

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.

To Hide Or to Cure?

The proposition to bar newspapers reporting the Thaw trial from the United States mails was based on a curious principle. It reminds us of those mothers, stronger in discipline than in knowledge of hygiene, who spank their babies to keep them still, instead of finding out what is the matter with them. All the capitalistic fears of yellow journalism do in fact betray a complete ignorance of moral hygiene. There is something the matter with our present society. To hush it up is of no use. It is not by imposing silence, but by applying a remedy, that we can cure the disease.

The truth is that the present system of society is getting into a decidedly crumbling state here in America. President Roosevelt's knowledge of this fact is what makes him a better statesman than the trustocrat politicians of the senate. All his reforms and all his activity, from the settling of the great coal strike to the suggestion of suppressing the Thaw trial reports, have been for the purpose of saving capitalism from its own follies. They have not been in the nature of *cures*. His chief object has been to keep the public from getting excited. The Thaw trial has laid bare the hideous sores of the "better" class of society. Hence the necessity of throwing a veil over it, not because the conditions are evil, but because they are dangerous to capitalism.

The most disgusting moral quality of capitalistic society is its hypocrisy. The sins of the ages of slavery and serfdom were frankly wicked. The despot of the ancient and middle ages did not pretend to be anything but a despot. The robber was a robber—not a teacher in the Sunday school nor a member of the Y. M. C. A. Vice and oppression did not snivel out a lot of moral cant and philanthropic twaddle.

John Bull has the reputation of being the biggest hypocrite in Europe. Not that the British character was naturally hypocritical—quite the contrary. But the long development of capitalism in England has perverted the original blunt and bluff English nature. Brother Johnathan is fast following in the same direction. American hypocrisy is also becoming a by-word.

The murders, suicides and divorces which fill our newspapers do indeed make horrible reading. But these horrors *exist in society*, and it is a comparatively small matter whether they exist *in print*. The

infectious corpse exhales its poisons just the same when it is covered over with a sheet. The hushing up process will never save society.

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Socialism's Short Cut Uncle Sam has no right to defend his own children! So say the wisecracks in the United States senate and the house. The senate and house judiciary committees insist that it is unconstitutional for the United States to free by law the little white slaves in factory, mill and workshop. They are native citizens of the United States—oh yes! But the United States has no right to protect their lives and limbs, or even to guarantee them an education! The sacred constitution blocks the way!

It is constitutional for the American flag to protect the property of missionaries in China who are preaching a religion that the "heathen Chinese" don't want and can't understand. But it is unconstitutional for the American flag to protect the bodies and souls of its young citizens at home on American soil. For them, that flag waves in vain over school-houses which they are forbidden to enter!

It was no violation of the constitution when the president of the United States and the United States army forcibly freed the black slaves of the south. But to abolish *white* slavery and emancipate its little fair-skinned victims—that would be a terrible infringement of the American constitution.

Finally, it was perfectly constitutional for United States troops to take in hand the relief of the sufferers from the San Francisco earthquake. But here is a far more fearful suffering, spread over not one city, but through the cities and industrial towns of the entire country. Here is a danger that is poisoning the population at its source, and turning out physically and mentally stunted men and women. But America has no power to save *herself*—for the abstract thing we call "America" is not its land and rivers and lakes, but the *American people*.

Of course, the magnates in the senate and house explain that they are most strenuously opposed to child labor. Surely! Only they will stand right in the path when the nation tries to abolish it. Your capitalist politician is nothing if not a consummate hypocrite.

Now we are not writing these lines to show up the evils of child labor. That is a theme which has become so popular that even the ministers preach about it from their pulpits. All that we wish to point out is that in everything else, just as in this one reform, where there is a will there is a way.

Negro slavery was long supposed to be so constitutionally entrenched that to overthrow it meant to overthrow the union of the States. But when the people demanded its abolition, an army was unceremoniously marched into the slave states and the slaves were freedmen before ever the constitution was amended to fit the new conditions.

Now the Socialists have devised a simple way of cutting this Gordian knot of child labor. Our Social-Democratic members in the Wisconsin legislature propose to request congress to tax it out of existence. They want congress to lay "a tax of one thousand dollars

per year upon any person, firm or corporation for each child employed in the business of said person, firm or corporation, under the age of fourteen years, for the current year in every occupation in which the employment of such children has been seen to be harmful," the tax "to be collected annually by the internal revenue collector of the district," who is empowered to seize and sell property of those not paying on demand, "such sale to be on short notice and without redemption, so as to make the remedy short and summary."

This is simple enough. Is it constitutional? It would be, if it were for the benefit of the trusts, the big corporations or the ruling class in general.

Ruling powers do not fit to the constitution and laws. The constitution and laws fit to the ruling powers.

And when the Socialists become the ruling power in the United States, the United States constitution will be read the other side up.

This one resolution introduced by our Social-Democrats at Madison, shows what lines they can follow when they get control of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government. They will find a short cut around or through the constitution, not only to the abolition of child labor, but even to the establishment of the Socialist Republic.

And that is what is meant by revolution. Not necessarily bloodshed. A revolution simply means that MEN have got on the top of THINGS.

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An American Socialist Poet

Our February issue contained the picture of the great woman Socialist of England, the Countess of Warwick. This month we are proud to present a portrait of America's greatest and most thoughtful woman.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman—better known by her former name, Charlotte Perkins Stetson—was born in 1860 at Hartford, Conn. She is a great-granddaughter of old Lyman Beecher, who begot so many rebels in various lines of thought, and is grand-niece of the famous author of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Young Charlotte was a radical born, and early became a Socialist. One of her best poems, "Similar Cases," was published in 1890. In 1896 she went abroad, became a member of the English Fabian Society, and lectured on Socialism from a Socialist van which took the road through several counties of England.

Some years later appeared her great book, "Women and Economics." Perhaps no other writer on the woman question, not excepting August Bebel himself, has gone so deeply to the root of the condition of half the human race. "Women and Economics" long will be a standard work, to be carefully studied and pondered.

Aside from her economic writings, Mrs. Gilman has the distinction of being almost the only Socialist poet of America, and certainly the only poet who has thoroughly understood the life of the wage-workers. While Markham writes of the Man with the Hoe as of a man in a picture, Mrs. Gilman makes us live with those who have the Wolf at the Door. In a few vivid lines she lays bare the past and future of those who are "born to hoarded weariness, as some to hoard-

ed gold." She does **not** philosophize from above over the Three Men Under the Car. She tells their story, simply and sternly. We could wish that Mrs. Gilman had done more work of this kind.

Perhaps as a satirist Mrs. Gilman is most widely known. She is at her best when she assails some absurd objection to Socialism which "was a crushing argument in the paleozoic age," but which looks like a burst bubble after it has been pricked by the needle of her wit. In short Mrs. Gilman is so good in her three separate lines of satirical and pathetic verse, and of the serious consideration of economic subjects, that it is a matter for real regret that she has written so little. Let us hope that in the future her pen may be more productive.

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Degrading Education

A great deal of discussion has been hurled to and fro about the motives of John D. Rockefeller in giving his \$32,000,000 gift to education. Was he trying to bribe public opinion and influence the courts before which he stands indicted? Or was he sincerely trying to do good?

Now the fact is that history—and the events taking place in this first decade of the Twentieth century will form the first page of a mighty interesting chapter in American history—history, we say, deals with actions, not motives. We are inclined to give the oily king the benefit of the doubt as to his motives for the gift. But his acts remain the same, and the example set to young America is none the less corrupting. A large number of young American citizens will be indebted for their education to the notorious methods of money-grabbing known as "the system." It is a demoralizing standard of success to set before young men and women. It will be a degrading influence for them to feel that they received their own start in life from stolen money.

Not that poor, rich, old John D. is one whit better or worse than the average capitalist. He is merely a symbol of the capitalist system—the chief Captain of Industry. The small manufacturers and "independents," who hold up hands of holy horror against him, would follow his methods to the letter if they could. Nor is Rockefeller the first man who has given "tainted money" for colleges and universities. What we deplore is that our young people should owe their education to any *individual*, whether high up or low down on the ladder of accumulated wealth.

On the other hand, what an inspiration to a young man to feel that the STATE is interested in his intellectual development! What an ennobling thought to remember that he has received *all* from his country, and must repay the debt by upright citizenship and conscientious service to the community!

The principle of the public school is the grandest idea which America has yet evolved. We want to see it thoroughly applied straight through the entire system of education. We want everything from the child's primer to the most advanced instruction in the university to be freely furnished to all by the city, state or nation. No other arrangement is truly democratic. No other can turn out young citizens with wholesome standards and sound ethical principles.

Only such citizens can really understand the littleness, the incompetence, the degradation of individualism.

Only such citizens will fully appreciate the grandeur and the practicability of collectivism.

Only such citizens will be morally and mentally competent to establish the Socialist republic.

Capitalist "Liberty"

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

MR. Frank M. Hoyt, a well known corporation lawyer, recently delivered a lecture on *Socialism* before the *Men's Club* in this city. He evidently tried to give a fair statement of Socialism, and aside from the error that he considered the "iron law of wages," as formulated by Ricardo and repeated by Lassalle, a part of Socialistic doctrine, he succeeded pretty well.

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But he concluded:

"The objection which is the most potent in this country to the acceptance of the Socialists' proposal that the state shall own or control property to the degree asked by them, is the feeling that such a plan would result in the tyranny of the state, and absolutely destroy all individual freedom.

"The idea is thus expressed by *Judge Grosscup* in a recent address:

"The deepest instinct of the American is the instinct of individual freedom. Beginning with himself, and those who depend upon him, the American will willingly surrender nothing to the community that he feels bound in conscience to perform himself; nothing to the larger community, called the state, that he feels should be performed by the smaller community of which he is proportionally a larger part; nothing to the nation that he feels should be performed by the state.

"And when you ask him in the interest of this or any other cause to separate himself farther and farther from individual control of those duties that are dearest to him—the education of his children, their religious training, the whole circle of what he has always looked upon as a personal responsibility—you ask him to surrender a thing that rather than surrender he will abandon the cause."

"Another objection, to at least the present suggestions of the party, is found in what is claimed to be its failure to formulate measures, which shall operate in a practical manner against the evils of which they complain, without doing that which is confessedly impossible, namely: immediately subvert and change our entire existing system.

"As a friend of mine humorously puts it: 'The Socialists bring us to the banks of a deep stream, assure us there is excellent pasturage on the other side, and fail to supply any means of crossing over to it.'"

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The trouble with our honest opponents—for there are also dishonest opponents, who deal in all kinds of scientific fibs, the hollowness of which they themselves recognize—lies in the fact that these honest opponents cannot, in their train of thought, sufficiently abstract from present conditions. This explains why so many people are frightened away from Social-Democracy by all kinds of catch-words and phrases.

And the objection that is raised with special emphasis against Social-Democracy is that the Co-operative Commonwealth is *inconsistent with "individual freedom."*

Now we could make very short work of this.

We could simply answer that the *present* society does not grant freedom to the individual.

We could point to the fact that the great majority of our fellow citizens, during all their lives, are in the service of others. All their lives the great majority must work according to the wish and will of a small minority. And these workers and their families do not get even enough to eat, cannot dress themselves properly or live in a decent home upon the wages they receive. And besides, they are not allowed to speak and act as they feel. If they do so, they run the risk of losing work and livelihood.

We could prove that even the well-to-do classes are *not* free at present. They are tied in their *business* life by *competition*, in their political, religious and social life by *considerations of their position*, by public opinion and by the pressure of the powerful.

And this is Mr. Hoyt's case, for instance.

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Thus much has already been admitted by every unprejudiced observer, that our present society does *not in reality give* to its members *that freedom*, which the constitution promises—the Fourth of July orators notwithstanding.

Herbert Spencer, who opposed Socialism because he *feared* the dangers to individual liberty, was unprejudiced enough to admit that if he had only the choice between our present capitalistic society and the Socialist system, he would unhesitatingly prefer the latter. And this just from the standpoint of the real and actual, and not of the imagined, freedom of the individual.

I could further point out that every forward step of culture and civilization generally is connected with a certain restriction of personal liberty. The further we advance, the more fields are withdrawn from the discretion of the individual, and put under the control of the community. Even today our entire state rests on the restriction of the liberty of the individual.

Compulsory education and taxation—to speak only of these foundations of our present government—are simply restrictions of our personal liberty. But would Mr. Hoyt on that account wish to go back to the times when no father was compelled to send his children to school and when nobody knew anything of taxation? Such regions still exist—in Central Asia and in Central Africa. Yet every one of us knows perfectly well that we civilized servants of the tax commissioner and of the school superintendent are, in fact and truth, infinitely freer than our forefathers were, who roamed "freely" in the deep forests of Germany and Great Britain; or than the inhabitants of this globe who still live in similar conditions.

We all know perfectly well that the great problem of the history of mankind consists just in this: How to *restrict the liberty of each individual* in such manner as to make way for the *greatest freedom for all*.

We all know perfectly well that the most unrestricted liberty leads to the brute battle of each against all.

And this never meant freedom.

It meant slavery in ancient times, and serfdom in the middle ages.

In modern days we find this unrestricted liberty only in the *economic* field. And there it has anarchy in its wake, which reigns supreme in our present society with its chronic industrial crises, (called "panics"), its permanent reserve army of the unemployed, its ever-increasing destitution of the masses, its business corruption and its ethical hypocrisy.

All this should really be quite sufficient to prove to every thinking man the absurdity of the twaddle about the dangers of Social-Democracy to individual freedom. For a freedom that does not exist cannot be in danger. And least of all can it be endangered by something that does not yet exist, but is going to come, as is the case with the Socialist Republic.

So Judge Grosscup may rest assured that we ask him to surrender nothing.

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Social-Democracy, however, need not content itself with this negative proof. It is fully able to furnish also the positive information that the Socialist Republic is not only entirely consistent with personal freedom, but will bring it to its fullest development.

If there are still many well-meaning and educated people who fear the "almighty" Socialistic state, this probably arises from the fact that they always think of the utopian schemes of the first communists, who wanted to rule everything from above.

But modern, scientific Socialists never dream of such a thing.

Indeed should we, in the Socialist Republic, need other means to keep people to their work than we need in the present society? Why do we work today? In order to live. Will this be otherwise in a society where all means of production belong to the commonwealth, instead of belonging to a few capitalists? Why should a laborer cease to work, because the *entire value of his labor* will go to the laborer?

I cannot see any logical reason.

It is said that man is a "*self-seeker*" by nature. That he works only when he *himself* reaps the benefit, that he will not work for others.

But is it not a fact just now that the *greater part of mankind works for others*? And is it not just in the Co-operative Commonwealth that everybody will be enabled to call the *full product* of his labor *his own*? Where then will justifiable self-seeking be better satisfied, in the present or in the future society?

In future society, the genius of work will be freed from its most fatal defect, which is inherent today—the fact that the chief aim of all labor is the *individual interest of somebody else, the profit of somebody else, the making of surplus for somebody else*.

In the Socialist Republic this will not be possible. There only that will be produced which the commonwealth needs. And everybody will get the full product of what he has earned. Or, to express it better, the equivalent of his work.

The material and individual interest of the workingman in his work, therefore, will not cease in the society of the future, but, on the contrary, there it will find its real and absolute basis.

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Thus we see, that nothing will be changed regarding the *motive* to work. At least nothing in its disfavor.

It is also clear, on the other hand, that the freedom of choice of work will be much greater than at present.

How it is today every one knows. Of course, our constitution "guarantees" us, in the most solemn way, the most unrestricted freedom. In reality, however, it depends upon a whole series of extraordinarily *fortunate* chances and circumstances, whether any one can really choose his life's work at will.

With most parents and young people, pecuniary considerations *alone* decide as to the choice of professions. A single glance at the statistics on this subject show that the choice of a profession depends upon the prospect which the law of "supply and demand" offers at the time. Even theology, which should be above all a matter of sentiment, is not excluded from this rule.

And the overwhelming majority of children have *no choice at all*—they must go into the factory at the age of 14 or even earlier.

How different this will be in a society which guarantees all labor its full product! How all foreign considerations, which today determine the choice of work, will fall away! So much the more, because then the educational institutions will be open to all competent persons. *Not the money-bag*, but solely ability, talent, and inclination will decide. There is some genius hidden in almost every person. And every young man and every young woman will have time to become clearly conscious of his or her inclinations and gifts.

And should any one have been mistaken about his or her choice of work, how much easier will be the transition to another sphere of action than it is today.

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It is not the intention of Socialists to interfere with municipal rights, county rights or state rights which are essential to the habit of self-government. The *American capitalist will lose the liberty of the libertine*—the liberty to abuse—but the American citizen will *gain the freedom of the man who is free economically as well as politically*.

As to the education of the children, their religious training and so forth, that will be less interfered with than today. Religion is a private matter—that is Socialist doctrine the world over. It is for that very reason that the Roman Catholic Church bitterly opposes Socialism. That church wants religion—the Romanist brand of it—to be a *state affair*.

So much for the objection of Judge Grosscup.

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As for the remark of Mr. Hoyt that we want "to immediately subvert and change our entire existing system," I will say that no true Social-Democrat ever dreams of a sudden change of society. We build upon the past historical development and take into consideration the present conditions.

We are the greatest advocates of reforms of all kinds and every description the world has ever seen.

Mr. Hoyt ought to know that. We are proposing these reform measures right here in Milwaukee before his very eyes and at Madison, Wis. in the legislature. And we will advocate them in Washington as soon as we elect members to congress.

Yet these reforms are only stepping-stones—very necessary and indispensable stepping-stones, if the Socialist Republic is ever to be brought about peaceably—but our aim is to abolish the capitalist system entirely.

The Socialist Republic will come by evolution. It cannot come in any other way. We may see, however, the most fearful revolutions (and many of them) as a part of that great *evolution*.

Bloody revolutions will not hasten—they may even retard—the coming of the Socialist Republic. And whether such eruptions are to take place at all, will depend as much upon the policy of the capitalist class as upon the leadership of the proletariat.

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We are Social-Democrats, because we have recognized that the economical development of the present capitalist system, with its concentration of wealth, its trusts, etc., leads toward Socialistic production. Socialism is the next phase of civilization, if civilization is to survive.

And once granted that the Socialist Republic is the *necessary product* of our economical development, the *question of its possibility* is indeed *absurd*. That which *must* come by *necessity* is for that very reason possible, without further question.

So, dear Mr. Hoyt, "we shall have to cross to the other bank of that deep stream." We Social-Democrats supply all kinds of social reform vehicles and bridges to cross. We reach out the helping hand of brotherly love. But those who refuse and fight—will perish in the stream.

And that is the grim "humor" of it.

Victor L. Berger.

"God's great blessings, pure air and bright sunshine, are all about us, and certainly we have much to be thankful for," says John D. Rockefeller. Yes, we *are* thankful that the air and the sunshine are still free, considering that the people have lost the land and the tools and the greater part of the wealth their industry has produced!

Just What It Does.

FROM SOCIALIST PLATFORM OF IOWA.

The present capitalist system of industry is a failure.

It is impracticable.

It has divided the people into warring classes.

It has reduced the wage workers to slavish dependence upon the capitalists for an opportunity to earn a living.

It has reduced the masses of the people to poverty.

It compels the masses of the people to work all their lives for a bare living.

It deprives the masses of the people of the benefits of the marvelous improvements in production, and hands those benefits over to the useless few.

It bars the masses of the people out from the higher things of life.

It drives thousands of men and women to suicide.

It drives thousands of men and women to insanity.

It drives hundreds of thousands of men and women to crime.

It drives hundreds of thousands of women to prostitution, because they are unable to make a living in any other way.

It drives millions of men to drink.

It puts a premium on graft and corruption.

It makes it to the financial interest of men to adulterate food and to perpetrate all the other villain-

ous frauds and deceptions which surround us on every hand.

It causes the death or injury of millions of the people by preventable accidents.

It blights the lives of the child slaves.

It bars a majority of the children out of school altogether, and compels most of the remainder to leave school just when their education is really beginning.

It is infamously unjust to the unemployed, causing hundreds of thousands of them to become tramps.

It is an enemy to the family.

It causes hundreds of thousands of divorces.

It has destroyed individual initiative.

It has reduced the masses of the people to a dead level.

It has made it impossible for the masses of the people to develop their individuality.

It has made it impossible for the masses of the people to own any private property worth mentioning.

It makes it hard to do right and easy to do wrong.

It makes it impossible for the people to live sanitary lives.

It promotes disease.

It brings premature death to all the people.

Socialism is the natural and the only remedy for these evils.

"Tew enjoy a good reputashun," said Josh Billings, "give publikly and steal privately." This is an in-

dictment that will cover a multitude of sinners under the capitalist regime!

A Catholic's Reply.

By W. I. BROWN.

In "Timely Sermon of His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, on baneful doctrine of Socialism," as reported in Church Progress, Sept. 20, 1906, there are some remarkable statements which are intended to discredit Socialism. Among other things the Cardinal said: "The most mischievous and dangerous individual to be met with in the community is the demagog." The Socialist speaker is not a demagog. He advocates collective interests, and not that of an individual or faction of the people. The Cardinal continues: "who is habitually sowing broadcast the seeds of discontent among the people." This is true. We Socialists believe that it is our imperative duty to be dissatisfied with the system that enables a few avaricious persons to monopolize the means of producing and distributing the necessities of life, as they are now doing under the present private ownership system. The Cardinal continues: "He is disseminating the baneful doctrine of Socialism." The doctrine of Socialism is this: That all of nature's resources shall be collectively owned and co-operatively utilized by and for the entire human race. The Cardinal says: "which would bring all men down 'to a dead level.'" Quite the contrary. Socialism will bring the capitalist exploiter up to the high and honorable level of economic justice by depriving him of the opportunity and incentive to be unjust. The Cardinal said: "would paralyze industry." This is the Cardinal's greatest mistake. In the public supervision and co-operative organization of the industries, Socialism will achieve its greatest tri-

umph. As all things will be produced for *use* and *not* for *sale*, every element of imperfection in material used and methods employed, and all adulterations in foods and medicines, will be studiously excluded. All labor that is now wasted or misdirected, will be co-operatively utilized, so that the aggregate of production will be at least double what it is at present. The Cardinal continues: "and destroy all healthy competition." Yes, as light destroys darkness, Socialism will destroy competition by *being* "co-operation." The Cardinal said: "The demagog is blaming the rich for the condition of the poor, and the laboring classes." Socialist speakers generally tell the laboring classes that they are to blame for their own degraded condition, because they leave politics entirely in the hands of the rich, and their friends, the politicians, who take good care that their faithful servants are placed in nomination as candidates for the lawmaking positions, and the laborer, in this, his first and only political act of the year, betrays his fellow-toilers by casting his ballot for their capitalist masters. The Cardinal said: "He has not the capacity to discern that after all due allowance is made for human energy, this varied condition of society must result from a law of life established by an overruling providence." As a Catholic Socialist, I most emphatically deny that God's providence ever established a law of life that can reasonably be construed to justify the system that divides the people into antagonistic classes, arrogant rich, degraded poor, millionaires and paup-

ers; the system that is cursing humanity with the most complete system of human slavery that was ever devised by the ingenuity of human greed. It drives childhood from the home and school into the mill and factory; it drags woman down from her rightful and exalted position in the home circle, as mother of the race, into the degrading servitude of the factory and the sweat-shop, into the demoralizing tenement house, where men and women of all ages are huddled together like a brood of animals, where domestic privacy is impossible and, worst of all, into the den of vice, where the field of respectability is forever closed against her; the system that places a premium of profit on every species of financial crime, including three of the "sins that cry to heaven for vengeance," "willfully murderous Wars," "Oppression of the Poor," "Defrauding laborers of their rightful wages." No! God's providence is *not* responsible for riches and poverty. These deplorable conditions result from the criminal use that man makes of his "free will." That God condemns riches is proven by the fact that He closes the gates of heaven against the rich. "Woe be to you, Oh rich, for you have your consolation in this world." "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven." These facts do not sustain the Cardinal's assertion that "God gave you riches," etc. Did God wreck railroads to enable J. Gould and others to buy them for a trifle, and get rich from their revenues? Did God destroy competing refineries so that John D. Rockefeller could establish the "Standard Oil" monopoly? We know that God did not give these men riches, but He *did* "overturn the tables of the money changers and scourged from the temple those who bought and sold, saying: "My house is a house of prayer, but you have made it a den of thieves." If banking and commerce were unjust when Our Savior "dwelt amongst us," when did His unqualified condemnation change to imperative approval? For the Cardinal says that riches and poverty,—"these varied conditions"—*must result*, etc. Socialists insist that transactions that were unjust in our Savior's time, are equally unjust today. They will never cease to condemn the system that makes *justice* impossible, nor will they ever cease to strive for the inauguration of the system that will make *injustice* impossible. The Socialist philosophy is very simple as well as just, and God became its author when He gave man "dominion over the whole earth, and every creeping creature that moveth upon the earth."—Gen. 1-36. Socialism is strictly and exclusively a material, an economic science, the natural, the common sense means of sustaining life. After giving man collectively dominion over the earth and its resources, God said: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."—Gen. 3-19. Thus, God gave every human being the unrestricted opportunity and an imperative command to labor for his daily bread. God is also the author of the family of father, mother and children, the first and most essential collective unit of society. In this miniature co-operative organization, direct from the hand of God, the Christian Socialist sees a model of his ideal co-operative commonwealth. In the family, God established the principle that is indispensable to perfect civilization, the principle that requires every

one to contribute of useful service to the community according to his ability, and entitles him to receive from the common store of products according to his needs. The above is God's system, and on His word and work it is impossible for man to improve. This is all there is in the entire Socialist philosophy, and Socialists challenge all, and especially the great mass of human toilers, to a thorough investigation. Who will respond to this challenge? Will it be Cardinal Gibbons? Will it be the hierarchy and priesthood of the Catholic church? The non-Catholic Socialist accuses them of being the special friends of the wealthy and in league with them to prevent or retard the co-operative movement. Will they permit the above charge to seem true by continuing to uphold the capitalist system? Or will they make it *untrue* by espousing the cause of economic justice to the toiler, under collective ownership? In this regard, the outlook is not encouraging. They denounce Socialism, and as they teach under divine authority, the confiding Catholic thinks they cannot be mistaken. They warn him against the "pest of Socialism," so he carefully shuns the "demagog" orator, and persistently refuses to read Socialist literature. His mind is more and more mislead and prejudiced against Socialism by such writings as Father Conway's "Socialism Examined and Refuted." Some Catholic periodicals refuse to publish the truth about Socialism, although they publish much that is not true. Monsignor Vaughan of England, claims that Socialism is an anti-Christian movement, because some Socialist writings are anti-Christian, yet, in the same article he says: "There are Christian Socialists," which completely disproves the other assertion. Bishop Spaulding

of Peoria, Ill., says that a Socialist may be "a theist, an atheist, a spiritist, a materialist, a CHRISTIAN or an agnostic," therefore the above accusation is utterly groundless. On the contrary, co-operation is the only system under which economic justice can be secured to all the people, and no true Catholic can knowingly oppose it. Socialists alone fully recognize and appreciate the wisdom and beneficence of God's arrangement, and under Socialism, for the first time in the history of the race, will the great variety of individual capabilities be co-operatively organized and intelligently employed in the general interests of humanity. It will be the glory of Socialism that it will weld into one common purpose the material interests and effort of the entire human family. The wisdom of every intellect, and the power of every muscle, will be centralized and directed under one gigantic co-operative system. Will these conditions ever be realized? Will Socialism ever become an accomplished fact? As it depends on the use we make of our intelligence, that gratuitous fountain of logic—common sense—gives an encouraging answer. It tells us that human needs can be best supplied by co-operative effort, that harmony is better than discord, that peace is better than war, that all expedient methods should be employed to produce and distribute the necessities and comforts of life. Experience also gives a favorable answer. The first and best Christians had things in common. All the religious orders own their property collectively. The bishops hold the churches' property in trust for the people, so that "the poor may have the Gospel preached to them." All public utilities that are collectively owned give the best service, the best satis-

faction. The public school, the fire department, the sidewalk, the street, the public highway, the postal service, all herald the approach of Socialism. Between those who see in Socialism the only means of emancipating the human race from poverty, and those who denounce it as an anti-Christian movement, there is a lamentable misunderstanding. Who is wrong? Who is right? Is there a reasonable answer to these questions? The Christian Socialist is as sure that he is right in wishing to re-establish God's system of collective ownership and co-operation, as he is that God, its author, is right. Can those on the other side, with equal confidence and plausibility, hold God's "overruling providence" responsible for the system that has spread over the human race the present black pall of crime and suffering? We are very sure they cannot. May we not reasonably hope that the day is not far distant when they will agree with the Socialist, who

confidently assures us that there is one sovereign remedy for the economic evils that now afflict the human race—the extortions of wealth, the privations of poverty. That remedy is "SOCIALISM!"—and—"UNIVERSAL CO-OPERATION!" The Socialist will proudly bear aloft the banner with the above motto emblazoned on its face, fearlessly defying the unjust epithets that ignorance or malice may cast at him. The Socialist and his philosophy of equity are here to stay till the last vestige of compulsory servitude is swept from the face of the earth. No human power can turn back the ever augmenting and onward sweep of economic evolution. For the first time since man inhabited this earth, has the human mind become broad enough and wise enough to grasp with sufficient clearness the co-operative philosophy, the principle of true civilization to make its early inauguration inevitable.

The man who said that for the working class it was either the red flag or the white flag, said a great truth. It is either the conquest for economic justice which the red flag typifies or the thing that the white flag typifies: surrender. The red flag has been referred to as the age-long flag of labor, and some have claimed that it therefore merely stands for human brotherhood. But it stands for more than that. Throughout history it has been the banner of the downtrodden with aspirations for better citizenship through emancipation. It is therefore a revolutionary emblem—not revolutionary in the vulgar Anarchistic sense, denoting assassination and vengeful revolt, but revolutionary in the higher Socialistic sense. And so we say that with the working class, the builders of the world in chains, it is either the red flag of emancipation or the white flag of surrender. And this does not mean that American workmen do not respect the American flag, for they will give it every bit of respect that is its due, proud of it when it waves for freedom, sorrowful, when it waves over subjugated weaker races or is flaunted above the fortified work prisons of the capitalists or snaps its folds above soldiers ordered out by capitalism to shoot workmen into submission to economic wrongs.

Restitution of Income.

By J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

Whenever a rich man turns Social-Democrat the cheerful idiots with capitalistic minds immediately ask why he does not turn back his wealth to those who have produced it. A New York millionaire, J. G. Phelps Stokes, has recently joined the Socialist party and thrown in his lot absolutely with the cause. The following is his reply to carping capitalist critics, and will be an eye-opener to many people who do not comprehend the involved nature of the capitalistic system of production and therefore the necessity for attacking it in its entirety:

"I receive annually an income from investments amounting to about \$2,000. I consider that this income has been produced by others than myself, and that I am not entitled to make any personal use of it. If I could ascertain the names and addresses of those individuals who by their own productive and creative effort produced this unearned income which I receive, I would return every penny of it to them severally—to each in proportion to his contribution to it.

Wealth Created Co-operatively.

"There are circumstances, however, evidently such that it would be entirely impossible to secure the information that would be required to make possible such a return, for the reason that the production of wealth has long since ceased to be individual in its nature. With rare exceptions there is no wealth created today except by the co-operation of vast multitudes of people, who each contribute in some manner to its production.

"It would be impossible, for instance, to ascertain the individuals who have contributed to the wealth represented by the few hundred dollars which I receive as dividends on stock which I own in the Woodbridge Company of this city. That company has improved and for many years rented and managed high-class office property in our financial district. Large banking, insurance, manufacturing, mercantile and other productive enterprises pay the rentals of which I receive a share.

"All the employees of all those companies have contributed through their productive effort to the creation of that income of a few hundred dollars a year. So, also, have all persons who, directly or indirectly, participated in the development of the communities in which these business enterprises have sought and received support. So, also, have all those individuals who, as citizens of our country, have contributed to the support of those institutions without the aid of which these businesses could not have been conducted.

Used for Good Purpose.

"At least a majority of our people—i. e., at least as many as the number of those who support our present political and industrial system—have contributed, each in a measure, to the incomes of each and all of our important industries. To ascertain the proportion of my unearned income of \$2,000 which should be returned to each or any of this majority would be utterly impossible. A simple calculation

would show that the average amount due to each would be approximately the fortieth part of one cent.

"Since, then, this \$2,000 cannot be returned proportionately to those who are better entitled to it than am I, and since it is impossible to determine the proportion due to any, and since to single out any individual and give him more than his due would be unjust to some other rightly entitled to the excess, it is clear to me that the entire amount must be devoted to the sup-

port of such work as is, in my judgment, likely to hasten public recognition of the injustice of the capitalist system which legalizes the appropriations by non-producers of portions of the wealth produced by others.

"My personal expenses are all defrayed from the earnings which I receive as compensation for productive services rendered. Of my unearned income I use not a penny for my own support or otherwise than as above stated."

According to the advertising pages of *American Industries*, which is the self-confessed national organ of the alone respectable manufacturing capitalists, the Joy Detective Service of Cleveland, O., handles labor troubles "in all their phases," and is "prepared to place *secret* operatives who are skilled mechanics in any shop, mill or factory, to discover whether *organizing* is being done." And also that the firm of Wadell & Mahon of New York City, with branch offices in Philadelphia and Baltimore, are "licensed special agents who act for corporations and manufacturers in the termination of labor difficulties," secure and furnish "non-union mechanics in all trades and skilled labor in all branches of industry for service *during strikes*," and in the "establishing of the open shop." They perform "special service" during strikes and provide "special police patrolmen," trained in protecting non-union workmen, and also the looking after the commissaries made necessary by the open shop efforts. Also that there is a Cleveland firm that advertises: "We Break Strikes." All of which shows how much pains capitalism is taking to leave the working class

only the ballot as their means of redress from oppression and exploitation. They are forcing the strikes to be big ones, bigger each year, and to mean a tremendous outlay of money, both in strike benefits and in lost profits. And they seem not to realize what they are doing. And what can happen except that the working people will finally decide to put as much money into the political fight as they now have to in their economic struggle? The capitalist parties win nowadays by mere force of money. When the working class starts in to finance its own political campaigns in earnest, where are your old capitalistic bunco parties going to land, do you think?

The Rev. Father Clifford out West says, "I unhesitatingly say that a Catholic cannot be a Socialist." And the Rev. Father Stafford down East says "Nothing is further from the truth than that there is a deadly hatred between religion and Socialism. Rightly understood the Christian religion is Socialism." Isn't it about time the fathers of the East and the West got together!

Conversion By Law.

By WAYFARER.

And now another Milwaukee clergyman has spoken out. This time it is the Rev. William Austin Smith of fashionable St. Paul's Episcopal church, a great brown-stone edifice within whose rich confines some of the wealthiest people of the city own their homes. He recently preached a most radical sermon which had for its central idea the truth of the Socialist's contention that there is an economic basis to morals, and for holding which opinion the Social-Democrats the world over have been repeatedly denounced as "gross materialists." He boldly declared that the superior morality of the present society was but the fruit of removed temptation, of improved environment. And he applied this idea also to the status of the classes in our present day civilization.

"You and I," he said, "in our comfortable homes and decent surroundings, with our ethical safeguards, are not subjected to the peculiar temptations of the family in the slums of a great city. We sin but with a difference. Public opinion, education, our tastes, our environment stand between us and certain types of debasement and vulgarity. We have our subtle gloved way of being cruel and selfish, but it is of a lighter, more winning tint than theirs. The only inherent difference between Mr. Rockefeller, for example, and many another of us is merely a difference of genius. Many a poor man, the smaller merchant, has not abused the power because he has not the power in his grasp to abuse."

"The moment we describe the government of a people, its social laws, we know what sort of sins to expect within the nation. If, for example, slavery is permitted by law, we shall expect to see the brotherhood principle of Christ commonly violated by a disregard of the chastity, the sanctity of manhood, the value of human life of the slave population by its masters.

"So, with feudal abuses that followed the age when slavery ceased to be the economic basis of society. Abuses were there still in abundance. Some of them received their final death blow only by the burning scorn and vitriol of the pen of Voltaire. For ages in medieval Europe the feudal lord was a victim of certain temptations which the law permitted to exist. The law gave him power over the serf which brought the temptation to abuse the power."

Of the moral state he said:

"There is a large class of well wishers to society and a much larger class of selfish men who hold that the only way to correct abuses is to regenerate society. Eradicate the sin from men's hearts, transform selfishness into unselfishness, greed and dishonesty into integrity and high-mindedness, let the spiritual leaven of Christ work in the heart, only so can you correct the evils that afflict us. They argue that the law on the statute books can not change human nature. Hence they look with suspicion upon all agitation to correct by legislation what ought to be corrected by moral conversion.

"Society can not afford to wait for the conversion of every one of its members before it removes certain temptations. All that bad men, selfish men ask is freedom. The bad rich man wants to be free to use his power as he will. Freedom is what that unsightly host of industrial princes want, who have nearly wrecked our nation and thrown us into Socialism. They simply desire to be free to do what they will. Freedom is all the men asked who made adulterated foods, and poisoned medicines, and gave short weights. They wanted freedom to exploit society for their selfish profits.

"Now, it is folly to wait for such men's conversion before we right our wrongs. The evolution of morals and society has proceeded along quite another line. Business selfishness can be converted far more quickly by wise legislation, which restricts commercial freedom, than by harmless platitudes in the churches where commercialism loves to keep them, is willing to support them, and deems it wholesome for the poor and good people in general.

"The law, the public opinion which prevents a certain type of man from making a brute of himself for profit, not only protects society, but ultimately helps to educate the brute.

"One way to help on social evolution, to spread the ethics of Christ, is patiently to win all men, one by one, to your ideal. That might take a million years, and still leave the unregenerate tenth to prey upon society. There is another far more

practical way of abolishing sin. Restrict men's freedom. Let the best public opinion, the highest ideals, the better human nature reflect themselves in legislation, safeguards, and sanctions."

Of course, there are some things in the reverend gentleman's position that would not go far enough to satisfy the ideas of a Socialist. The law does not merely happen; social evolution works through it. As the era of capitalism wanes and the era of Socialism gradually dawns, the law will reflect more and more the change in the ideas of right and wrong growing out of the new economic base. The law is society's means of registering its will, but a law to amount to anything must reflect the economic interests of the majority. Men are forced to pitilessly exploit their fellows today, to grind their faces through the profit system, to plunder the workers in industry through wage labor, because the capitalist system forces them to it. The struggle for existence is so sharp that men are driven to put aside their feelings of humanity and to scramble according to the unwritten law "each for himself and the Devil take the hindmost." The change in the laws which tends to lessen the field for this unholy scramble simply marks the growth of Socialist ideas and necessities among the people. The capitalist system is moving on to its fall. It no longer ministers to the best interests of the majority of the people. And more and more that fact must shape our laws. It is the principle of "economic determinism" at work.

"A colossal merger to unite all packers." And this is the answer of capitalism to all the work of the past few years to haidle the meat

monopoly in the people's interests! Capitalism will run its course, no matter how much the people mistake its power.

About the Devil.

By ARTHUR BRISBANE in N. Y. Journal.

Mr. D. R. Masterson of South Amboy, writes to the editor a very interesting and thoughtful letter on the subject of the devil, and of the latter's gloomy, overheated abode.

Mr. Masterson regrets the fact that this newspaper does not believe in an ACTUAL devil, or an ACTUAL hell. The important sentence in his letter is this:

"You must certainly know that if everybody believed that there is 'no devil' or 'hell' hereafter this world would be extremely more wicked than it is now."

This view is taken by many. There was a famous Frenchman—he has been quoted over and over—who remarked: "If there had been no Divine Providence, it would have been necessary to invent one."

There seem to be many who imagine that if there IS no roaring, fierce, burning devil, it is necessary to "invent one" in order to keep people frightened and GOOD.

We do not agree with Mr. Masterson, or others who believe that an actual devil, in a pit of sulphur, fire and brimstone, is necessary to the welfare of mankind.

If you believe in a devil with his dreadful torments lasting FOREVER, you must believe that this horrible creature is the actual creation of "a merciful God," that he acts under the sanction, with the permission, of the Ruler of this universe.

Nobody, of course, can DENY that the devil exists, or that anything ELSE exists. To DENY that a thing exists without any proof is almost as foolish as to BELIEVE that a thing exists without any proof.

But we KNOW that this world in which we live, and this universe in which it is a speck, is beautifully, wisely, and mercifully ruled. We know that the progress of human beings in morals, happiness and prosperity has been steady, and still continues.

We know that the most sinful of men and women ARE THOSE THAT HAVE HAD THE WORST CHANCE IN THE WORLD. We know that some are born under conditions that make a good life almost impossible. It takes a good deal of believing capacity to imagine that a merciful Creator would CREATE SUCH WRETCHED, MISERABLE CREATURES AND THEN TURN THEM OVER TO BE TORMENTED THROUGH ALL ETERNITY BY A HORRIBLE, VILE, CRUEL, INFERNAL CREATURE, DELIGHTING IN THE SUFFERING OF WRETCHED SOULS.

As men improve, THEIR CONCEPTION OF GOD AND HIS MERCY AND JUSTICE BECOMES HIGHER. Is it a high conception of the Creator to imagine Him as sorting out souls that He has brought into being, and turning over part of them to eternal, merciless torment?

But, of course, all this is a matter OF BELIEF.

Some are probably made much better by believing in the devil and in hell. Some undoubtedly would not behave themselves if they didn't think they might get burned up hereafter. It is well for THEM to believe in the terrors that keep them

on their good behavior, AND THEY ARE APT TO KEEP ON BELIEVING IN THOSE TERRORS, no matter what might be said.

The VICIOUS mind is the IGNORANT mind. The vicious and the ignorant mind easily believe in the devil, in brimstone that never cools, and in the other atrocities.

When our friend Mr. Masterson says, "You certainly know that if everybody believed there is no devil this world would be extremely more wicked than it is," he is entirely mistaken. We "KNOW" nothing of the kind.

The devil is the creation partly of a guilty conscience and partly of intelligent planning. While men are wicked they will be ignorant—THEY WILL STOP BEING WICKED WHEN THEY CEASE BEING IGNORANT. As long as they are wicked their imagination will create some appropriate devil, some appropriate infernal punishment.

We wish to tell Mr. Masterson, however, that the NOBLEST MEN IN THE WORLD'S HISTORY ARE NOT THOSE THAT BELIEVED IN THE DEVIL, at least not in recent days.

There have been some very respectable and useful Americans that hadn't the slightest faith in the existence of the devil, or of a material hell.

Benjamin Franklin was a useful citizen; he didn't believe in the devil.

Thomas Jefferson was a great man, moral, RELIGIOUS IN THE TRUE SENSE OF THE WORD. But he hadn't the faintest belief in the devil or an eternal fire.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN BELIEVED IN NO DEVIL. Yet Lincoln WAS A GOOD MAN. He was perfectly willing to live or to die for the truth, for decency. It didn't require any devil to frighten

him into doing his duty.

The time will come, soon we hope, in a few thousand years anyhow, when all men will be as good as Lincoln, and willing to do their best, even without any sharp pitchfork behind them in their imaginations.

We do believe, firmly and steadfastly, of the Creator of this universe that "HIS MERCY ENDURETH FOREVER." And we do not believe that mercy enduring forever is compatible with the creation of wretched creatures TO BE TORTURED FOREVER.

However, as we have said, those that WANT to believe in the old gentleman with the pitchfork, can do so. If it makes them better, let them continue to believe, or if it makes them happier.

Among clergymen at the present time less than half, we should say, preach belief in an actual devil. And of the half that do preach the belief from a sense of duty, and because they think that those who listen to them require the devil's inducements to be good, we don't believe that one in ten actually thinks of the terrible monster as a reality.

MEN'S CONSCIENCES PUNISH THEM FOR THEIR MORAL MISDEEDS.

MEN'S BODIES PUNISH THEM FOR THEIR PHYSICAL SINS.

The real devils live ON THIS EARTH, and their names are in the telephone directory and in the society directory. They are the men that take what belongs to the poor; they are the men that CAUSE DRUNKENNESS BY CAUSING POVERTY.

The real devils are those that cheat the country of its taxes; that cheat children of an education. They are the fathers of the crimes due to ignorance.

Jaures' Great Book.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

"STUDIES in Socialism," by *Jean Jaures*, translated by Miss Mildred Minturn, has been sent to our office. Jean Jaures is probably the most famous Socialist in France today. The book before us is a collection of articles that appeared in 1901 in the "*Petite Republique*," and which were afterwards collected for the "*Cahiers de la Quinzaine*."

The translation is very well done. Therefore we are sorry that the translator has omitted the articles on French politics and rural conditions dealing with the "Farm Question and Socialism," which latter phase is of particular interest to the United States.

Jaures all throughout his book shows the impossibility of the catastrophe theory. Also the tremendous difference that must necessarily exist between the tactics of the Socialists in a monarchical country, like Germany, for instance, and democratic republics like France and America. But the articles omitted discuss the difficulties with which the Socialist party has to deal in countries where there are *many farm owners* as in France. And, we may add, in America.

These obstacles do not exist in England or in Italy, where much of the land is in the hands of large owners. Even in Germany, where the feudal lords still have very *large* holdings, the difficulties to be met are very much smaller.

* * *

We also should have been glad to see included in this translation the essays dealing with the *French law regulating property and inheritance*. The translator thinks these essays "are extremely interesting in themselves, but not applicable to countries where the Napoleonic Code is not in force." We differ with the esteemed translator in this. These essays would be most valuable to all intelligent Americans.

Jaures proves by history how paradoxical and full of contradiction is the bourgeois idea of personal property. He shows that the great bourgeois revolution of the 18th century, the revolution of Robespierre and Marat, tried to fix the right of private property as a *personal and natural right*. Yet nowhere in history before was this personal and natural right limited more than in the great French Revolution. Proof of this is the inheritance legislation of the Code of Napoleon.

Just *now* this would be of particular interest to Americans.

A Theodore Roosevelt is advising a high and graduated inheritance tax to curb swollen fortunes. Even a Carnegie is not averse to the confiscation of large fortunes of the deceased.

* * *

Besides, the peculiar inheritance legislation of the French Revolution had two results.

First, a very large distribution of land ownership.

Second, the practical application of the Malthusian theory in France. The French peasantry restricted themselves in the number of their children in order not to divide up their land still further. This in turn brought about a standstill in the population of France.

It might also be interesting to note in connection that this extreme individualism caused the same sort of sterilization of the population as did the communism of the Jesuit state in Paraguay. There was also a standstill and afterwards a retrogression in the population. Extremes meet.

* * *

The book of course is exceedingly interesting as it is. Special attention should be given the chapters where Jaures discusses a posthumous manuscript of Liebknecht, which was reprinted in the Berlin *Vorwaerts* of August 7, 1901. From Liebknecht's views Jaures draws conclusions for the French Social-Democracy, particularly against Guesde and the ultra-Marxists, who before the unification of the Socialist forces in France formed the French Socialist Labor party and were opposed to Jaures and the constructive Socialists.

Jaures says, "That method of procedure which of late years has gone by the somewhat insulting name of "*Socialist opportunism*" has never been more energetically formulated."

Here are some sayings of Liebknecht as quoted by Jaures.

* * *

"We have seen that it is impossible to decide beforehand on tactics for our party which would hold good in every case. Tactics must depend upon circumstances. The *interest of the party* is our only law, our only rule.

"We have seen the necessity of emancipating ourselves from the bondage of certain catch-words, and of developing the power of the party in the direction of clear thought and brave and methodical action, instead of displaying it in phrases of revolutionary violence, which too often only serve to hide a lack of previous thought and vigorous action.

"We must not limit our conception of the term 'working-class' too narrowly. As we have explained in speeches, tracts, and articles, we include in the working class all those who live exclusively or principally by means of their own work and who do not grow rich through the work of others.

"Thus, besides the wage earners, we should include in the working class the small farmers and small shop-keepers, who tend more and more to drop to the level of the proletariat—in other words, all those who suffer from our present system of production on a large scale.

"Not to contract, but to expand, ought to be our motto. The circle of Socialism should widen more and more *until we have converted most of our adversaries to being friends*, or at least disarmed their opposition.

"All the legislative measures which we shall support, if the opportunity is given us, ought to have for their object to prove the fitness of Socialism to serve the common good, and to destroy current prejudices against us.

"Socialism pre-supposes our modern civilization. It does not go counter to it in any way. Far from being the enemy of civilization, Socialism wishes to extend it to all humanity, whereas now it is the monopoly of a privileged minority.

"Some people may be surprised that we lay so *much stress* on the *question of taxation*, since in the Socialist State there will be no question of taxation.

"It is true that *if* we could pass over to Socialism at one bound, we should not need to concern ourselves with taxation at all, because the funds necessary for public expenses would come from the product of social labor. And in a still further stage of development, when all economic functions would be State concerns, there would be no longer any difference between public and private expenses.

"*But we are not going to attain Socialism at one bound. The transition is going on all the time*, and the important thing for us, in this explanation, is not to paint a picture of the future—which in any case would be useless labor—but to forecast a practical program for the intermediate period, to formulate and justify measures that shall be applicable at once, and that will serve as aids to the new Socialist birth."

* * *

Thus wrote Liebknecht in 1881, at a time when the "special laws" against the Social-Democrats were still in force in Germany.

And Jaures tries to explain the inconsistency of this same Liebknecht in so bitterly condemning the entrance of a French Socialist (Millerand) into a bourgeois government.

Jaures thinks Liebknecht's reason for this was that under Bismarck's rule there was no room for Socialist and democratic activity, but that Liebknecht hoped that the Socialist party would obtain political control even under the Imperial regime *after* Bismarck.

The fact of the matter is, there was a *dualism* in the ideas of Liebknecht. He was a practical Social-Democrat and also a utopian communist at the same time.

In the first place, Karl Marx, the great teacher of Liebknecht, was a communist in his early days. The "Communist Manifesto," which Jaures very often criticises, is a communist, not a Socialist document—although some Socialist parties, particularly those in America and in Russia, use it in their propaganda. Very foolishly, it seems to me.

Karl Marx, in his early days, bitterly fought the early German Socialists—men like Moses Hess, Karl Gruen, Arnold Ruge and others. Later on, while he never directly recanted, Marx himself adopted the names "Socialist" and "*Social-Democracy*." He did this on account of the German movement, where Lassalle and his immediate successors had founded a very promising party by the latter name. And besides this streak of communism there also remained with Karl Marx all his life a touch of *Blanquism*—of the miracle working "coup de force" and the catastrophe idea.

It can thus readily be seen that those who are Marxists, pure and simple, very easily become impossibilists, adherents of the catastrophe theory, and believers in some wonder-working "coup de

force"—even expecting this miracle or this catastrophe to come through the *ballot*, which makes it doubly wonderful and doubly ridiculous.

Friederich Engels, the co-laborer and successor of Marx, later on several occasions took special pains to repudiate the catastrophe idea. He even declared that the Communist Manifesto had value *only as an historic document*. But those who had *practical* work to perform, like William Liebknecht, and were still orthodox Marxists, naturally wiggled between Scylla and Charybdis on this point. Therefore we can see Liebknecht issuing some pamphlets which have a strong impossibilistic tinge, while in others he speaks of "the gradual growth of capitalist society into Socialism."

Or as in the "Studies" which are before us, Liebknecht expresses his contempt for the "frothy and theatrical phrases of the fanatic supporters of the 'class struggle' dogma."

* * *

The essays on "Socialism and Life" are also very interesting, and show the origin of Socialist theories. And in these days when the question of a "general strike" and of "direct action" is spooking about in every country and for a while had a foothold even in America, we would advise *every American Socialist* to read the essay, "General Strike and Revolution."

We should like every one of our readers to get a copy of this book. It is published by Putnam & Sons, New York, and can be obtained through the *SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD*. I also hope that Putnam's will put forth a cheap paper edition, so that the book may be used for propaganda.

* * *

There is *one fault* I have to find with Comrade Jaures. He nowhere makes a distinction between communism and Socialism. In fact he uses these terms interchangeably.

We can readily understand why a Frenchman should do this. The French Socialist movement is deeply rooted in the tradition of Fourier, St. Simon, Cabet, Blanqui and other communists. All of these schools still have some followers. The influence of their writings is still felt in France.

As a matter of **fact**, the strong touches of Blanquism which are found at least in the **early** writings of Karl Marx, first made it *possible* for Marxism to get a foothold in France.

* * *

But in **other countries**, particularly in Germany, England and in America, the **communistic** experiments had no bearing at all upon the growth of the Socialist movement.

If there is any **communistic** sentiment at all in Germany, it is of late growth, through the "Communist Manifesto" and after it had become simply an historic document.

In America communistic colonies have lately been founded to "try Socialism." But the Socialist movement is *not* the result and has no connection at all with the *early* utopian experiments.

The Socialist movement grew out of capitalism, as its child or its presumptive heir. It has nothing to do with the communistic theories or experiments of the past.

Socialism is *not* communism.

* * *

We ought to have these terms absolutely clear. Communism means producing together *and using* together, or even *not* producing together but *consuming together*. To consume in common, is *always* at the bottom of the communist idea.

Thus the Nazarenes in the times of Jesus, the Buddhist monks and the Christian monks lived in communism. They consumed together, although they rarely produced together, and generally lived by begging. There were also many communistic colonies that produced *and* consumed together.

Socialism simply means the collective ownership of the means of *production* and distribution. We will produce collectively, but we will *consume individually*.

* * *

Thus Socialism is an eminently *modern* idea. It is really not even a theory—it is the name of a phase of civilization, like feudalism and capitalism. Socialism is the outcome of the revolution in the means of production which makes the collective ownership of the means of production inevitable, if we want to preserve civilization. Socialism was not possible 50 or 100 years ago.

But Socialism does not in any way compel us to consume together. And we, and probably the great majority, would not choose communism as a mode of living. The writer for one would most decidedly *object* to it.

Yet, of course, the Socialist movement in any country is in its infancy, even when its adherents count by millions. And all these finer points will be worked out in course of time. In fact, the evolution of modern civilization and of Socialism will work them out.

Victor L. Berger

Robert Hunter, author of "Poverty," and famous as a settlement worker, has written from Europe that he is now ready to enroll himself as a Social-Democrat without reservation, thus placing himself in direct opposition to "the most fundamental cause of our social distresses, namely, capitalism itself." He says that capitalism will go the way of the other class systems that preceded it. "Lawson," he says, "sees its frenzied finance, Hughes sees its robbery of the widows and orphans, Hearst sees its political treachery, Steffens sees its political perfidy, Miss Tarbell its soul of dishonesty and hypocrisy, Robert De Forest its murderous tenements, Felix Adler the slavery of the children, Roosevelt its poisonous food products." Mr. Hunter sees all these things at once, and the sight has driven him to join those who demand "the social ownership of the instruments of production."

The German Elections.

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

THE figures of the general election of the German Reichstag speak a plain language.

In the light of these figures the German government has not conquered. The majority of the German voters have not placed themselves on the side of the government. The majority of the German voters are not a "hurrah crowd." They do not allow themselves to be fooled by an idiotic Hottentot issue. Of the million and a half or two million voters who have grown up since 1903, not more than half voted for the government.

The vote of the opposition parties has grown no less than that of the government parties.

The Social-Democracy has not been beaten, as capitalistic writers falsely maintained after the first election days. Our party has experienced no Waterloo in Germany. It has even kept the phenomenal growth which it showed at the last election.

It has increased its vote by over 240,000. Its growth, of course, is absolutely not so great in three years as in five, but relatively it has kept the same pace in the gain.

Therefore that talk about the sympathizers who have left the party ought to stop. This election had to show what was 'sympathy' and what was the genuine article. All parties did their utmost to increase their standing. The government's appeal to patriotism also has had a certain effect. But in spite of this the outcome for the Social-Democracy was truly glorious.

* * *

Equal suffrage is a myth in Germany—on account of the most shameless "gerrymander" of the election districts. Germany was divided into electoral districts in 1871, and since then they have not been changed. But meantime the city and industrial districts have undergone a gigantic increase of population, while the country districts have gained in population very little, or not at all. The strength of the Social-Democratic party is in the cities and factory districts. And, therefore, the Social-Democracy, which received over a quarter of the votes, will have perhaps scarcely a ninth of the delegates in the reichstag. On the other hand, we see that the Centrum (the Clerical party) with only one fifth of the total vote, has about one-fourth of the seats. The peasant, intellectually dependent upon the landed aristocracy and the clergy, has therefore relatively two votes, when compared with the city proletariat, while the city inhabitant has only one.

It is a remarkable sign that the Centrum—the clerical party—can also point to the greatest increase in votes. The Catholic priests have the people well in hand.

The Social-Democracy remains numerically the strongest party in Germany, since its voting strength is 3,261,005 votes in a total of 11,109,768 voters. The votes cast for the Centrum amount to 2,274,097, and for the candidates of the Conservatives 1,124,923 votes in all were polled.

The complete returns of the election for the German reichstag show that *all* the political parties increased their number of votes. The Centrum (Clerical party) has an increase of 398,900 votes. The National Liberals have an increase of 245,981; the Social-Democrats 240,238, the Conservatives 210,654, and the Independent Liberals 200,860.

The government will now have a majority for its colonial schemes. Perhaps it will play the Liberals and the Centrum against each other, and thus probably, in the end, it will fall between two stools. But all this is conjecture.

The main thing is that the Social-Democracy, although it has lost a number of seats, has lost neither its numerical force nor its authority. It has gained in both.

Victor L. Berqu.

Now Socialism has become a bogey man in Congress. They are setting it up in straw and then knocking it down! On Jan. 16 Congressman Shepard made a long speech filled with railings at the Socialists and Social-Democracy. He could not tell the truth about us. He did not dare to. But he told no new lie.

One of the toughest knots in his tirade was this: "The happiest and purest government is the impersonal government of law (the police government, he doubtless means!), of law *before which all citizens stand as independent equals*, NOT AS SERVANTS AND EMPLOYES."

The italics and capitals are ours. Shepard is evidently one of the old politicians with which this country has been overrun these many decades, who say loftily things they know are not true, yet which when delivered positively fool the gudgeons—but there are *not* so many gudgeons as there were at one time! On another page we give some contrasts from the law as it is handed out to the "servants and employes" of America, and also as it is handed out *on a gold platter* to the members of the master class who are part of the class in control of both government and law. We are a little tired of your mere police government, Mr. Congressman Shepard. We are tired of allowing a class to own the government and use it as a mere police power to keep the common folks in check and prevent them from revolting against the awful plundering which is put upon them. And it is a mighty good sign that you are beginning to spew at us from the halls of congress. It shows that we are now so big and formidable that you dare not treat us longer with the "conspiracy of silence." Much obleeged, much obleeged!

Shots at Capitalism.

By FREDERIC HEATH.

What is the worst day? Chancellor Day, of course!

Six more years of Bailey! Yet why not? He is as fit to sit in the American House of Lords and Scoundrels as most of the others.

The vast wealth of the United States is not a drop in the bucket to what it will be, the newspapers tell us. And the working class will have the growing pains and the capitalists the wealth!

Wasn't it funny to hear Rockefeller talking to that Bible class about the beauty of the sunshine and the flowers and the fragrant atmosphere just at the time the government was declaring him to be the prize bandit of modern capitalism, and his methods an abomination in the sight of men!

The Milwaukee *Sentinel* wants a whipping post established for wife deserters. Suppose you try it first on those other products of the capitalist system, the captains of industry, under whose regime wife deserters are becoming more and more numerous by reason of the higher cost of maintaining families!

The new pure food law seems to be doing some good anyway. A Milwaukee grocer has taken down the placard on a tub of "strawberry preserves" and replaced it with another bearing these words: "Genuine Imitation of Glucose Strawberry Compound." It is a good

thing to have these "genuine" imitations" correctly labelled.

The agent of the Associated Charities of Milwaukee says that from his experience an old age pension is badly needed. Only he wants the pension fund made up by charity instead of by the state. It is hard to get over that feeling that the care of the dispossessed must be a thing for the philanthropic glorification of their despoilers.

Everybody's magazine in its pictorial enumeration of the dangerous employments of labor as a means of illuminating the annual blood bill of American industry, leaves out one of the most horrible deaths of all. We refer to the death by smothering in the giant heaps of coal on the various coal docks in the distributing cities. The number of such fatalities is very large, considering how extensively labor has been displaced by machinery on those docks. The victim, once upon the "quicksand" of such a coal heap, only sinks down the faster the more he struggles in his panic, and then the black dust closes in over him and his efforts to breathe draw into his lungs the cutting and smothering dust that finally ends his horrible struggles. It is a more frightful death than that of the men who lose their balance and fall into the great vats of white hot metal in the Pittsburgh furnaces, for it is more lingering. Labor not only pays the blood bill of our boasted American industry, but it has to pay it in the most horrible ways.

Carnegie says poverty is a blessing, and it has also been said that it is more blessed to give than to receive. Andy has handed out a good deal of poverty to the work slaves in his employ and probably feels, it was a *blessed* thing to do.

How would this do for a good sample of capitalistic fustian: The new senator from the state of—— was once a mere boy, therefore no boy need despair of a chance to rise. That's about as logical as a good many of these wierd stories about "great" men who have become great in spite of the fact that they were employed as most boys are employed during their youth.

Here's a funny one. It is reported that the son of Kaiser William of Germany recently began to show signs of interest in the Social-Democratic movement, and to betray great admiration for Bebel, the great Social-Democratic leader. He tried to associate himself with a Socialist publication in Berlin, and then his dad got after him hot-foot and he will be sent to this country to get his attention distracted to other subjects.

John R. Walsh, proprietor of the *Chicago Chronicle*, the most virulent of ultra-capitalistic opponents of Socialism, has just been indicted by a grand jury as a high grade thief, in connection with the looting of a bank which he got control of. Still we do not expect that other capitalistic papers round the country will cease reprinting the *Chronicle's* mendacious lies about Socialism simply because of this little unpleasant difficulty of Walsh's.

Prof. Lombroso, the Italian criminologist, says of American millionaires, "The ordinary million-

aire is destitute of moral sense, kindness or justice. He will borrow money from a banker and use it to ruin the lender. The insatiable thirst for money renders him absolutely unscrupulous. The successful money getter does not hesitate to ruin ten or twelve of his friends or break his wife's heart. Sometimes only an infinitesimal line divides the millionaire from the thief."

The president of the Milwaukee Foundrymen says the "open" shop is "founded on Christian principles." Is it so very Christian for a compactly organized band of masters to insist that their employes shall each stand before them naked and alone in bargaining for the sale of their labor power! This setting up a blasphemous religious claim by men who are able under the workings of the capitalist system to live and wax fat on the unrequited toil of the working class reminds us of a parallel offense well hit off by Macauley when he said that patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel.

The truth is stranger than fiction, we are told. Just now a new method has been invented, whereby sheet-like blocks of porcelain for building purposes can be turned out. This means that the future homes may be of china! Glass blocks are also quite likely to be used. What utopian writer could have dreamed of such a thing! In fact some of the "wonders" of the Socialistic era dreamed of by Bellamy in his "Looking Backward" have already come to pass, and all these things are piling up the possibilities for ample living for the coming supremacy of the people who toil with hand and brain.

"Every man ought to be willing to pay for what he gets. He ought to desire to give full value for value received," says a well known American. Yes, but that is not the principle underlying the capitalist system, which is entrenched behind capitalist law and capitalist government in this country. Nearly every Sunday school talk to young people advises them to save up something from their earnings and *invest* it, so as to get an *increase*. Investing to get an increase is trying to get more than you give, isn't it?

"Who is to blame for Rockefeller's wealth? Who is to blame for Carnegie's wealth? Who is to blame for the swollen fortunes of all the multimillionaires? The government. The way out is not by confiscation by a progressive income tax, but by legislation making it impossible for men to attain to the position that those men occupy." So said the Rev. Hodgins of a Milwaukee Unitarian church before the Sunset Club's symposium on "Swollen Fortunes", in Milwaukee last week. The sentiment of the minister is typical of a certain type of citizens. They have no visible objections to the capitalist class riding round on the backs of the working class, they are not after any law to shut that species of cannibalism off, but they want the law invoked to prevent the capitalist class *from itself being ridden*.

Chop suey joints and wine rooms are alleged to have ruined so many young girls in Toledo that a crusade is to be made against them. A 14-year old girl was taken from one of the chop suey joints in a state of beastly intoxication. Such dens exist because there is money in the traffic, and there is money in it, because capitalism demoralizes

people down to such standards. The social system is like the human body, when its condition is soon reflected in ulcers and boils, and both the system and the boils need expert attention. Such joints as they are fighting in Toledo are the boils and ulcers that denote a bad state of social health. So long as the capitalist system rules mankind these social boils and ulcers cannot be exterminated in society. They may be individually suppressed in an effort to prevent them from contaminating those other than their habitues, but are sure to return in some form or other.

A lecturer in Milwaukee the other night said:

"Above all things, let me urge you mothers not to allow your children to play at war with tin soldiers and toy cannon. They can be amused just as easily in other ways. Why should you permit the boy whom you hope will become a fine and gentle man to pretend that he is killing people and to cut whole platoons of infantry at one volley? Do not, I beg of you, let the children mimic this ghastly business of violent death."

This is sound advice, but it is contrary to the teachings of our public schools, in which this sort of thing under the guise of patriotism is constantly inculcated, from an empty flag worship to military hero worship. And if you will take the pains to notice reading for the young, especially for boys, is now almost wholly confined to glorification of the murder-in-gross, called war. Go to your public library and see the poison of this sort that is given out in the boy's books. It is a fine food with which to follow up the previous miseducation of our boys via the Sunday funny papers, and it is about time to call a halt.

How Social-Democracy Grows in Germany!

(Republished from the "Literary Digest.")

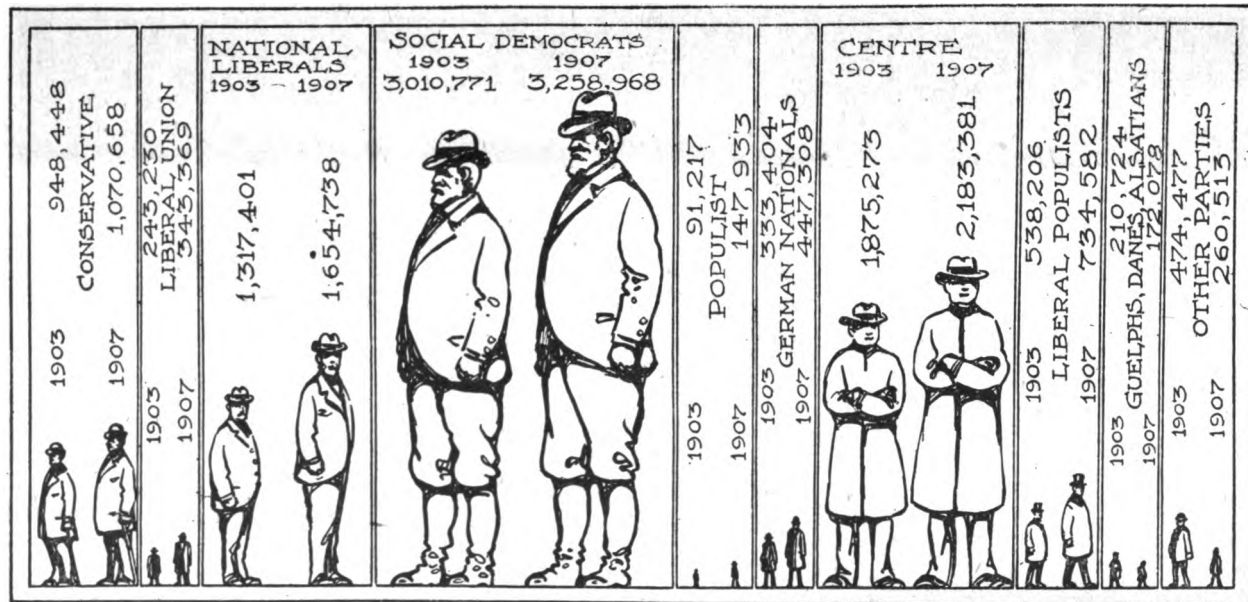


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIVE NUMBER OF VOTES CAST BY THE VARIOUS PARTIES FOR THE REICHSTAG ELECTIONS IN 1903 AND 1907.

By the Government's limitation of representation from the cities, the Socialists, despite their increased vote, suffer a large reduction in strength in the Reichstag.