonderful of these is that she has practically abolished poverty. And after that the thing that strikes the visitor to her shores with greatest surprise is the fact that she has no criminal class. There are so few of that order of beings who have taught people elsewhere to beware of all strangers that one forgets their existence. I spent several weeks in a house in Auckland—a city of 70,000 inhabitants—not more than ten minutes' walk from the center of the town. And during that time a latchkey was always, night and day, in the outside keyhole of the front door. The lady of the house explained to me that she kept it there so that no one might accidentally get locked out. Most of the people in the house merely dropped portiers across their bedroom doors at night and left the doors wide open for a freer circulation of air.

"I looked all over a pretty public park filled with a Sunday afternoon crowd to see if any policemen were there. Several thousand people had come out to hear the band play, meet their friends and enjoy a gala afternoon on the lawns, under the trees and among the gorgeous flower-beds. But I failed to discover, even with a diligent search, a single policeman."

Outside of some of the descendants of the "criminal" class that England used to deport to the Australian penal colonies, New Zealand is largely made up of working class immigrants from England, the "trash" that is only fit, from the capitalistic standpoint, to do the drudgery for the upper class, and which therefore occupies the only "place" in capitalist society "that it is fitted for." Its poverty and criminality exist because its heart isn't right, we are told. The capitalist press and pulpit never tire of telling us that the poor are those who do not deserve to succeed—that they are poor because they are defective or lazy; that they are often criminal because there is criminality in their natures. They tell us that to save the criminal there must be personal conversion. He must be reformed individually.

But they forget that individual conversion depends on conditions being right. It is harder to get a criminal to reform if he knows that conditions are such that it will be harder for him to get bread and butter if he gives up his evil ways. And the honest man is just as much a victim of conditions as the dishonest one.

In New Zealand the people have been struggling to clip the claws of private ownership and what is the result? The result is that the better they have made social conditions, the easier they have made the lives of the people and the better the people have become.

Here is a great fact. Here is the fact the Socialists are insisting on, that character is largely made by environment; that if you give

people an actual chance to live wholesome lives they will do so.

Why is it that people who are unfit in England are fit in New Zealand? Simply because they have not the chance to be fit in England, that they have in New Zealand.

In this country less than one per cent of the people own over half the wealth. The rest grade down from a moderately secure living to those who live anxious lives, or lives of abject and degrading poverty. It is not the people who are to blame, it is the capitalist system. Under that system the majority of the people are unfit. In New Zealand they are clipping the claws of that system with its private ownership of the sources of wealth production. It is the only thing that will save the people anywhere, only we must clip the claws *as far up* as possible, even, in time, so far up that there's none of the predatory carcass of capitalism left!

The Child Labor Army.

The factory wants the child. There is little to suggest the magic piper in its whistle, yet the summons brings the children scurrying down the broken stairs of poverty and want, and the factory doors close upon them by tens of thousands, leaving their childhood outside. The factory wants the child and will pay for him. The child, and often his parents, can see no value in a birthright as balanced against a little handful of silver. Only the State and the disinterested public are left to care and protest.

Perhaps the present attitude of tempered humanity, which still allows children of thirteen to work at night, and keeps boys and girls of nine from ten to fourteen hours at the spindles for wages ranging at from 10 to 20 cents, will seem as incomprehensible 100 years hence as that past feeding of "workhouse brats" to the factories does to us. But the new measure of what is humane cannot become established unless we know clearly what is happening, and how and where the children are at work. Knowing, we must care. Ruskin said: "Luxury

at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant. The cruelest man living could not sit at his feast unless he sat blindfolded."

Picture an army of 1,700,000 children, all under fifteen, and then realize that that army tramps, day after day, not to school and playground, but to the factories, fields and mines and workshops of the United States. One million seven hundred thousand was the number of child laborers estimated when the census of 1900 was taken. Only the God of fallen sparrows knows what it is by this time. In the twenty years preceding 1900 the number of boys in the manufacturing and mechanical pursuits—boys between ten and fifteen—had increased 100 per cent.; the number of girls 150 per cent. But only a 50 per cent. increase had been added to the population. To-day, in spite of all the child labor agitation of the last few years, it is estimated that 40,000 children under sixteen are at work in Pennsylvania alone, and that the Southern mills are said to employ 20,000 children not yet twelve. — *Success*.

Shots at Capitalism.

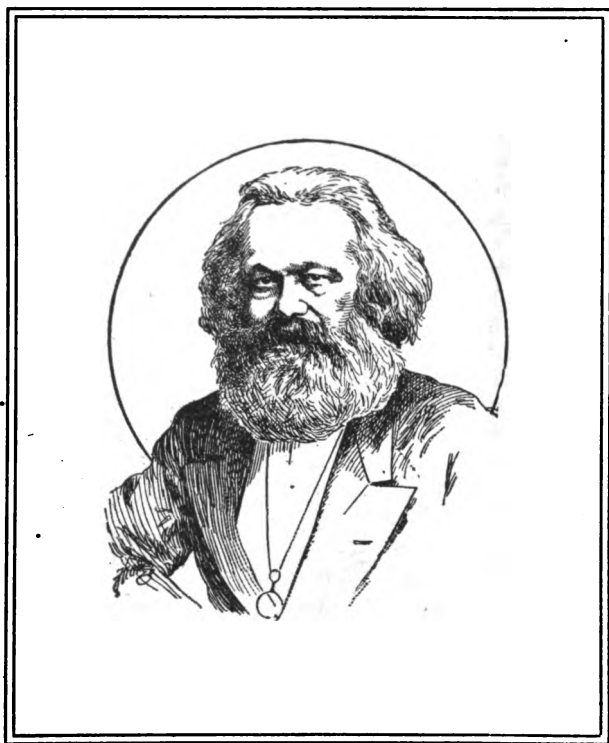
Pres. Eliot of Harvard has on several occasions declared that the strike-breaker is a hero. It was a shameful thing to say, and was only possible for such a man to say because of his capitalist environment and consequent class instincts and an affront to those citizens of the nation who are waging the age-long fight of human kind for economic advancement. The strike breaker is *not* a hero, he is a poltron and a mercenary. Leroy Scott, who joined the strike breaking force of the malodorous ex-race-track shark, Farley, at the time of the subway strike in New York City, thus describes the men he came in contact with:

"The strike-breaker is often regarded as a hero, fighting upon principle against unionism. There may be such strike-breakers, but during my study of them, which lasted through the strike, I failed to find one. There was practically no strong anti-union feeling among the strike-breakers—even among Farley's regulars. 'We're after the coin'—that was the common principle that made them strike-breakers. * * The majority were very much ashamed of what they were doing. They regarded strike-breaking as low work. They felt they had sunk in undertaking it even temporarily. * * * A number of the more respectable-looking of Farley's regulars, with whom I talked

concerning the quality of the strike-breakers, said that about half the men—one said 60 per cent.—were a 'tough outfit.' * * * I estimated that two-thirds of the men engaged in breaking the strike were undependable, incompetent or of bad character—utterly unfit for employment involving the safety of human life."

From all over the land come echoes of Socialism. Almost everybody has it in mind. Men are voting it in increased numbers, while others who are already sympathetic to it are still casting capitalist ballots out of habit with the intention of making the leap to the new party next time. The newspaper editors who used to be able to scare the people with the word Socialism now find it a word that inspires instead of frightens their readers. The idea of economic justice crops out in most unexpected places and after just the people who would be supposed to be "agin" it are found to be imbued with its righteousness. These are days! Thank your stars you are living at just this momentous time in the history of civilization!

Considering that the workingmen have allowed the capitalists to run this government these many years there should be no surprise that the government is rotten to the stage of putrescence.



CARL MARX