Human Rights

versus

Property Interests

"Read, not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find, talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider." — Bacon.

Compiled by a Workingman

F. A. DEAN

108½ South High Street, Columbus, Ohio

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HUMAN RIGHTS

versus

Property Interests

(The World's Debate)

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by

F. A. DEAN

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Yours Fraternally,
F. A. Dean
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I am greatly indebted to and can therefore recommend the student to the following literature (books):

And other books mentioned in the booklet (Periodicals).
“Milwaukee Herald,” Brisbaine Hall, Milwaukee, Wis.
“Columbus Socialist,” 108½ S. High Street, Columbus, O.
THE RETAINERS OF INDUSTRIAL PLUTOCRACY.

The stress of industrial conditions has forced the long neglected economic phase of human existence upon the attention of society. As a result, there is raging throughout the civilized world today an open debate on Human Rights versus Property Interests.

The most highly cultivated selfish interests are involved. Hence those that take part in this debate assume a very great responsibility. All who have spoken or written therein have not been mindful of this fact, consequently we find the alignment due to mutual misunderstanding rather than to any studied difference of opinion.

Dense ignorance relative to the present system of economics prevails throughout society, throughout all of its classes, the learned and the unlearned, those who are exploited by this system and those that are privileged to employ it to do the exploiting.

Nor is this at all surprising when we reflect that the present system of education all but excludes Sociology, Political Economy, and kindred studies to coach the pupils through long comprehensive studies of the dead languages, ancient history, and studies of a like nature. It does not detract from the value of these latter studies to point out the fact that as a result of this practice the student of today, knows more about societies that now lie buried beneath the sands of the desert than he does of the one he is soon to enter and battle for life, liberty and happiness.
There is no good reason why this should be the case unless the fact that the present system of production and distribution of wealth will not bear investigation may be so considered. Be that as it may, future generations will point to our tacitly accepted definition of property rights and the system of production and distribution of wealth which results from it as evidence of our barbarism. They may also cite the public instructors' writings and utterances on industrial troubles as evidence either of their gross stupidity in matters pertaining to social economy or of their criminal subserviency to the dominant class of society.

The implied contract of the minister, teacher and writer with society requires that they instruct the public irrespective of class ethics. But it so happens that they invariably reflect the industrial ethics of the dominant class. Beyond doubt they draw their inspiration from the same source from which they draw their salaries.

At a "New York Press Club" banquet, in response to the toast—"The Independent Press"—a well known journalist said:

There is no such thing in America as an independent press. You know it and I know it. There is not one of you who dare to write your honest opinions, and if you did you know beforehand it would never appear in print.

I am paid $150 a week for keeping my honest opinion out of the paper I am connected with—others of you are paid similar salaries for similar things—and any of you who would be so foolish as to write honest opinions would be out on the streets looking for another job.

If I allowed my honest opinions to appear in one issue of my paper, before twenty-four hours my occupation would be gone.

The business of the journalist is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon, and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread.

You know this and I know it, and what folly is this to be toasting an "Independent Press."

We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are the jumping jacks, they pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are all the property of other men. WE ARE INTELLECTUAL PROSTITUTES.—John Swinton.
But for lack of conclusive proof to the contrary it is assumed that by far the greatest number of the public instructors who voice the ethics of the privileged class do so through mistaken policy, due to "right reasoning from wrong principles." For example: The Whitebread educational bill was introduced in the English Parliament in 1807. The eminent clergyman and educator, Dr. Andrew Bell, who favored the passage of this bill in deprecation of the arguments of those who opposed,—said:

It is not proposed that children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, or even taught to write and cipher. * * * There is a risk of elevating, by an indiscriminate education, the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labor above their condition, and thereby rendering them discontented and unhappy in their lot.

A lot (mark you) with which their ignorance had much to do, a condition from which "knowledge the incline plane of tyranny and lever of liberty" alone could free them. Those who prevented the passage of this bill were consistent tyrants. They believed that, "a little learning is a dangerous thing!" Charles Dickens in speaking of this "counterfeit of wisdom," said:

When I hear such cruel absurdities gravely reiterated, I do sometimes begin to doubt whether the parrots of society are not more pernicious to its interests than its birds of prey.

Be that as it may these "comfortable comforters of the comfortless" now as heretofore exercise a repressive influence on the exploited masses favorable to the exploiting class. Their sins of omission in this regard are every bit as great as are those of commission. But we will here confine ourselves to the consideration of a few of those of commission.
They counsel the masses to remain patient with "their lot" and dignify this bovine patience with the title "Christian Fortitude." They preach the "Golden Rule" and "Brotherhood of Man" in religion; and teach that a competitive struggle between man and man is fitting, proper and right in industry; seeming ignorant of the fact that an all but complete private monopoly of raw material and public utilities has put a period to competition everywhere unless the sordid struggle for jobs in the labor market may be so termed. They deny the existence of cases in the United States, and above the din of the extolled competitive struggle between capitalists and laborers are heard proclaiming: "Capital and labor a community of interests." Capital and labor when vested in the same individual is a community of interest. But there is an irreconcilable difference between the private monopolist of the means of subsistence with his unearned increment in the shape of rent, interest and profit and the exploited laborer with less than he produced in the form of wages.

It has been said that "Caesar neither vexed nor oppressed mankind, but was the support of those who did." That is precisely the indictment brought against those who teach the above contradictions. Whatever may be the motive for these teachings, they have served as a narcotic to the masses while power has been stolen from the many by the few. The labors of the public instructors in this respect have been so effective in the past that it may truthfully be said that society has suffered reform despite, rather than achieved it through them. In this age notable for rapid changes of front upon the economic plane conditions change faster than these much overestimated gentlemen can change their minds. For learning when not backed by wisdom readily becomes dogmatic, which is generally mistaken for conservatism. Hence about the time that the molders of public opinion get one set of undigested ideas dogmatically fixed in their mind along comes an economic tidal wave that changes all save their preconceived opinions.
The masses, however, attend the cruel school of experience and although the tuition fees are high it has repaid them for they have grown wiser than their instructors. A spirit of social discontent and righteous indignation prevails throughout the world, and if the conservators of the existing disorder will but lay ear to the ground they would hear the rumblings of a social quake that presages the coming of a great change. The Socialists are the heralds of that change. They have come to banish the world's long cherished industrial illusions and place the pseudo science of politico economics on a scientific basis.

The teachers of Plutocracy's code of ethics at first treated them with silent contempt. But when their teachings could no longer be ignored they forced the Socialists to run the gauntlet of vilification and slander. Agitators, demagogues, factionists, atheists, anarchists, paternalists, rank materialists, idealistic dreamers and -1vocators of free love were a few of the contradictory terms, lacking in the spirit of Christian charity, which were employed to build a wall of prejudice between the public and the Socialists.

If the history of the past is a criterion it is safe to assume when men are so accused that they have something to say worth listening to. And if the Socialists are what their opponents say they are, all that is necessary to most effectually dispose of them is to freely permit them to talk themselves and their cause to death. Besides the Socialists have become too eminently respectable even from conventional and orthodox view points to be disposed of in this summary manner. Leslie M. Shaw, former Secretary of the U. S. Treasury says:

Socialism is being taught on every hand and I am alarmed by the general trend of things in this connection. At our Chautauquas the lecturers are all preaching the doctrine of Socialism. Teachers of Sociology in our schools, colleges and universities are doing the same thing. With a few exceptions they are Socialists, as you can find by a few moments conversation with them. Our public libraries are full of Socialist literature. Even the pulpit reflects Socialistic doctrines.
The personnel of the Socialist party is precisely like that of any other political party. Therein is found Christians and Atheists, Jews and Gentiles, comparative saints and relative sinners, advocates of free love and fathers of happy families, rank materialists and idealistic dreamers, the learned and the unlearned, rich and poor, old and young, fat and lean, black and white, long and short; in fact the worst that can possibly be said of them is that they were recently either Democrats or Republicans. While there is but one brand of Socialism there are many types of Socialists.

After all the question is not who the Socialists are, but is the definition of property rights on which these many types of men agree, right and just.

But since the question, "Who are the Socialists?" assumes such grave importance in the minds of some we will relieve the dreary waste of prose with a poem from the pen of Ella Wheeler Wilcox that will shed light on this question:

Who is a Socialist? It is the man
Who strives to formulate or aid a plan
To better earth's condition. It is he
Who having ears to hear and eyes to see,
Is neither deaf nor blind when might, rough-shod,
Treads down the privileges and rights which God
Means for all men; the privilege to toil,
To breathe pure air, to till the fertile soil—
The right to live, to love, to woo, to wed
And earn for hungry mouths their need of bread.
The Socialist is he who claims no more
Than his own share from generous Nature's store;
But that he asks, and asks, too, that no other
Shall claim the share of any weaker brother,
And brand him beggar in his own domain.
To glut a mad inordinate lust for gain
The Socialist is one who holds the best
Of all God's gifts is toil; the second, rest.
He asks that all men learn the sweets of labor,
And that no idler fatten on his neighbor.
That all men be allowed their share leisure,
Nor thousands slave that one may seek his pleasure.
Who, on the Golden Rule shall dare insist.
Behold in him the modern Socialist.
In speaking of the Socialists from the philosophic viewpoint Rufus W. Weeks said:

These men are unsparing analysts, and inexorable forecasters; they have sounded the depths of the self-unconscious proletarian mind, and they have announced what the will of the working class it to be, as fast as it comes to its sense of itself. Of course there are critics aplenty in the cultured classes who handle the conclusions of this group with all shades of condemnation and contempt; but these critics are themselves of many and shifting schools, and amidst them all what alone remains unchanged is the terrible certitude of the Socialists. * * * They alone feel they know the future; none of their critics dare speak with any confidence of an alternative outlook.

These critics separate the text from the context of Socialist writings; they confound Socialism with communism, and by such means construct a dummy, label it "Socialism" and bowl it over. This is a very simple process but it does not dispose of Socialism as you may have noticed.

While private capitalism has many defenders, it has no defense. The Socialists have repeatedly thrown down the gauntlet to their critics, who as steadfastly refuse to cross intellectual rapiers with the Socialists in the arena of debate, the while overlooking no opportunity to urge objections against what they assume Socialism to be. But they are invariably hoisted on their own petard. For private capitalism is guilty of the very conditions its advocates say Socialism would beget as a glance at the following statistics will prove.

These statistics were gleaned from the U. S. census and other capitalistic sources. They erred on the side of conservatism many years ago when compiled they err still more in the same direction now you may rest assured.
Economic Condition of United States.

Its area in acres almost .................. 2,000,000,000
Its population by families (of less than 5 individuals to the family) .................. 16,000,000
Its acres per family .......................... 120
Its aggregate wealth (estimated in money) .................. $110,000,000,000
Its population, estimated at less than ........ 95,000,000
Its wealth, per capita $1,200 per family ....... $5,000

Despite these favorable auspices Rev. Chas. Wagner in his book, "The Simple Life," could truthfully write:

If our forefathers had been told that one day humanity would have at its disposal all the engines of which it is today possessed to maintain and defend its material existence, they would have concluded, first, that there would be an augmentation of independence and, in consequence, happiness; and, in the second place, a sensible decrease in the competition for the necessities of life. It would even have been permitted them to think that the simplification of existence, resulting from these perfected means of action, would bring the realization of higher morality. Nothing of all this has come to pass. Neither happiness, social peace, nor power for good increased.

Robert Hunter substantiates this in summarizing his justly celebrated book, "Poverty," in the following estimates:

There are probably in fairly prosperous years no less than 10,000,000 persons in poverty; that is to say, underfed, underclothed, and poorly housed. Of these about 4,000,000 persons are public paupers. Over 2,000,000 workingmen are unemployed from four to six months in the year. About 500,000 male immigrants arrive yearly and seek work in the very districts where unemployment is greatest. Nearly half of the families in the country are propertyless. Over 1,700,000 little children are forced to become wage-earners when they should still be in school. About 5,000,000 women find it necessary to work and about 2,000,000 are employed in factories, mills, etc. Probably no less than 1,000,000 workers are injured or killed each year while doing their work, and about 10,000,000 of the persons now living will, if the present ratio is kept up, die of the preventable disease, tuberculosis. We know that many workmen are overworked and underpaid. We know in a general way that unnecessary disease is far too prevalent. We know some of the insanitary evils of tenements and factories; we know of the neglect of the street child, the aged, the infirm, the crippled.
"Free Lust"—A Condition Enforced by Private Capitalism.

Insanity, suicide and crime of every description is increasing many times faster than the increase in population might naturally warrant.

From census bulletin 96 Department of Commerce and Labor we learn that at the present rate of increase the proportion of divorces to marriages will soon be as 1 to 12. The divorce rate is three times greater than forty years ago. There are about 70,000 divorces granted annually. There were over 7,000,000 unmarried men in the United States according to the census of 1900. They remain single for the economic reason that they can scarcely support themselves and therefore are not FREE TO LOVE and marry. What follows. Why! 50,000 prostitutes in New York City alone and a proportionate number in all other cities of the country. Statistics dealing with race suicide, the white slave traffic and infidelity of the marriage relationship must, for obvious reasons, remain very incomplete. But enough is known and admitted to justify the above headline. What's the matter? Simply this: The struggle for existence has become so intense that people either do not marry at all or else without love marry for a living, a home, for wealth or place. And marriage without love is a sacrilege not a sacrament. The Socialists do not object to the institution of marriage, but to the unfavorable economic condition under which that contract is to be carried out.

State of Employment in the United States.
1903.

Employed all the time .................. 50.19 per cent
Employed part of the time .................. 49.81 per cent

—Page 42, 18th Annual Labor Report.

1889 (census of 1890) .................. 15.1 per cent unemployed
1899 (census of 1900) .................. 22.3 per cent unemployed
1903 (18th Labor Report) .................. 49.81 per cent unemployed

Distraction of the Home by Private Capitalism.

Homes owned free—4,761,212.
Homes mortgaged—2,196,375.
Homes rented—8,866,788.
From the Twentieth United States census, Vol. 2, page 183.

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Rented</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Mortgaged</th>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>13.4</td>
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It is now estimated that 80 per cent of families do not own the houses they call home.

Concentration of Wealth.

In 1850 half of the families of this country owned over half of the nation's wealth. Today 90 per cent of the nation's wealth is owned by 10 per cent of its families. There is an oligarchy of the ten men who hold the destiny of this nation in their purse.

Can it be that the gifts of the Creator may be thus misappropriated with impunity? Is it a light thing that labor should be robbed of its earnings while greed rolls in wealth—that the many should want while the few are surfeited? Turn to history, and on every page may be read the lesson that such wrong never goes unpunished; that Nemesis that follows injustice never falters nor sleeps! Look around today. Can this state of things continue? May we even say, "After us the deluge!" Nay; the pillars of the state are trembling even now, and the very foundations of society begin to quiver with pent-up forces that glow underneath. The struggle that must either revivify, or convulse in ruin, is near at hand, if it be not already begun.—Progress and Poverty, by Henry George.

James Cardinal Gibbons, in the Metropolitan Magazine of January 1910, wrote: "There is something radically wrong in our social and economic conditions when the employer becomes suddenly rich while the toiler with the utmost thrift and economy can scarcely keep the wolf from the door."

And Pope Leo XIII, on May 15, 1891, said: "But all agree, and there can be no question whatever that some remedy must be found, and quickly
found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor."

The Socialists' license for existence lies in the fact that they are the only school of thinkers in the world that even claim to know what something radically wrong in our social system is and to have quickly found the remedy. Therefore what they have to say is at least worthy of serious consideration.

Why is it that those who toil the most have the least, while those who work the least have the most?

The Socialists say that the problem is not one of production, but is a question of distribution. They assert that the absurdly unequal distribution of wealth is not due to the natural inequality of men but to a social maladjustment at the very basis of the social compact, or to be more explicit, in society's tacitly accepted definition of property rights.

They claim the private ownership of productive property, i.e. raw material and public utilities is the mistake of society and the disease of nations. For what has been said of this nation is true of them all. With their divers forms of government, political policies, educational systems and forms of religion they manifest the same symptoms of disease. They have but one thing in common, the profit system.

This fundamental injustice often repeated has given history its tendency to repeat itself. It clove society into masters and slaves in ancient times, it separated society into landlords and tenant slaves in the medeval period and it now divides society into industrial barons and wage slaves. Which shall be master and which slave is left for blind fortune and unreasoning chance to decide.

Mankind is subject to hunger and cold. The Architect of the Universe, knowing this and deeming the opposition of nature amply sufficient to develop man, decreed that the door of nature's well
stocked storehouse shall be opened to him who knocks thereon.

But the nations of the past and present wrought otherwise, simply by neglecting to make any distinction in the matter of owning productive property and the product thereof.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.—There ensued a struggle between man and man for private possession of productive as well as personal property. The essential requisite to survive in this so-called competition is neither mental nor physical fitness which nature desires to reward; do you but arrive at manhood's estate at that period of the nation's life when its natural resources are yet open to private appropriation. This is the tide in the affairs of men, which, if you are present to take at the flood, will lead on to fortune. If not present you perforce must struggle for existence on such terms as he who holds a legal claim to the means which you must use may dictate. This is now known as the class struggle. It has raged in human society, in some form or other since the dawn of recorded history. It manifests itself today as follows: The dividing line between mass and class is less frequently crossed until finally the economic status of the nation becomes fixed; society is cloven into a class possessing productive property on the one hand and the masses dispossessed of it on the other.

WAGE SLAVERY.—Human slavery has not been eradicated from the world, it has simply been found more practicable to own the tools and materials which the toiler must use in order to secure a living, and for the use of these, take toll from the product of his labor, leaving him the remainder (called wages) with which to support himself, than it is to own him take the full product of his toil and personally assume the risk and responsibility of his support.
For as John Adams in the Congress of 1776 observed:

That as to this matter, it was of no consequence by what name you called your people, whether by that of free men or of slaves. That in some countries the laboring poor men were called freemen; in others they were called slaves; but the difference was imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm, gives them annually as much as will buy the necessaries of life, or gives them those necessaries at short hand?—From the “Lost Principles of Sectional Equilibrium,” by “Barbarossa,” 1860, p. 39.

THE PROFIT SYSTEM.—These are the underlying principles of private capitalism. Of this system Rufus W. Weeks, actuary and second vice president of the New York Life Insurance Company said:

As a machine for abstracting from the worker the largest possible share of his product—mainly in insensible ways—it is a marvel of ingenuity and effectiveness, while, on the other hand, looked at with regard to its economic function, its contribution to human welfare, its only true reason for existence—which is the production of the largest possible volume of useful commodities and the distribution of these commodities as widely and as evenly as possible—it is a rude and clumsy machine.

This system is founded on the idea that capital is the source of wages. This absurd conception is just as universally accepted today as the theory that the sun moved about the earth—was yesterday.

There are those among the old school of political economists who of late admit that labor is the source of capital, that the capitalist does not pluck money from the atmosphere as legerdemain artists appear to do. But they urge that the capitalist does perform a useful service for society, that of directorship and superintendency of industry.

The Socialists agree that insofar as he actually does perform this necessary labor, he is just as much entitled to the full social value of his labor as any other useful worker. But they point out the fact that the capitalist instead of having the
title deeds to raw material and utilities made out in the name of society for whom he professedly performs this service, proceeds to effect a private monopoly by having the deeds drawn up in his own name. As a result he can and does exploit his fellow laborers to the full extent, all he can get, which is usually more than he can use.

According to census bulletin No. 150 the average laborer produces $2451 of which he receives $437 or about one-sixth of what he produced. It is not necessary to the argument to specify what per cent of the difference between $2451 and $437 is legitimate expense and what is not, so long as unearned increment is hoarded behind bolts and bars while those who produced it are pursued through life by the twin blood hounds Hunger and Cold.

THE INEVITABLE CRISIS.—This indirect and wasteful lack of system functions thus: The employer’s power to employ is determined by his power to realize profit from the labor of those whom he employs; and the employees’ ability to consume is limited by the wages they receive. As their wages are not the equivalent of that which they produce there come times when they have produced more than their wages will permit them to consume.

This surplus product represents the unearned increment of the employer. He now has either to disgorge his ill-gotten gains or bring the wheels of industry to a standstill until he can convert the surplus product into cash on a stagnant market.

This process is one of rendering the rich, wealthy, and the poor, poverty-stricken. At this period the savings of the middle class are blotted out with as much indifference as a school boy would evince in erasing a sum from his slate. According to Dun and Bradstreet 97 per cent of the business men fail. They are caught between the upper and nether millstones of our industrial society and are by friction reduced to the ranks of labor.
PROLETARIAT.—While the marketing of the surplus product goes forward, the wage-earners who produced it stand before the closed gates of opportunity with nothing to show for their toil but torn and empty hands, face to face with starvation in the midst of plenty.

"Modern life," Mr. John Hobson has said, "has no more tragical figure than the gaunt, hungry laborer wandering about the crowded centers of industry and wealth, begging in vain for permission to share in that industry, and to contribute to that wealth; asking in return, not the comforts and luxuries of civilized life, but the rough food and shelter for himself and family which would be practically secured to him in the rudest form of savage society."

Robert Hunter, the renowned humanitarian, wrote:

Without the security which comes only with the ownership of property, without a home from which they may not be evicted, without any assurance of regular employment, without tools with which they may employ themselves, they are pathetically dependent upon their physical efficiency—their health and strength, and upon the activity of machinery, owned by others, and worked or left idle, as the owners consider it wise or profitable. * * *

In this community of workers several thousand human beings were struggling fiercely against want. Day after day, year after year, they toiled with marvelous persistency and perseverance. Obnoxious as the simile is, they worked from dawn until nightfall, or from sunset until dawn, like galley slaves, under the sting of want and under the whip of hunger. On cold, rainy mornings, at the dusk of dawn, I have been awakened two hours before my rising time by the monotonous clatter of hobnailed boots on the plank sidewalks, as the procession to the factory passed under my window. Heavy, brooding men, tired, anxious women, thinly dressed, unkempt little girls, and frail, joyless little lads, passed along half awake, not one uttering a word as they hurried to the great factory. From all indications thousands were entering the various gates—children of every nation of Europe. Hundreds of others—obviously a hungrier, poorer lot than those entering the gates; some were most ragged and almost shoeless, but all with eager faces, waited in front of a closed gate until finally a great red-bearded man came out and selected twenty-three of the strongest, best-looking of the men. For these the gates were opened, and the others, with downcast eyes, marched off to seek employment elsewhere, or to sit at home, or in a saloon, or in a lodging house, until the following morning, when they came wistfully again to some factory gate. In this community, the saddest in which I have ever
lived, fully fifty thousand men, women and children were all the time either in poverty or on the verge of poverty. It would not be possible to describe how they worked and starved and ached to rise out of it. They broke their health down; the men acquired in this particular trade a painful and disabling rheumatism, and consumption was very common. The girls and boys followed in the paths of their parents. The wages were so low that the men alone often could not support their families, and mothers with babies toiled in order to add to the income. They gave up all thought of joyful living, probably in the hope that by tremendous exertion they could overcome their poverty; but they gained while at work only enough to keep their bodies alive. Theirs was a sort of a treadmill existence, with no prospect of anything else in life but more treadmill. When they were not given work in the mill they starved; and when they grew desperate they came to my office and asked for charity.

This extract is taken from an article printed in the Atlanta, Ga., Constitution:

The negro in slavery had no thought for the morrow, but he spent this quiet, humble life in his little cabin, with his master to care for every want of self and family. He lived under the best hygienic restraint. His habits of life were regular, food and clothing substantial and sufficient, and the edict of his master kept him in doors at night and restrained him from promiscuous indulgence and the baneful influence of the liquor saloon. In sickness he was promptly and properly cared for by physician and nurse.

Fred D. Warren in commenting on this, wrote:

I do not know what may be the object of Southern journals in raking up this kind of stuff, unless it is to taunt the black man with what he has lost. Surely no master would advocate a return to chattel slavery after a half-century of prosperity under the wages system. The slave might desire a change to the good old days before the war, but the master—never.

“What is a man to do, who is out of work, in a financial crisis and starving?” was asked of President Taft.

“God knows. They have my deepest sympathy if they can not get work. It is awful when a man is willing to work and is put in this position,” was his feeble, faltering and only reply.

The Socialists alone know the answer to this riddle of private capitalism. Involuntary unemployment is directly due to the private ownership of
machinery. A machine is a labor-saving device but the private owner of the machine finds that it serves his interests best to treat it as a wage-saving contrivance. This he does by installing the machine and throwing men out of employment by the hundreds and by the thousands, and when necessary filling their places with women and children.

This not only accounts for the great army of the unemployed, but also for the changed industrial relationship between the sexes, incidentally for the unmarried, the white slave traffic, and broken marriage contracts, for the factory reared girl is unable to fulfill her mission as wife and mother and the men whom she displaced are unable to provide a home for her.

The private ownership of the means of production is an artificial barrier interposed between population and the as yet untouched limits of nature's power to sustain life. It is the profit system that has changed our garden of Eden into a "Vail of Tears."

Let us now consider the machine with regard to its origin and use with a view of finding a remedy. On investigation we find that this auxiliary to mental and physical effort is but the evolutionary growth of the gnarled club of primitive man. He who first struck fire and conserved the flame is as intimately related to the most complicated mechanism of united inventive genius as the greatest inventor of today. The machine then is social in its origin.

A modern Robinson Cruso stranded on a desert island with the most costly mechanism of today would gladly exchange it for a fishhook. The gnarled club has become too unwieldy for one man to employ it so society now uses it. The machine then is social in its use. That Tom, Dick or Harry is now permitted to own it is due to society's laxity and not to its design.

It is the mission of the Socialists to correct this social maladjustment.
Concrete Socialism.

The Socialists agree with the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbot, or rather the Rev. Dr. agreed with them when he said:

Socialism is inevitable. Our industries must be democratized; if a few men are to own and control all our domestic necessities, whence goes our republic? The labor problem can never be solved so long as one set of men own the tools, (machinery) and another set use them. When all those connected with industry become together owners and users, then will come the harmony and union which have been so long striven for.

According to our national statistics and the evidences of our senses the present industrial structure is tottering to a fall through the sheer weight of its own injustice. Sooner or later society will be obliged to take its means of production and distribution of wealth, and democratically do for self-preservation that which it now permits vast joint stock companies to do arbitrarily—for profit.

Of the many factors at work literally kicking unthinking humanity into the heritage which time has prepared for it none are so potent as the extensive use of Machinery. This has brought about co-operation in the matter of production by transferring the labor of production from the individual in the home, to the many in the factory.

It is the economic mission of the Socialists to arrange for the transition from the present system to one in conformity with this industrial evolution. Their task is like that of replacing an old railroad bridge by a new, the new bridge built and ready, but the trains continuing to cross the old on schedule to a certain moment of a certain day, when the new is slipped into place, the old drawn away, and the trains run on without stop or delay.

Society should jointly own and democratically administer the tools and materials which the people must use co-operatively; and the individual having free and equal access to the tools and raw materials should receive the full social value of the
product of his toil, say the Socialists. For they believe in giving to the individual the things which in their nature and use are private property, and to society the things which in their nature and use are public property. The difference between public and private property is that existing between raw material and finished product, unless the finished product is a public utility, in which case that also should be classed as public property.

Therefore, the public should first take measures to own the government and dictate the policy of the nation by exercising the right of Initiative and Referendum on public questions. They should also be able to carry out their wishes. Having secured these rights it now becomes advisable and possible for society to collectively own and democratically operate railroads, telegraph, telephone, freight and express services as it now does the mail service.

Oil and gas wells, mines, mills and factories should also be owned by society. All land in excess of that which the present owner and his family can themselves occupy and use will revert back to society.

The municipalities should own, control and operate street railways, light plants, waterworks and all places of public amusement, as they now do the police and fire departments for these are equally of municipal and public utility.

Under the co-operative commonwealth any function of government which cannot be made self-supporting will be sustained by those that can be made more than self-supporting. Hence taxes will be collected from those who use the powers of government in proportion as they use them; and there is no other just or equitable system of taxation.

In the industrial commonwealth government will be a function of industry and not industry a function of government as is the case today. The industries will be democratized. The laborers will elect their officials and dictate their industrial policy precisely as the stockholders of a corporation now do. They
will in all probability select those who now really operate the industries without owning them; but they will then be called upon to operate them in the interest of all the people, and not as now in the interest of a coupon-clipping parasitic class.

When the aristocracy of labor has replaced that of capital, laboring men will not be seen with their hats in their hands petitioning an industrial baron for permission to earn his daily bread. They can select a congenial and useful occupation and receive all or the equivalent of all they produce—minus their share of the capital required to operate the industry. For capital is necessary but the private capitalist with his rent, interest and profit is not necessary, as the publicly owned and capitalized public schools, mail service, police and fire departments bear ample witness. Although located in an environment reeking with business graft and political corruption they are at once models of efficiency and examples of Socialism. And it would be impossible for a votary of private capitalism to state a principle upon which these inconsistencies of the existing system now flourish that should not forthwith be extended to all public utilities.

Mobility of labor will be secured, and prices (incomes) adjusted with infallible justice through the automatic operation of nature's law of supply and demand—under Socialism.

The sordid struggle for existence between man and man will be abolished by a definition of property rights that will vest capital and labor in one class, a co-operative producing class, producer and consumer become one and the same. This touch of justice makes the whole world kin; there is good will among men consequently there is peace on earth. Panics, strikes, lockouts, boycotts, blacklists, injunctions, wars for markets and the largest per cent of crime of a social nature become unnecessary and impossible.

Human nature will not be changed, but the social maladjustment which creates an environment giving men a very inhuman nature will be.
In the industrial commonwealth he who does no useful labor neither shall he eat. This will furnish all with an irresistible incentive to find some useful employment and go to work. The individual will give to society of his brain or brawn an equivalent for the wealth he takes from it.

Money will not be permitted to enter the competition and reproduce itself through rent, interest, profit and similar means now employed to reap in fields by others sown. Mankind will produce for use and not to hoard. The comparatively poor we will have with us always but the industrious, but with all needy, poor we shall not always have with us, for in accordance with the teaching of the Prophet Isaiah, "they shall build houses, and inhabit them; they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them; they shall not build and another inhabit, they shall not plant and another eat" in the industrial brotherhood of man.

But some who have been carefully coached so to assume here raise the objection that Socialism is no remedy for it has been tried under favorable circumstances and found wanting.

Socialism has never been tried under any circumstances. Those who assume that it has, simply confound Socialism with communism. Communism has been tried under favorable circumstances,—notable in the monastaries during medieval times—and not found wanting. It has also been tried under unfavorable conditions,—notably by the Owenites in England, and the Fourierists in France,—and found wanting.

John W. Work in his book, "What's So and What Isn't," explains one reason for this confusion:

One reason why it has been confused with communism is because the history of language is again partially to blame. Half a century ago that which is now called Socialism was called communism. That is the reason Marx and Engels called their manifesto "The Communist Manifesto." If they had written it in recent years they would have called it "The Socialist Manifesto." That which was then called communism changed its name to Socialism, and the word communism took on an entirely different meaning. Such changes of meaning
are frequent as well as confusing. For example, to borrow an illustration, Thomas Jefferson was a member of the Republican party. But the Republican party afterward changed its name to Democratic party and it had no connection whatever with the Republican party which was born just before the civil war. In a similar manner, that which was once called communism changed its name to Socialism, while the word communism came to mean something altogether different.

Most of the honest objections to Socialism arise from confusing it with communism. There are but three conceivable systems of economics. Each is based on a distinct definition of property rights. These, when ranged side by side should go far toward showing the fundamental difference of one from the others and thus disabuse the mind of error in this connection.

Private capitalism practices the private ownership of both productive property, (i. e. raw material and public utilities) as well as the product thereof. Need intensified to want by the class struggle is its active principle. Communism practiced the public ownership of both productive property and the product thereof. Paternalistic authority was the animating principle. All members of the community were required to perform an assigned labor, and were requited equally regardless of the quantity and quality of the individual’s labor. Communism is a hair-splitting effort to achieve an absolute equality at the expense of individuality. And the Socialists will have none of it.

They take a conservative position as between private capitalism on the one hand and public communism on the other by advocating the public ownership of productive property, (i. e. raw materials and public utilities) and the private possession by the individual of all that he by his labor power produces.

In fact Socialism means society opposed to the individual solely in the matter of owning productive property in excess of that which he can occupy and use himself. For property in excess of this is now held by the private owner to exploit
his fellowmen. The Socialists would correct just that. And in so doing they do not seek an equal distribution of wealth, but an equal distribution of opportunity.

Under Socialism mankind will co-operate with one another against resisting nature, and compete with one another for superiority, excellence and pre-eminence. The meritorious will be rewarded in accordance with nature's law of the survival of the fittest. But the test of fitness will then be physical, mental and moral worthiness and not the possession of productive property. The day is almost over when mankind will tolerate an aristocracy on any other basis.

Study the following
Diagrams
Carefully.
You can thereby learn more about Socialism than by extensive reading on that subject.
Socialism.

1. Concrete.

1. A definition of property rights
or
2. System of economics.

1. Society should own, control and democratically administer productive property.
2. The individual should receive the full social value of the product of his toil.

1. Co-operate with one another against resisting nature; and
2. Compete with one another for superiority, prominence and excellence.

1. Philosophy of Social Life
or
2. System of Sociology.

1. Science, the placing of the so-called science of political economy on a scientific basis by banishing the world's long cherished industrial illusions.
2. Government—The application of the initiative, referendum and recall to industry as well as to civil government.
3. Religion—Reduction of religious precepts to industrial practice.

Abstract Socialism is founded on Concrete Socialism and permits of a great deal of latitude to individual opinion; while Concrete Socialism does not and is the special concern of the working class.
Definition of Property Rights

1. Society's Natural Resources in Raw Material
   Now arbitrarily administered by private owners.


1. Air.
2. Water.
3. Land.
4. Timber.
5. Minerals.
6. Coal.
7. Gas.
8. Oil.

2. Now arbitrarily administered by private owners.
   This is the only class of property to which the term "capital" can properly be applied.

3. Now arbitrarily distributed by private owners.

The Finished Product in Commodities.

1. Food.
2. Fuel.
3. Clothing.
4. Shelter.
5. Luxuries.

1. Machinery.
2. Highways.
3. Waterways.
4. Steam roads.
5. Electric railways.
6. Telephone.
7. Telegraph.
8. Mail.
9. The medium of exchange, money.
Wealth accrues to the owner of this class of property in rent, an unearned increment due to a private monopoly of a public necessity.

Wealth accrues to the owners of this class of property in interest, speculative value added to the real value of a public need.

Rent and interest lose their identity as such and are finally collected as profit from the sale of commodities at a price in excess of the cost (wages) it took to produce them and is called surplus value.

This class of property rightfully is invaluable for it is of inestimable worth to the human race.

For the private monopoly that now exists substitute a public monopoly by the power of the ballot.

This class of property is of great value to Society, but is of no true worth to isolated individuals. Let existing society pay a royalty to the inventor (60 per cent of whom now die in want) for their high order of social service, and hold this property for the generations that are to be.

This class of property has exchange value automatically adjusted by the law of demand and supply. With rent, interest and profit eliminated the individual receives the full social value of the product of his toil. Then producer and consumer, capital and labor become vested in the same individual as should be the case.
Political Democracy vs. Industrial Plutocracy.

That there is nothing in a name is particularly true of those of governments. Nominally there are many forms of government, but in reality there are but two distinct kinds. First, a Plutocracy or a government of a class, and second, a Democracy or a government of the masses.

There never has been nor there never will be a pure example of the latter form of government so long as society is cloven into a class possessing productive property on the one hand and the masses dispossessed of it on the other. For in time the personal interests of the former class become so intertwined with the fiber of government as to render class legislation an inevitable and disastrous consequence.

It is this state of affairs that has given our Ship of State its market list Plutocraticward. One hundred years ago Charles Fourier prophesied that "vast joint-stock companies, destined to monopolize and control all branches of industry, commerce, and finance, would establish an industrial or commercial feudalism that would control society by the power of capital, as did the old baronial or military feudalism by the power of the sword" and "by the monopoly of the land."

That prophesy has been fulfilled to the very letter.

"There are ten men in the city of New York," said Senator Depew, "who can in twenty-four hours stop every wheel on all the railways, close every factory, lock every switch on every telegraph line, shut down every coal mine and iron mine in the United States."
The Issues.

SHALL THE PEOPLE RULE?—Under such a condition the people cannot rule, neither do they rule.

"It is possible, with dollars to 'steer' the selection of the candidates of both the great political parties for the highest office in our republic, that of President of the United States." T. W. Lawson, millionaire, in Everybody's Magazine.

"We have arranged 'the platform and candidates for both parties and are willing that the voters should take their choice." Jas. Buel, Secy. Nat. Bankers' Ass'n.

It is quite evident from this that the "sovereign" (?) people do not rule. Both of the old parties believe in government for the people but not by the people. It is not too much to assume that four men out of every five in the United States have been in favor of exercising the right of Initiative and Referendum on public questions and the Recall on public officials for malfeasance in office, as the people in some of the progressive countries of the old world now do. And although they are the basic principles of the Democratic form of government, the old political parties in our misrepresentative form of government will not willingly give the sovereign people an opportunity to express themselves on these and like questions, having a tendency to curb the power of political parties. The politician wishes to continue to draft political platforms, or say what the people's vote shall effect; and the industrial barons desire to predetermine how the people's vote shall affect issues by granting or withholding prosperity. "These trafficers in their country's welfare" will indeed lose their individuality under Socialism as they so greatly fear; but the history of human progress is the chronicle of just such losses of individuality.
SHALL THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS, OR SHALL THE TRUSTS OWN THE NATION?—The Democratic party said: "Down with the trusts!" The Socialist party says, that the trusts are the logical end of the competitive system of economics. They are an evolutionary growth and relieved of their feature of private ownership would be an unmixed blessing to society because they end competition, or business anarchy.

The Republican party at first said: "There are no trusts." Later they practically admitted this to be untrue by stating that "the laws on the statute books were amply sufficient to regulate the trusts." Ex-President Roosevelt went into the executive lumber room where this law had reposed while the trusts grew from infancy to maturity, and securing this legislative mechanism he set it to work in a strenuous campaign of bluff and bluster against predatory wealth. The meshes of the law were like spiders' web, the weak were caught while the strong broke through. The industrial bucanneers in retaliation handed the sovereign people—a panic with as much ease as you could hand a companion a cigar.

Moral: The government that is to do the regulating belongs to those who are to be regulated. The trusts regulate the politician. And we could at this time go into particulars and personalities, which are matters of current history, but our quarrel is not with men but with maladjustments which unmake men.
THE TARIFF.—The tariff has been an issue ever since the formation of our government. Campaign after campaign have the old parties lashed the sovereign people round and round this miserable expedient of private capitalism.

The Democratic party simply split hairs with their Republican opponents relative to the size of the schedule.

The Republican party says, "that a high tariff rate will protect American products and incidentally American laborers from foreign competition." But although they have had every opportunity to do so they steadfastly refuse to pass or enforce laws restricting the foreign laborer from coming over here and directly competing with the American laborer for his job.

This policy is dictated by the industrial barons, they wish to maintain the aristocracy of capital by having an overplus of laborers in the labor market. When the laborers of one nationality have become assertive for their rights, they are replaced by the representatives of another nation, lower in the scale of civilization, more needy, and consequently more docile. As a result of this policy one can today trace the successive waves of national immigration in the great centers of industry.

Leslie M. Shaw, former Secretary of the United States Treasury, in an address to the students of Chicago University on March 1, 1907, said:

"The factories are multiplying faster than our trade, and we will shortly have a surplus, with no one abroad to buy, and with no one at home to absorb it, because the laborer has not been paid enough to buy back what he created." * * * "What will happen then? Why, these men will be turned out of the factories. Thousands of them,—hundreds of thousands. They will find themselves without food. Then will come the great danger to the country, for these men will be hard to deal with."

"The last century was the worst in the world's history for wars. I look to see this century bring out the greatest conflict ever waged in the world. It will be a war for markets, and all the nations of the world will be in the fight as they are all after the same markets for the surplus of their factories."
Now my laboring friend you produced this surplus. Are you going to shoulder a gun and go in search of a market for it, or are you going to join your fellow laborers in the Socialist party, and vote to absorb your share of it?

The Socialist party says, give to the laborer the whole product of his toil. Then as his ability to consume is regulated only by his power to produce it stands to reason that we will no longer have to seek foreign markets at the expense of foreign laborers by tariff wars or pitched battles on the tented field.

WAR.—In speaking of wars, reminds us that the Socialists are holding the "dogs of war" in leash. They are erecting an effective international peace tribunal in the minds of those who are always called upon to stop the bullets. They are telling them to stop them before they leave the gun. Warfare is the modern method of disposing of the surplus wage slaves, no idealistic cloak can any longer conceal this truth from the Socialist. But the Bible says, "there shall be wars and rumors of wars." Yes. We have had the wars, let us for the future strive to confine the world to just rumors of wars. The Socialists are the real followers of the Prince of Peace.

There are those, particularly among them who say: there are no classes in the United States who urge that the Socialists are preaching class hatred. "The Socialists are not preaching class hatred, but hatred of classes." To so define property rights as to make of industry the point of contact and friction between a class possessing productive property and the masses dispossessed of it is to create a hot-bed for class hatred. It at once becomes the all-absorbing function of political state to stand by with all the repressive forces at its command, army, navy, judiciary, to give to private capitalism the sanction of even a temporary success. Hence the guns of the military are trained on striking laborers for they are out of order with the existing system which places the interest of money above the rights of men. If you like this system abide by it, if not, then vote to change it.
Historic Utterances of the Preachers of Class Hatred.

"The public be damned! I'm not running this road for the benefit of the public. I'm running it for my own benefit."—Cornelius Vanderbilt of the New York Central Railway.

"The damned fools don't know what is good for them."—J. Pierpont Morgan, speaking of the striking steel workers in September, 1901.

"The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His Infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country."—George M. Baer, mine owner, during the coal strike of 1902.

"I see no solution for the problem until hunger compels capitulation."—Charles L. Eidlitz, president of New York Building Trades Employers' Association, during the lockout in July, 1903.

"To hell with the constitution."—Major McClelland, commanding the state militia (paid by the mine owners association) during the Colorado miners' strike and lockout of 1904.

"Habeas Corpus be damned! We'll give them post-mortem instead."—Adjutant General Sherman Bell of the Colorado militia, defying the orders of the civil courts.

"What's the constitution between friends?"—Timothy Campbell of Tammany Hall.

"I'm working for my own pocket all the time."—Richard Croker of Tammany Hall, under whose regime Schmittberger became a power in the police.

"Men who object to what they style 'government by injunction' are in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors who lived in caves, fought one another with stone-headed axes and ate the mammoth and wooly rhinoceros. They are not in sympathy with men of good minds and good civic morality."—Theodore Roosevelt.

"God knows, I don't."—William H. Taft, at Cooper Union, February, 1908, when asked, "What is a man to do in a financial panic who is out of work and who is starving?"

"Strike! They (the American workingmen) have no jobs now. We do not want to take up work again now. So what can they do? They will have to submit or starve."—J. Pierpont Morgan, February, 1908.

"The club is mightier than the constitution."—Inspector Schmittberger of the New York police force in the police riot in Union square on March 28, 1908.—New York Socialist.
Anarchy.

The general public have been carefully taught to assume that "the Socialists seek to create a bloody revolution, and a reign of terror by agitation." That they are in a word Anarchists.

The condition needful to formulate a revolution is a fundamental injustice perpetuated beyond the point of human endurance. If they who suffer from this injustice are ignorant of a remedy for it, their blind protestations take the form of a reign of terror. Where these conditions are lacking nothing is disturbed by the agitator but the atmosphere in his immediate vicinity.

The Socialists are teaching (agitating) the remedy for the existing injustice. They do this for the express purpose of avoiding a reign of terror, for well do they know that a tyrant would take occasion to thrive therein and give the present system a new lease on life.

It has been the curse of all reform movements to be associated in the public mind with anarchy. The early Christians, the votaries of Democracy, free public schools and advocates of all other measures which society has since adopted to its great advantage had to pass through this phase of existence. And now the Socialists must run the gauntlet of vilification and slander.

The Socialists are well aware of the fact that the bomb of the anarchist has a far more disastrous effect on proposed reform measures than it could possibly have on existing institutions.

The time was, and not so long ago, when the masses had to have recourse to violence in order to establish all the privileges and rights which they now enjoy as a matter of course. But now they can and should resort to the ballot as a more potent, as well as proper means to employ, in order to redress their grievances.

Anarchy is a word meaning lawlessness. Anarchy is abroad in the land. We will now consider the lawless activity of a class of men in comparison
with whom the political lunatics who throw bombs or otherwise resort to violence are total failures as anarchists.

"Talk about Anarchy!" exclaimed ex-Mayor Swift in an address before the Commercial Club of Chicago. "Talk about breeding the spirit of lawlessness. Who does it more than your representative men? Your high-toned 'business men,' your prominent citizens?

"Who bribe the common council? It is not the men in the common walks of life, it is the men in your own walks of life, sitting by your firesides at your clubs."

This class of citizens corrupt law at its very fountain head. They "influence" legislation in their own personal interests when they can. If they fail here they seek to purchase favorable judicial interpretation of the law; failing in this they strive to buy executive immunity from the law. And the way of these transgressors would have been hard had they not been so successful.

What Demosthenes said of the ancient Republic of Greece concerning bribery applies with equal force to our own beloved land: "But now, opportunity, principles, private honor and the public good are exposed to sale as in a market, and in exchange we have that pernicious laxity which is destroying the safety, the very vitals of our country. Let a man receive a bribe, he is envied; let him confess it, he provokes laughter; let him be convicted, he is pardoned! His very accusation only awakens resentment, so thoroughly is public sentiment corrupted. Richer, more powerful, better prepared, than ever before, we lose all our advantages through these traffickers in their country's welfare."

The old political parties resort to many subterfuges to retain the wavering loyalty of the electorate. Some years ago these demagogues told the voters that publicity was the panacea for society's ailments.

The so-called "muckrakers" taking the politicians at their word proceeded to demonstrate that graft reigned supreme in the business world with political
corruption as an able consort in municipal, state and national governments.

Those who recommended publicity as the remedy for this were the first to cry: Hold! Enough! For the "muckraker" bade fair to pave the way to the real remedy by the indiscriminate completeness of his brand of publicity.

"But," you ask, "Won't the Socialist party also become corrupt in time?" Yes, if the Socialist party was striving to continue the present system, it would also become rotten. But the Socialist party is organized to establish the co-operative commonwealth. When that has been accomplished, the party, as such, will cease to exist, because all legislation and management of industries will be by a direct vote of the people through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

"Every Socialist party in the world is conducted by the initiative and referendum and has been for years, in fact Socialism could not be maintained without it. It is the cornerstone and the means by which the people can at all times rule. It will absolutely prevent graft, bribery and treason.

The "Initiative" means that, say, five or ten per cent of the people can at any time, initiate (start—prepare), a law and submit it to the vote of the people. By the "Referendum" is meant that any law or act passed by any legislative body must be submitted to a vote of the people before it becomes a law, providing five or ten per cent. of the people so demand. The "Recall" means that any legislative or public officer from the highest to the lowest may be recalled and his office declared vacant at any time the people deem it necessary.

Let us see if this method would really stop bribery and public corruption. If you were elected to congress and had pledged yourself to introduce a bill prohibiting children under ten years of age from working in factories, would you fail to do so if you knew the people had the right to introduce such a bill themselves and also had the right to recall you at once and elect another in your place? Would you vote for any law which would be against the people and favorable to corporate greed? And if you should, the people, by means of the referendum, could vote to kill any law of this kind inside of 30 to 90 days.

No one would bribe you because you could not deliver "the goods" if the people wished to prevent it.

In this case your "human nature" remains the same—has not been changed, but the people through the initiative and the referendum have removed all opportunity to graft at public expense.

Isn't it plain to see why the old parties are all opposed to the "Initiative and Referendum?" Isn't it plain that graft, corruption and bribery will continue so long as it is left to the individual to do as he pleases and not give the people power to curb him.
By means of the initiative and referendum the people could vote direct on prohibition, woman suffrage, income-tax, ship-subsidy, postal savings banks, old age pensions, or for any measure they saw fit and not be compelled to wait, often in vain, for a hostile legislative body. The initiative and referendum, as law, would compel the legislature, to do as requested. Seldom would it be necessary for the people to take matters in their own hands.

In all states and nations where the initiative and referendum have been adopted bribery and legislative corruption are practically unknown.—From Men and Mules, by W. F. Ries, Toledo, O.

TAX SCHEMES.—The Democratic and Republican henchmen of the plutocratic class leave nothing undone to politically sidetrack the proletarian host. It is probable that the income, inheritance and corporation taxes will next be offered as the "cure all." They have two qualities that will recommend them to the practical (?) politician; first, they will not affect the vested interests, who simply shift the burden to other shoulders; second, they may serve to arouse the irrational enthusiasm of the voters that overlook the fact that it is not how much wealth a man has got, but the manner in which he gets it that needs correction.

REMEDIAL LEGISLATION.—The old political parties and especially the insurgent element in them, continually lure the voter on with the promise of remedial legislation.

Here, in this country, where organized labor has not yet learned to use its political arm, we see their officials, Samuel Gompers and others with their hats in their hands in vain petitioning hostile legislators for the passage of a few of the most mild and conservative measures favorable to labor. While in countries of the old world where organized labor has joined the Socialist party, all of these measures and many more favorable to labor have long since been enacted into law.

Moral: The increasing Socialist vote is the dynamic force behind all progressive movements and measures.

Take your cue from this, join your fellow laborers in the Socialist party, support it and its prin-
ciples—remedial legislation will follow as a result for the powers that be will then see the hand writing on the wall and it immediately becomes their policy to correct some of the injustice of today with the hope that they will not have to correct all.

In this hope they are doomed to disappointment for the present industrial structure is founded on a fundamental injustice of which they are the beneficiaries and no amount of underpinning can save it from destruction.

In his speech before the Boston Merchants' Association President Taft said:

“If the abuses of monopoly and discrimination can not be restrained; if the concentration of power made possible by such abuses continues and increases, and it is made manifest that under the system of individualism and private property the tyranny and oppression of an oligarchy of wealth cannot be avoided, then Socialism will triumph.”

The triumph of Socialism is inevitable. You might as well seek to sweep back the tides of the ocean with a broom as to prevent it. “You may make the change tedious; you may make it violent; you may—God in his mercy forbid! You may make it bloody, but avert it you cannot.”

**Lincoln’s Prophecy.**

“I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me, and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people, until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of our country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my forebodings may be groundless. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit to raise a warning voice against the approach of a returning despotism.”
The following clipping is taken from the Des Moines Globe:

"Now is a good time for America to do away with the old obsolete constitution and adopt a form of government that will be logical with our new expansion ideas and will give ample protection to capital. A constitutional monarchy is probably the most desirable plan that we could adopt. Everything is ripe for the change. We have a large army, and it can be increased on almost any pretext without causing alarm to the masses. This country has been so prosperous that the voters have lost that spirit of patriotism and honesty that is necessary to the successful operation of republics. The strong hand of the army will have to be used to bring the masses to a full sense of their proper behavior and place in society."

The great political battle between the retainers of private capitalism and the advocates of Socialism as foretold by Mark Hanna is now on. Worker, in which rank are you going to take your stand?

POLITICAL PARTIES COMPARED.—From this brief resume of current history dealing with the positions taken by the great political parties on the issues, we learn that the Democratic and Republican crews that have manned our Ship of State since it put to sea ignore the fundamental cause which has given the vessel its marked list Plutocraticward. They would place as many steps as possible between each reform measure, and save as many brands from the burning for their capitalistic masters, as possible. They take up an entrenched position dogmatically resolving to stand pat, but are soon forced to evacuate it, and fall back on some other expedient in their ostentatious, but unavailing efforts to correct the evil manifestations of private capitalism.

These old parties serve the interests of the privileged class with equal fidelity. And between them the rights of the laboring masses dangle in the intricacies of the law as a fish caught in the meshes of a net. Both old parties believe in government for the people, but not by the people. They have become dogmatic in faith and corrupt in practice. They have reduced politics to a science of fraud and
deception, and they depend for further success upon the prejudice engendered in past campaigns and the proneness of the public to forget.

Between these myrmidons of the Plutocratic class there is no real difference. There is this distinction, however, the Republican party advocates and practices private capitalism consistently, hence it is successful. The Democratic party advocates private capitalism the while attempting to serve the interests of a passing middle class, hence it is the scape goat of modern politics. Heretofore it was the policy of the powers that be to have it weather out in office, the inevitable panics of private capitalism, but now they are much concerned to keep life in it, for a third party, the uncompromising Socialist has entered the political lists.

Of this party the late German historian, Momson, said: "Today this is the only great party which has a claim to political respect." It is in existence to give the wrongs of labor an adequate understanding and a universal tongue.

The Socialists have long since ceased to discuss such questions as whether the laborers of this country are as grossly robbed as are those of other lands? And whether the laborers of this nation receive one-eighth of all they produce or all but one-eighth? These enlightened laborers now realize that they create their own wages; their masters' profit and the fees and salaries of a vast retinue of retainers, many of whom while indispensable to the industrial barons in their social position, are worse than uselessly employed insofar as the society which ultimately requires them for their efforts is concerned.
Abraham Lincoln blazed the political trail for laboring humanity when he said:

"In the early days of our race the Almighty said to the first of mankind, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' and since then, if we except the light and air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without first having cost labor. And inasmuch as most good things have been produced by labor, it follows that all such things belong of right to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored and others have without labor enjoyed a large portion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any government."

Continuing he said: "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they grow weary of the existing system they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it."

Laboring humanity should act on Lincoln's suggestions and make use of their right of suffrage to redress their grievance. This is for them the only proper and potent means to employ. At the ballot box and there alone do they meet their masters on advantageous ground.—They have ten votes to the master's one.

Therefore follow Lincoln's blazed trail, join your fellow laborers in the Socialist party and vote as you strike, in the interest of labor. The Socialists with Lincoln protest against dividing up any moiety of the fruits of their labor with the parasites who claim a right to hold title deeds to productive property. For this so-called right, is society's wrong.—They who own such property, own the job and the man on the job. Stripped of all the fine garnature of rhetoric with which the apologists of this condition have clothed it we see revealed—loss of individuality, SLAVERY. The Socialists contend for the principle that as life, liberty and happiness are inalienable, productive property as the means thereof must be equally inalienable to the individual members of the human race. And they are rapidly
transferring the world's debate from the soap box on the street corners to the parliaments of men.

Table giving some idea of the growth of international Socialist party.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>First recorded year</th>
<th>Vote</th>
<th>Latest recorded year</th>
<th>Vote</th>
<th>Socialists in national Soci'rs, leg'lat'rs, j'rn'ls.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>1 in 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>334,500</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>87 in 878</td>
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<td>280,000</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>2,867</td>
<td>30 in 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>0 in 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>280,000</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>76,612</td>
<td>24 in 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
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<td>30,000</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1,120,000</td>
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</tr>
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<td>30,000</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>4,251,005</td>
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<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
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<td>55,000</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>42,196</td>
<td>55 in 670</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
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<td>1904</td>
<td>159,743</td>
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<td>1904</td>
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<td>1906</td>
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<td>1893</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>24,744</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servia</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>280,000</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>24 in 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>26,083</td>
<td>15 in 230</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1890</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>64,384</td>
<td>2 in 167</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1895</td>
<td>2,064</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>442,402</td>
<td>1 in 386</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Totals                   | 582,379 | 10,006,591 | 531 in 5748 | 648 |

At the last presidential election out of every 31 men voting in the United States one voted for Socialism.

At the coming presidential election out of every 16 men voting, at least one and probably two will vote for Socialism.

So you see it's not the far-off dream you may have thought it was.
THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM

Adopted in National Convention in Session at
Indianapolis, May 17th, 1912

The Socialist Party of the United States declares that the capital system has outgrown its historical function and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of a plutocracy which exacts an annual tribute of millions of dollars from the producers. Unafraid of any organized resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines, the forests and the water powers of every state in the Union.

In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry, which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wage-workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from state to state awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rent, freight rates and storage charges.

Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage workers. The overwhelming majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.
Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils of life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.

In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representatives of the Republican, Democratic and all reform parties remain the faithful servants of the oppressors. Measures designed to secure to the wage-earners of this nation as humane and just treatment as is already enjoyed by the wage-earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate, and laws ostensibly designed to bring relief to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulative measures, none of which has limited in any appreciable degree the power of the plutocracy, and some of which have been perverted into means for increasing that power. Anti-trust laws, railroad restrictions and regulations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation, have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any Republican or Democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike under the administrations of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave power before the civil war.

We declare, therefore, that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them all. We declare them to be the product of the present system in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare, furthermore, that for these evils there will be and can be no remedy and no substantial relief except through Socialism, under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which, the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

The capitalist class, though few in number, absolutely controls the government—legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning—the colleges and schools—and even religious and moral agen-
ties. It has also the added prestige which established cus-
toms give to any order of society, right or wrong.

The working class, which includes all those who are
forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in
shop, mine or on the soil, vastly outnumbers the capitalist
class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this
class is unable to enforce its will. Given such class solidarity
and effective organization, the workers will have the power
to make all laws and control of industry in their own interest.

All political parties are the expression of economic and
class interests. All other parties than the Socialist party
represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class.
Their political conflicts reflect merely superficial rivalries be-
tween competing capitalist groups. However, they result,
these conflicts have no issue of real value to the workers.
Whether the Democrats or Republicans win politically, it is
the capitalist class that is victorious economically.

The Socialist party is the political expression of the
economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their
defeats and its victories their victories. It is a party founded
on the science and laws of social development. It proposes
that, since all social necessities today are socially produced,
the means of their production and distribution shall be socially
owned and democratically controlled.

In the face of the economic and political aggressions of
the capitalist class, the only reliance left the workers is that
of their economic organizations and their political power. By
the intelligent and class conscious use of these they may re-
sist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage
slavery, and fit themselves for the future society, which is to
displace the capitalist system. The Socialist party appreciates
the full significance of class organization and urges the wage-
earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers
everywhere to organize for economic and political action, and
we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields as
well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation
in their struggles for economic justice.

In the defeat or victory of the working class party in
this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of
the common people of all economic groups, as well as the
failure or the triumph of popular government. Thus the
Socialist party is the party of the present-day revolution,
which marks the transition from economic individualism to
Socialism, from wage slavery to free co-operation, from capi-
talist oligarchy to industrial democracy.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class
in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the co-
operative commonwealth, and, to increase its power of resist-
ance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge
ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

1. The collective ownership and democratic management
of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, ex-
press services, steamboat lines and all other social means of
transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.

3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:
   (a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.
   (b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.
   (c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.
   (d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.
   (e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and, in cases where such ownership is impracticable the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation.

6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a work-day of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

1. By shortening the work-day in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.
2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.
4. By forbidding the employment of children under 16 years of age.
5. By the co-operative organization of industries in federal penitentiaries and workshops for the benefit of convicts and their dependents.
6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.
7. By abolishing the profit system in government work.
and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.

8. By establishing minimum wage scales.

9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old-age pensions, a general system of insurance by the state of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

3. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.

4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

5. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.

6. The abolition of the senate and of the veto power of the president.

7. The election of the president and the vice president by direct vote of the people.

8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.

9. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in a majority of the states.

10. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia, with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affair.

11. The extension of the democratic government to all United States territory.

12. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for education in useful pursuits. The bureau of education to be made a department.

13. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health with such restrictions as will secure full liberty for all schools of practice.
14. The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

15. Abolition of all federal district courts and the United States circuit courts of appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

16. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

17. The free administration of justice.

18. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.
Economic Determinism vs. Religious Ideals.

"Recently two consecrated ministers were talking with me about Socialism. One was the pastor of a large Methodist church, the other a noted Evangelist. They admitted the truth of the terrible arraignment of present social conditions as uttered by Socialists—millions of child slaves coining their little bodies, brains and souls into bloody dollars to make rich men richer; millions of women, with no hope of home joys, forced to choose between slow starvation and shame because of their low wages; more than ten millions of men, women and children in America forced to abject want through lack of chance to earn an honest living at fair wages; over thirty millions of our people in addition living from hand to mouth in the unceasing, exhausting, and soul-racking struggle for existence; many millions more living in comparative plenty, but forced daily into 'the battle of life' where all is 'fair' because love of family spurs to relentless activity, when the war of commercial interest crushes out manhood beneath the ruthless hoofs of greed, and where even the 'captains' hold their places by conscienceless intrigue against each other—a nation writhing in the misery of want, slavery, prostitution, theft, tyranny and murder."

"But," they said, "you cannot save society from these horrors until you have changed human nature. The Christian religion alone can do that. You must get the individuals converted to Christ then society will be saved."

"How long have you been at this task?" I asked.

Pausing a moment, with a new light suddenly breaking on his face, the pastor said: "Nearly 2,000 years."

"What part of the world's population nominally accepts Christ?" said I.

"Less than one-third," he answered sadly.

"What proportion of the people nominally Christian belong to the church?" asked I again.

"Not more than half," he admitted with deepening gloom.

"What portion of church members are really consecrated to Christ and striving to advance His Kingdom?" was my last piercing question.

With tears in his eyes, he answered: "Not one in ten."

"What a disheartening record must the Christian face; after more than 1900 years of Christian effort, not more than one person in sixty of the present generation has been truly converted to Christ by the method of individual salvation. 'At this rate,' said I after we had summed up the estimate, 'how long will it take to save the world.'"

When this question reached their hearts, both ministers hung their heads and confessed that the prospect was utterly discouraging.—Rev. E. E. Carr in Christian Socialist.
Why is it that mankind find it so difficult to regulate their lives by a code of morals which ages ago they accepted as true? Is it the fault of the seed, the "sowers of seed," or they who harvest the crop?

The Socialists say that it is not necessarily the fault of any one, or all of these factors. They affirm that the soil harrowed by the competitive struggle between man and man for existence, in which the sowers sow the seed and from which the gleaners gather the crop—is to blame.

They reason thus: The social maladjustment which pits man against man in a struggle for existence has aroused to pernicious activity a law known to Socialists as that of economic determinism, and by others unconsciously admitted in such expressions as "self-preservation is the first law of nature."

As the struggle for existence between man and man becomes more intense under this social maladjustment (the private possession of productive property) ideals are being more and more overborne by this very material cause. And this, despite the material prosperity of churches, and the many auxiliary forces they have now to aid them, such as general education and the coercive powers of government.

It has been noted that morality like the sea has its tides. In new countries where opportunities for securing a living are plentiful the standard of morality is correspondingly high. But as time goes on and the private monopoly of these opportunities become more and more complete there is a corresponding ebb in the tide of morality.

We have an ever decreasing minority who are vulgarly rich, and a constantly increasing majority who are in dire poverty. Both are abnormal conditions and manifest this in abnormal actions, crimes. That the criminal element of society is recruited from the upper and nether classes of society is a fact well known to criminology and court annals.
Samuel Johnson’s estimate of Cardinal Wolsey in his exalted position, when slightly altered to suit the occasion applies to the upper class in theirs:

In full-blown dignity see the barons stand,
Law in their voice and fortune in their hands;
To them the church, the state, their powers consign,
Through them the rays of God’s bounty shine;
Turned by their nod the stream of honor flows,
Their smile alone security bestows;
Still to new heighths their restless wishes tower;
Claim leads to claim, and power advances power;
Till conquest unresisted cease to please
And rights subverted leave them none to seize.

Some years ago one of the prominent members of our industrial aristocracy in speaking of their position in society, in effect said: “We are by Divine right trustees of God for the distribution of His providence.” This remarkable dictum was treated with a most uncanonical levity at the time. It was pointed out that in this event the Almighty was less fortunate in the selection of his trustees than an Andrew Carnegie for instance would permit himself to be in selecting departmental foremen to do his bidding.

Some ministers preach this as a doctrinal truth. They are either culpably ignorant of facts in the case, or else are mercenary hypocrites who borrow the livery of heaven to perpetuate an injustice, but in either event they take the name of God in vain, in every sense of that word vain.

As a matter of fact the Providence of God and the product of labor does actually filter through these men’s fingers to all beneath them industrially. But a social maladjustment and not the Almighty is responsible for this.

Now who are these men who occupy this, the most important of all positions for either social weal or woe. They needs must be demigods to discharge this function as it should be done, say some. They needs must be demons to have discharged as they have done, say others.
But they are neither. They are human beings and very ordinary ones at that. This is clearly indicated by their desire to amass wealth. This is the most lowly and commonplace of all human aspirations. It wells from a very low spring in human nature, and is rarely, if ever found in men of real transcendent powers.

This class is a moral disruptive force and not an industrial creative one as is believed by those who mistake their success for merit and legality for justice. This is due to their position in society as owners of productive property, and not to any abnormal depravity inherent in them. They are as much to be pitied and as little blamed for their condition as are their natural corrolaries and social antipodes, the poverty stricken. They occupy positions that are to be filled under the present social maladjustment, and they might as well occupy those places as any other group of individuals. Despite revelations to the contrary, we are more favored in our so-called “captains of industry” than we can reasonably hope to again be under the present system. For while these men did not create the industries they did at least grow up with them; their heirs were reared in an entirely different atmosphere and will simply inherit them.

The upper class are to be acquitted of both forethought and malice in that which follows, for they are not responsible for their position in society, and are mentally obtuse as to that position. Otherwise they would be as much surprised as enriched by the volume of money which flows into their coffers. We will pass by the question, whether they are capable of giving to society services equivalent for the wealth which they take from it, to consider one which embraces and overshadows all others. Do they attempt to do so? To begin with they delegate the actual operation and management of the industries to subordinates with the single injunction,—Secure profits, dividends. A few years ago during the mock trial of the Standard Oil Co. John D. Rockefeller, (the impersonation of private capitalism), finally permitted himself to be haled
into court and there under oath testified that he
had not been in his office for the past ten years.
He did none of the work, dirty or otherwise.

These men are privileged to hold more prod-
cutive property than they can occupy, much less use.
This they translate into negotiable stocks and bonds
and fired with the spirit which animates the gambler,
they “sit in” at the game, high finance, bulling and
bearing the market by disarranging nature’s law of
supply and demand. By this and similar means,
always unjust, but not necessarily illegal, they sap
the money, the industrial life blood of the nation.
Money, every dollar of which must be baptized in
the sweat of some one’s honest toil. Money which
they can no more honestly spend than they have
justly acquired, for having gratified every legiti-
mate desire they turn to the bizarre and criminal
for diversion of their surfeited senses.

They acquired their wealth by exploiting the
workers and not through the practice of industry and
economy. To prove this truth we will follow the
example of the enterprising Socialist who took the
Carpenter of Nazareth as the industrious and frugal
workman for his demonstration. Christ was born
1912 years ago. Assume that he began to labor
for hire at 12 years of age as some 2,000,000 chil-
dren in this country now do according to Senator
Beveridge. Assume further that he received $2.00
per day, of which being frugal, he manages to save
$1.50 per day. Being industrious he probably as-
sisted in the erection of St. Peter’s Cathedral at
Rome, he might have crossed the trackless ocean
with Columbus to the discovery of a new world,
likely he would now be digging down on the Pan-
ama Canal. And were he to count his frugal sav-
ings tonight he would find that he lacked $145,000
of being once a millionaire.

Society never has awarded its premiums to its
men of genius, talent and social worth such as
Christ, Marx, Mozart, Michel Angelo, Shakespeare,
Columbus and Edison. Men of this type invariably
die in poverty and often in absolute want. Society
has been and now is so maladjusted as to pay its
heavy dividends to those who defy God's fiat and scheme and plan by business chicanery to live in the sweat of other's toil. "Verily it is more difficult for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven than it is for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle."

Robert Hunter in a previous section has told us of the manner in which the lower class are being offered as human sacrifice to Mammon the god of modern industry. They in their necessity know but one law, that of self-preservation, and the inordinate lust for gain on the part of the upper class acknowledges no law. In this relentless struggle the competitive pace is set by the least scrupulous competitor. Hence the "Golden Rule," do unto others as you would have others do unto you, becomes perverted into the "Rule of Gold," do others before they do you. In fact this becomes the eleventh commandment and men break all others to obey this one. Hold! much pertaining to the third is observed by the money changers, with whom religion is a matter of policy. They sit well up toward the front of the temple and from the "swag" in their possession contribute to the support of church and pastor. Not money, but the manner of its distribution is the root of all evil.

The manner of distributing depends on the economic system in vogue. And economic systems are based upon definitions of property rights, therefore capitalism, the private ownership of productive property, (i.e. raw material and public utilities) with the sordid profit seeking struggle which it enforces, together with an unjust distribution "is perhaps the most powerful of all known solvents of ethical standards." And the eloquence of ministers does not nor cannot prevail against it. All the good that has come to the human race while struggling under it has accrued to them in spite of and not in consequence of it.

Socialism, the public ownership of productive property (i.e. raw material and public utilities) with all that implies in the way of co-operation and just (not equal) distribution of wealth is the logical
remedy, for it is diametrically opposed to the cause of the evil manifestations. With the correction of the social maladjustment the law of economic determinism becomes latent. To lead the Christ-like life under the co-operative system would be to follow the lines of least resistance.

Christians and Socialists should be as hand in glove, but owing to mutual misunderstanding they are pursuing a policy of crimination and recrimination, to the great delight and profit of the real enemy of both, the private capitalist. Francis Willard, as she neared the close of her exemplary Christian life, saw the true light when she said: "Oh, that I were young again, Socialism would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very meat and marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied."

The world today is confronted with a condition and not a theory. A condition which has for the minister a very personal and questionable phase.—To which Lincoln gave expression when he said: "To read the Bible as the word of God Himself, that in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread and to preach therefrom in the sweat of other men's faces shalt thou eat bread, to my mind can scarcely be reconciled with honest sincerity." And he might have continued and pointed out that to preach the Golden Rule and Brotherhood of Man in religion, and teach that a competitive struggle for existence between man and man is fitting just and right in economics is a contradiction between religious precept and industrial practice that to an ever increasing number of minds can scarcely be reconciled with honest sincerity.

Now there are some Socialists who utterly fail to do what Lincoln could scarcely do. They look upon the minister who defends the existing system as a retainer of the private capitalists, a charlatan. And they do not hesitate to say so. While the honest but mistaken minister jumps to the conclusion that the Socialist movement is a vehicle for the condemnation of religion and the propagation of
atheistic ideas. And the privileged class smiles
and as a matter of good policy become more gen-
erous in their contribution.

Both Socialism and religion are above reproach
only those who profess to be actuated by their re-
spective teachings can bring discredit on either.
The "impious" remarks of some Socialists are just
as irrevelant to the subject, Socialism as they may
be irreverent to the ministry.

In this connection it would be well for the anti-
clerical Socialist to remember, for it has not be-
so long ago since he too indorsed with honest sin-
cerity the present unjust system of distributing
wealth for the simple reason that he knew not of
one more just. Now as the churchmen's natural
bent of mind, early training and manner of living
are not so favorable to correct industrial impres-
sions, is it not possible that they may yet indorse
with honest sincerity this unjust system.

The seeds of Christianity now falls on the bar-
ren rock. The potent grave and reverent sowers of
the seed should get down from their exalted posi-
tions and mingle with those who labor and are
heavy burdened. This will not only be a most
Christ-like proceeding on their part but will also
place them in an atmosphere more favorable to
correct industrial impressions. Among other things
they will learn that the class privilege of monop
olizing society's means of subsistence and posing
as trustees of God for the distribution of His provi-
dence, will sooner or later have to join the "Divine
Right of Kings to Rule" on the scrapheap of the
world's obsolete theories.

Christian people should learn that Socialism
is neither a rival religion nor a code of morals, but
is a system of production and distribution of
wealth. And like every other conceivable system
of economics is based on a definition of property
rights and not upon the conflicting, irrevelant and
blasphemous opinions of individuals.

Upon its definition of property rights Socialism
will stand or fall. If unjust it will die a natural
death, but if just the pressure of industrial condi-

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tions will render its adoption necessary, in which event it cannot be opposed with impunity even by powerful churches. For future generations enjoying the fruits and benefits of Socialism will review the well-kept record of churchmen’s opposition to it and many good Christians may fail to do that which Lincoln could scarcely do, reconcile their opposition with honest sincerity. In which event the church’s loss of prestige over the hearts and minds of men will be all that the most bitter enemy of “ecclesiastical machines” could have reasonably hoped for.

Christian people should foresee that as they are in the majority throughout Christendom, Socialism cannot be established until the Socialists of today—be they whom they may—are completely overwhelmed by the numbers of their Christian converts. And for this reason, if for no other, legislation in the social Democracy will be based on the Christian Decalogue, the Proletarian gospel of the Carpenter of Nazareth. Robert Ingersoll’s beautiful vision of the future will then be realized:

I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust, the aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature’s forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret subtle powers of earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.

I see a world at peace adorned with every form of art, with music’s myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth—a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet’s shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward; where work and worth go hand in hand; where the poor girl in trying to win bread with the needle—the needle, that has been called “the asp for the breast of the poor”—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame.

I see a world without the beggar’s outstretched palm, the miser’s heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

I see a world without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, the married harmony of form and function—and, as I look, life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope.”—SOCIALISM.
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