Our National Kitchen

BY

ANNA AGNES MALEY

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The Substance of a Speech on Socialism

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

No one has so much reason to desire the change of our social order as woman.

No plan or program for the reconstruction of society would do so much for woman as Socialism.

Socialism, as presented in this booklet, represents the last and the best thought of scientific, constructive Socialists. But it presents the subject from the standpoint of woman's life and sphere, and, for the most part, in the very words that are most familiar to her.

Land, labor, wealth and politics in general do not appeal to women as a rule. At least women are not supposed to be interested in those things.

But bread, and the kitchen where it is made, concern and interest all of us. It remains for the author of these chapters to show just how the kitchen and the bread are related to politics — how the problems of land and labor, of home, childhood and womanhood (as well as manhood) are all involved in a most vital and intimate way in the problem of the social and civic life.

And no woman is better qualified to present these matters to our American people than the author, our Comrade in the Great Cause — Anna Maley.

CARL D. THOMPSON.
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Our National Kitchen

The Substance of a Speech on Socialism

PART I.

Industry.

The Socialist always brings to you a discussion of industry. Industry is of the greatest importance, first, because most of the people spend most of their time in industry. In a controlling sense, industry is life. Secondly, the bread of life, and therefore life itself, depends upon industry.

Industry is, after all, no more and no less than our national housekeeping. It is the process of feeding, clothing, housing, and educating our people. From it comes the necessary share of the worker, the toiler, the maker. From it comes also the lavish life of the shirker, the spoiler, the taker.

Industry and Politics.

We shall here discuss our nation’s industry in connection with our nation’s politics. These subjects cannot well be considered separately: political parties elect governments, governments make laws, laws are in
relation to life, and as noted above, life is chiefly labor. The government makes the rules for the game and the great game is labor. We cannot very well discuss the game without discussing the rules of the game.

Industry, Politics, and Women.

A woman does not feel quite at home in discussing politics. She has had but little share in politics. She is not supposed to know much about them. Her ignorance is surely excusable since she has had nowhere to learn politics except in the bad preachments and the worse practices of her brothers.

Said Ralph Waldo Emerson, "When I read the list of men of intellect, of refined pursuits, giants in law or eminent scholars, or of social distinction, men of wealth and enterprise in the commercial community, and see what they have voted for and what they have suffered to be voted for, I think no community was ever so politely and elegantly betrayed."

Women know about kitchens, however. If we can get politics into the kitchen we shall feel at home with them. You will remember that once a horse-doctor was called upon to treat Mark Twain for a cold in the head. He could not proceed until he had first given his patient something to turn the cold into blind staggers. Then the doctor was on his own ground and he dealt with the cold very successfully.

With this wise precedent to guide, we shall carry industry, the business of feeding the people, into a great national kitchen. We must note particularly the differ-
ence between the utensils used in the kitchen of our time and those which were used in the kitchen of days gone by.

Contents of the National Kitchen.

Here we have the huge stock-yards and the cold storage plants for killing and curing our meats; we have great flour mills and batteries of ovens to provide the national family with bread; our coal-mines, telegraph and telephone systems are included in the national kitchen. All of these things we use in preparing our national meals.

Kitchens Old and New.

Once the world’s provisioning was done in the world’s households. Baking, brewing, spinning, weaving, candle-dipping, shoemaking—all of these things were done at home. Every home was a sort of miniature of the great national kitchen which we are now considering. The old kitchen has passed and the national kitchen is here. The hand-tool of the old day is replaced by the steam-driven machine of our time. The spinning-wheel has become the textile mill. The wheelbarrow has given place to the steam railway.

The worker could own the simple tool of old. But our housekeeping equipment has grown up. It has become vast, productive, expensive—so expensive that the individual worker cannot own it, so productive that he cannot compete with it. Thousands and millions of workers have no choice but to accept the terms of labor
made by the few individuals who, by hook or by crook, have come to own the vast machinery in the national kitchen.

Laws Old and New.

The worker could own the simple tool of old and it was proper that he should own it. He alone used it and depended upon it. But our present day machinery is different: each generation of men has added something to its growth; hosts of men must operate it, and all men depend upon it. But one man is still permitted to own it! Because, forsooth, our grandfather owned a wheelbarrow which he himself made and used and upon which he alone depended, our law provides that E. H. Harriman or J. J. Hill (God be better to their souls than they were to their working men!) may own railroad systems which all generations of men have helped to develop, which thousands of men must operate and upon which all men depend!

Such is our law. It is accepted and supported by the Republicans, the Democrats, the Prohibitionists, and it was accepted by the Progressives before they decided that they must die to kill Mr. Wilson. This law is strong for the sacred rights of private property. Under it, rights and property go together. Those who have no property must content themselves with wrongs. The rich get all the ice they want in summer and the poor get more than they want in winter. Howbeit, even a common cook ought to be able to see that she is at a tremendous disadvantage if she owns not a pot nor
a pan in the kitchen but must give away about half of her potatoes and cakes for the privilege of using another's pots and pans.

The Law and the Kitchen.

Now, since the law allows it and the court awards it, I shall, for purposes of demonstration today, own the great national kitchen and all that therein is. You, the people, are to work in my kitchen. You must get your bread here. The land and the machines are here, the material for getting the national meals is here, the jobs are here.

I hire you to prepare a dinner, agreeing to pay you fifty cents each for your work. You spread an abundant dinner on the table—enough for you, for me, for all. I pay you the wages agreed upon and you go your way. I now own the dinner and you own the wages.

What am I to do with the dinner? I cannot eat it. There is too much of it. This dinner is the product of social effort, and although the individual is permitted to own what society produces, he cannot himself consume it. Besides you know that in our national industries things are not produced to be consumed by the owners—they are produced for profitable sale to the public.

You are the public. You are to buy this dinner. The power of each of you to buy is limited to the wage I have paid you, fifty cents. You come and sit down to the table, and although I have paid you but fifty cents each for getting the dinner, I charge you a dollar
a plate for eating it. You complain that you cannot pay a dollar out of fifty cents. I suggest that if you cannot afford a whole dinner, you compromise and buy a half dinner, and this you do. You pay me back all the wages which I gave you, in return for half the dinner which you produced. I still own the kitchen and the machines. I own half the dinner and I have collected back all the dinner wages. You are outside, with your pocket quite empty and your stomach only half full. You need a job at getting supper.

Again, I pay you fifty cents for getting a supper and charge you a dollar for eating it. When supper is over, I still own the kitchen and the machines; I own half the dinner and half the supper and I have collected back all the dinner wages and all the supper wages. And then it is claimed that one cannot have one's cake and eat it too!

**Unemployment.**

When you come to the kitchen to get breakfast in the morning, I explain to you that because you left half of the dinner and half of the supper on the table yesterday, there is enough food for breakfast and I do not need your services. You cry bitterly that you need the job. Of course what you mean is that you need the breakfast. We idolize “jobs” because they mean bread. Be that as it may, I cannot hire you because there is too much food here now. I am a good republican and I explain to you that there is nothing much wrong with you—you are simply suffering from Over-production.
The Meaning of Over-production.

Over-production is a polite disease, the particular pet and darling of the republican party, from which we starve to death when there is too much to eat. The savage starved when there was nothing to eat—not at any other time. The savages controlled together what they produced—little or much—and what nature supplied them. The civilized man never starves in good earnest until there is too much to eat. The owners of the kitchen control the product of civilized men, and the producers may eat only when it pays the owners to let them do so.

Back in the eighties of the last century when Albert Parsons was agitating in Chicago for an eight-hour day, he beheld the idle and starving workers in the streets while the warehouses were bursting with the goods which these men had produced.

"You are hungry, brothers," he said, "not because of lack of power to produce but because you have produced too much. In an eight-hour day we should produce less; thus would our jobs last longer and our bread would last longer. As it is now, the more you do the less you have and the less you have to do!"

The owners of the kitchens in Illinois hanged Parsons by the neck till he was dead for teaching truths of that kind. No doubt they would gladly hang all who teach such truths now, too, but happily there are not ropes enough!
A Revision of the Tariff.

If the over-production explanation does not quiet you, I promise to call a special session of my congress to give you a revision of the tariff. I do not, of course, explain that it makes no difference what kind of tariff there is on wool, you and your children will have to wear cotton. Your wages, your power to buy, will depend largely upon the number of men who are bidding for the jobs on the market. When there are more men than jobs, men are cheap; or, putting it the other way, the job is dear and the worker must give up more of the product of his labor for the privilege of working. When all is said and done, you workers in my kitchen pay me for the job and the job is all you get out of it. To be sure, I feed you but only for the same reason that I feed my horse or oil my machine. The working force, whether men, mules, or machines, must be kept in working condition.

If there is a high tariff on pineapples, the foreign grower ships less here and the home grower gets a good price for his fruit. The owner of the pineapple canning factory wants a low tariff or none, so that the market will be flooded with cheap fruit for his use. But if there are too many men for the jobs on the farm and in the factory—and there is no tariff on men to make the labor supply scarce—the workers, no matter whether a democratic or a republican tariff prevails, will get starvation wages.

James Connolly, recently executed by the English
Government in connection with the Irish revolutionary uprising of Easter, 1916, in his *Labor in Irish History*, quotes the Irish historian, John Mitchel, upon free trade, in words which would as well apply to high tariff:

"The free trade and competition—in other words the English system—is pretty well understood now; its obvious purpose and effect are to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, to make capital the absolute ruler of the world, and labor a blind and helpless slave. By free trade the manufacturers of Manchester are enabled to clothe India, China, and South America, and the artisans of Manchester can hardly keep themselves covered from the cold. By dint of free trade Belfast grows more linen cloth than it ever did before; but the men who weave it have hardly a shirt to their backs. Free trade fills with corn the stores of speculating capitalists, but leaves those who have sown and reaped the corn without a meal. Free trade unpeoples villages and peoples poorhouses, consolidates farms and gluts the graveyards with famished corpses."

Tariff or no tariff, the fact is that my right to own the kitchen throws you into the street with nothing to do and nothing to eat. That right empowers me to use the kitchen and also to prevent you from using it. UNEMPLOYMENT is one of its most fearful results.

Some Steady Jobs.

Some men there are who are always fed in my kitchen. In good times and in bad times I find it profitable to keep them. Who are these?
First, our lawmakers, the members of our government.

Second, our editors, preachers, and teachers, the makers of public opinion.

Controlling as I do the community’s wealth, the community’s bread, I am able throughout society to reward those who serve me and to punish those who fail me.

Are men necessarily vicious because they seek rewards and shun punishments? If I may reward or punish by giving or withholding the bread of life, I may give or withhold life itself. The first law of life is to live. When, therefore, men seek my grace they do but obey the command of life. Do not blame human nature because men go wrong for life’s sake: blame rather a social order which puts in my hands the power to force men to choose between the highest truth and life itself. The worst that can be said against human nature is this—that no man is good enough to be the master of another’s life.

The Public Official.

It would be impossible here to name the men high in the official life of America who, since the days of Abraham Lincoln, have taken the rewards of Big Business and done its bidding. There have been too many of them. Upon this point, nothing could be more illuminating than a series of a half dozen articles entitled “A Western Warwick,” written by Samuel G. Blythe and published in The Saturday Evening Post in the Spring of 1916.
Big Business uses more than moral suasion with our public servants. It can call spirits from the vasty deep; also, if they do not come, it can put submarines under them.

All who would enjoy the favor, all who would escape the frown of the owners of the kitchen must accept and work for the program of those owners: buy labor cheap and sell the products of labor dear.

John P. Altgeld, late governor of the state of Illinois, attacked this program. He was in sympathy with the eight-hour movement and with the American Railway Union strike. The masters killed him politically. It is probably true that they killed him literally. No doubt his death grew out of the social agonies of his time. "'We have buried him now,' thought his foes and in secret rejoiced. They made a brave show of their mourning, their hatred unvoiced."

One of the last official acts of ex-Governor Donaghey of Arkansas was to pardon out all of the prisoners in the penitentiaries of the state—361 men. He had vainly besought the legislature to correct the state convict leasing system under which the railroads shamefully abused and exploited the convicts of the state. The legislature was owned by the railroads and would not act. The governor, therefore, resolved to startle the people of the state into attention to the disgraceful conditions prevailing. Governor Donaghey was not the sort of man that the big interests would tolerate in the high office of chief state executive. They took measures to cut short his political career.
During one of the bitter labor wars of Colorado, the governor, Waite, ordered the strikebreakers away from the mines. He served notice on the companies that he would see that his orders were enforced if he had to drive his horses to the mines up to their bridles in blood to do it. He earned the name “Bloody Bridles Waite,” and of course the people liked his pluck, but he suffered a political defeat which was well paid for by the mine owners of Colorado.

**Were the Women to Blame?**

Men sometimes charge that women were to blame for Waite’s defeat. While the least fruitful of all efforts is usually that of “fixing the blame,” a word is in order here upon any accusation which may prejudice the woman’s side in the suffrage battle. If Governor Waite’s defeat in Colorado constitutes a reason for depriving women of the vote, what shall we say of Governor Donaghey’s defeat in Arkansas? The women were not voting there.

Political corruption is age-old. It seems to have been a part of all political systems and our women have not been the makers of the world’s political systems. It would be futile to claim that these systems would have been free from corruption if women had made them. Women in office would probably seek the rewards and shun the punishments meted out by the mighty just as men do. Women are a part of human nature, just as men are, and they are in no way immune from the desire of all living things to live. To establish
woman's need of the ballot, we need not prove that she is an angel. Angels are popularly supposed to have no needs. They would make pretty weak suffragists, though they are all right in their place, no doubt. Women are human and it is because political activities so heavily mould human destinies that women belong in on them.

In these days it is fashionable to call to account the accessories before the fact. In the case of Waite's defeat, these were editors and ministers, the makers of public opinion—men all—who fostered prejudice against Waite in the minds of both men and women.

Opinion and the Law—The Press.

This brings us logically to the question, Why do men vote as they vote? Because they think what they think, largely, and for an explanation of what men think we must look to what they read. The press in our day is the great maker of public opinion.

Refer if you can to the issues of Pearson's Magazine of January, February, April, May, and June, 1914, and read the following articles by Charles Edward Russell: "The Keeping of the Kept Press," "The Magazine Soft Pedal," "The Associated Press and Calumet," "How Business Controls News," and "Caught With the Goods." Mr. Russell shows at what cost the Indianapolis Sun supported the effort of the Indianapolis street railway men to organize, and how the Akron Press was penalized for its sympathy with the rubber tire workers' strike. He tells of the attitude of the press
in the fight of the great railroads of the East in 1910 to raise freight rates. The railroad officials testified before the Interstate Commerce Commission that to save the roads from bankruptcy, the rates must be raised. Clifford Thorne, chairman of the State Railroad Commission of Iowa, proved upon the witness stand, from figures presented by the railroads themselves, that their profits were then higher than ever before. The Associated Press despatches, published in all the important papers in the country, gave the testimony of the railroad officials in full but not one word of the evidence of Mr. Thorne.

On April 22, 1914, touching the killing of the men and women at Ludlow, the Rocky Mountain News, of Denver, said:

"The blood of women and children, burned and shot like rats, cries from the ground . . . Machine guns which played in the darkness upon the homes of humble men and women . . . were bought and paid for by the agents of the mine owners. Explosive bullets have been used upon children. Does the bloodiest page in the French Revolution approach this in hideousness?"

In the summer of 1914, the Rockefeller interests bought the Rocky Mountain News. An editorial of September 22 speaks thus:

"In the rush of events attending the early days of the strike, there was difficulty in obtaining accurate information of what was going on . . . If the News in the heat of the conflict printed news which came to it
over the wires which proved to be only rumors, this paper acknowledges and deeply regrets such mistakes and will seek earnestly to rectify them."

Following are the words of the Report of the Industrial Relations Commission, from which we can judge whether or not the picture given by the News in "the heat of the conflict" was over-drawn.

"On April 20th, militiamen destroyed the Ludlow tent colony, killing five men and one boy with rifle and machine gun fire and firing the tents with a torch. Eleven children and two women of the colony, who had taken refuge under one of the tents, were burned to death or suffocated after the tents had been fired. Hundreds of women and children were driven terror-stricken into the hills or near-by ranch houses. Others huddled for twelve hours in pits underneath their tents, or in other places of shelter, while bullets from rifles and machine guns whistled overhead and kept them in constant terror."

In this case the Rockefeller interests prove that if they cannot otherwise control a paper they will buy it outright, which is equivalent to paying the editor to keep silent.

A highly serviceable contribution to our information upon big business and the press, is Fakes in American Journalism, by Mr. Max Sherover, which may be had at the National Office of the Socialist Party, 803 West Madison Street, Chicago.
Opinion and the Schools.

We who own the kitchens have but small difficulty in controlling the minds of the children of our time. Women teachers have in charge for the most part the formal education of the child. Only a century ago women were themselves struggling for the right of education. The sciences, including social science, are still much neglected by women students. Women have been taught false theories of life, and having been debarred from politics and from participation in life in its larger aspects generally, their field of practice has not been such as to enable them to right themselves. They can well teach a child formally to salute a flag or to say a prayer. But that the flag, as an emblem of ruthless bloodshed, growing out of the sectionalism, the narrow nationalism, and the perverted patriotism which so deeply and bitterly curse the world today, may be a slap in the face of the God of their prayer and the children of His care, they do not see.

As to the higher education, upward of ninety per cent of our young people do not finish high school, and, indeed, the findings of the Industrial Relations Commission upon four industrial towns showed that more than seventy-five per cent of the children left school before reaching the seventh grade. The conclusion of one of our national commissioners of education that “we are a nation of sixth graders,” is pretty well borne out.

When our children recite the preamble to the Constitution of the United States, “We, the people
do ordain and establish this constitution," my teachers must not officiously explain that "we, the people" were not the common people at all. In 1790, 120,000 men out of a population of 4,000,000 had the vote. On a basis of one voter out of each five persons, there would have been about 800,000 voters. Benjamin Franklin was the only delegate in the constitutional convention who insisted that the common soldiers who fought the Revolutionary War, ought to have a vote. Most of these patriots had no property and property qualifications for voters were not abolished until about the middle of the nineteenth century. My teachers must not teach that the rights of free speech, free assemblage, and free publication were not specified in the original draft of the constitution, but had to be added later by amendment.

These foundations for all freedom are still vigorously attacked under one pretext and another by our industrial masters. Just now (the summer of 1916) while the troops are being massed for the Mexican border, there are severe prohibitions against street discussion of militarism. Indeed, militarism means censorship; that is one of the reasons it is so popular with the owners of the kitchen.

Such institutions as street speaking and the labor and socialist press, big business cannot control. It therefore directs its effort toward suppressing them. Our public schools, the pulpit, and the great press, big business cannot suppress. It directs its effort toward the control of these. "Control what you cannot suppress," is the
motto of the capitalist class. In the government, the field of journalism, the church, and the school, tendencies must be controlled by controlling individuals. The case of Professor Scott Nearing of the University of Pennsylvania is recent and typical. Professor Nearing was dismissed from service because he taught a social creed not in accord with the interests of such corporations as the steel and coal trusts and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. He is one of many teachers so silenced.

**Opinion and the Church.**

My workers are on strike. I have starved and over-worked them to the point of rebellion. If a priest or a minister will come among them to tell them that they must bear wrongs patiently, that poverty is the way to heaven, and that they must carry all crosses here for the sake of their crowns they will wear in glory—he is serviceable to me. I will gladly feed him in my kitchen.

Even on the minister’s theory and strictly from the Christian standpoint, the workers are justified in shaking the masters off their backs, thus giving rich and poor an even chance for heaven.

Control of the church by the robbers of labor is not new, nor is labor’s protest against this condition new.

"Be assured," said John Mitchel as quoted by Connolly, "that the priest who bids you perish patiently . . . insults manhood and common sense, bears false witness against religion, and blasphemes the Providence of God."

A minister of a Congregational church in Denver,
Reverend Myron Reed, lost his pulpit for expressing his sympathy with striking miners in these words, "My heart is with the boys on Bull Hill."

Reverend Bouck White, author of "The Call of the Carpenter," served six months in a New York jail in the summer and fall of 1914, for an attempt to discuss from the floor of the Baptist church of which John D. Rockefeller is a member, the massacre of the women and children at Ludlow.

A Presbyterian minister of Sunrise, Wyoming, Mr. McCorkle, was summoned to come before the Federal Industrial Relations Commission to testify concerning his dismissal from his pulpit because of his vigorous expression regarding the Ludlow butchery. All ministers in that jurisdiction, it appeared from the evidence, well understood that the gospel of Jesus Christ had been superseded by the gospel of Mr. Rockefeller.

"But do you know," said Mr. Weinstock one of the attorneys of the big interests on the Commission, "that you were morally wrong in attacking the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company—that Jesus Christ hath said that when smitten on one cheek we must forthwith turn the other one?"

Mr. McCorkle fixed the examiner with his shrewd Scotch eye and answered, "I know, but I don't think Jesus Christ meant I should make a windmill of myself."

The Commission, reporting on the southern Colorado mining camps, says: "A church building could not be erected in a closed camp without the consent of the company, and the company assumed the right to compel
the dismissal of ministers of the gospel who opposed company policies or interests . . . . Control of the schools within the closed camps was no less absolute. Mine superintendents and other company officials dictated the selection of teachers and procured the dismissal of teachers to whom they objected.'

Says Edward Alsworth Ross in his book *Social Control*: The great constraining, as well as the great persuasive influences are still alive with the love, pity, reverence, or wrath out of which they grew; while the means utilized by an exploiting class are the lifeless tools of cold-blooded policy shaped by cunning and achieving a control which is crude and repulsive.” And further, “. . . the heaven conceived by the elite is the place where the just shall see God, while the heaven that hirelings of parasites hold out to the poor is a place where they shall be recompensed for patient submission to their hard lot here.”

**The Power of Public Opinion.**

As men think so they act. The lords of earth well know that to govern the heads of men is to govern their hands. “It was the majority that stoned Stephen, banished Aristides, poisoned Socrates, mobbed Priestley, and beat Garrison.”

Those who visit Salem, Massachusetts, are shown the tree upon which witches were hanged in the good days of the Puritans. There were no more witches in Massachusetts when this hanging was in order than there are in your state today, but the people thought they were
there and all the purposes were served. We are told that if a good old lady of either sex appeared before the duly constituted authorities with a solemn story of how Mistress Neighbor had been seen riding blithely through the air on a broomstick in company with a black cat, the authorities administered a test to the accused; they threw her into the water. If she sank and drowned she was not a witch, but you see she was dead. If she floated she was a witch and they took her out and hanged her. Then, as now, women were considered too hysterical to decide well grave questions of the law.

Could Such Things Happen Now?

The witch tragedy is long past and we laugh lightly at such foolishness. Yet may it not be that if the church, the press, and the school of the present went out in good earnest to make our men believe that we women are witches, they would be hanging us higher than Gilde-roy’s kite in six months’ time? Certain it is that six months ago very few of our citizens seriously believed that America was in danger of invasion. And now, judging from the feverish haste with which we are preparing, most of us expect to wake up one of these fine mornings to find the Kaiser sitting on our backyard fence, Pancho Villa meantime being under the bed. It is more than accident that this state of mind in our people is contemporaneous with the war-inciting efforts of journalists, the patriotic sermons of ministers, and the blazoning of bill-boards with *The Battle-cry of Peace* and *The Birth of a Nation*. 
The foregoing discussion of government, press, school, and church may be reduced to this formula: My power over the world rests upon my power over its bread. I must own the jobs attached to the steel mill and equally I must own the jobs attached to the government. To make solid my industrial control, I must maintain also institutional control.

Permanent Unemployment and Competition Among Workers.

You remember, after this long digression, that you are looking for a job in my kitchen at noon of the second day. Those who have had the privileges of the kitchen have been able to get rid of only one-third of the food. I can therefore hire only one-third of you, enough to replace the food that has been used. There are now on the market three times as many men as there are jobs. I explain to you that yesterday when there was a job for each of you, I paid you fifty cents each. Now that three men are looking for every job I do not expect to pay fifty cents. Who will work for thirty-five cents? The man with the hungriest family offers himself. The man without a family is willing to try to live on a quarter. The woman, lacking political and industrial experience, will work for less still and the baby will work for what is given it.

Woman and Child Labor

Between eight and nine million women are in the industrial kitchens of America. In three-fourths of the
states these women are voiceless touching the law that governs industry. Close to two millions of the nation's children are at work, and about their conditions of labor neither themselves nor their mothers have anything to say. Just now the papers tell us that the United States Senate, at the bidding of the southern mill owners, may be depended upon to defeat a pending federal child labor law. The plea is ever the same—if the babies stop working the mills must stop running. Very well; mills that must turn on a child's heart ought to stop running. In the meantime, we seem to be able to spare without embarrassment some thousands of soldiers to go chasing down through Mexico after Villa—and oil. The men of the South are too chivalrous to let their women vote, but no shock comes to their chivalry at the knowledge that poor mothers are starved into selling their babies' playtime for a crust. We women cannot be expected to speak patiently upon child labor. Patience with outrage of this sort is no virtue. We speak no less to the democratic chivalry of Alabama than to the republican chivalry of Pennsylvania when we say that there is not a big pig in America that is so contemptible as to make a little pig root for it! A big pig does its own rooting unless it happens to be one of the two-legged breed that owns a department store, a mill, or a mine.

Scabs.

"What are you women doing in the industrial kitchen? You work cheap, you take our jobs, you are scabs!" comes the cry.
Yes, we women are scabs. We learned scabbery in the world’s households, where we commanded no wages and where there never was a limit to the hours we worked. We lost habits of independence under laws which through long years forced us to surrender to our husbands wages which we earned outside the home. We have had but little practice in freedom and therefore we are far from free. But we will not plead guilty to taking your job; we could not take from you what you never owned. The owner of the kitchen owns your job. If you had had any title to it we could not have taken it from you.

When it comes to strikes, the women in the garment trades and elsewhere have sometimes made such creditable fights as to indicate that with a little encouragement they might rise to splendid heights of freedom.

Let us have done with calling one another scabs. We are all good scabs together. We eat scab bread, we wear scab clothing, we live in scab houses, we read scab newspapers, and now and then we listen to scab sermons. Ours is a scab world. Out of some thirty millions of wage earners in the United States, fewer than three millions are organized. Some of our good union men who are very particular about wearing union shoes on their feet and union hats on their heads, are well content to go to the polls on election day and vote a scab ticket. We socialists acknowledge our scabbery, but we hate it and vote against it. We have no choice, however, but to accept it until the majority shall decide that the world must come out of its bondage.
Unemployment and Crime.

I who own the kitchen hire the cheapest of you. Those who can find no work today join the permanent army of the unemployed.

The Report of the Industrial Commission says, “In our basic industries the workers are unemployed for an average of at least one-fifth of the year and at all times during any normal year there is an army of men who can be numbered only by hundreds of thousands, who are unable to find work, or who have so far degenerated that they cannot or will not work.”

When the door is closed, I know that you outside have nothing to do and nothing to eat. Your first business is to keep alive and if you cannot earn bread you will probably steal it. Theft is crime, violation of the law, and calls for jails. You idle men for a time may find employment in building jails for yourselves. Make them as dismal and as comfortless as you please—we who own the kitchens do not expect to live in them. But build them. As long as private ownership of the earth obtains, there will be criminals of need and criminals of greed in plenty to fill them.

Prostitution.

It sometimes happens that a hungry man pawns his overcoat or his watch. In the last extremity we ask, “What have I to sell—what can I afford to part from to satisfy my hunger?” Often under stress of necessity working women are driven to sell their bodies.

“It is a known fact that men’s wages cannot fall
below a limit upon which they can exist, but woman's wages have no limit since the paths of shame are always open to her. The very fact that some of these women receive partial support from brothers or fathers and are thus enabled to live upon less than they earn, forces other women who have not such support either to suffer for necessities or seek other means of support.

"Hundreds, if not thousands of girls from the country towns, and those born in the city but who have been thrown on their own resources, are compelled to live in cheap boarding and rooming houses at the average wage of six dollars a week. How do they exist on this sum? It is impossible to figure it out on a mathematical basis. If the wage were eight dollars a week and the girl paid two and a half dollars for her room, one dollar for laundry and sixty cents for carfare, she would have less than fifty cents left at the end of the week; that is, provided she ate ten-cent breakfasts, fifteen-cent lunches and twenty-five-cent dinners. There is no doubt that many girls do live on even six dollars a week and do it honestly, but we can affirm that they do not have nourishing food or comfortable shelter or warm clothes, or any amusement except perhaps free public dances, without outside help, either from charity in the shape of girls' clubs or from friends in the country home.

"It is estimated that there are 600,000 prostitutes in the United States, and possibly as many more who get, through the sale of their bodies, some income in addition to their regular earnings." (Socialist Congressional Campaign Book, pp. 254-56.)
Periodically we go through spasms of cleaning up our red light districts and driving out our prostitutes. We scatter the evil or we send our sinners to other cities. We dispose of the dirt in our own backyards by sweeping it into our neighbors' yards. Meantime, under the competitive wage system great bodies of men find themselves unable to support homes and wives. They are drawn into lumber and mining camps, to the frontier, into the army. Men divorced from normal life relationships, women working for wages inadequate to support them, and rapacious buyers and sellers organized to take tithes from the harvest of woman's shame, are conditions which breed prostitution as surely as sun and rain call forth the verdure.

The Vice Commission of Chicago estimated that the annual gross revenues from the social evil in that city amount to $20,000,000. Their report states, "The first truth that the Commission desires to impress upon the citizens of Chicago is the fact that prostitution in this city is a commercialized business of large proportions with tremendous profits of more than fifteen millions of dollars per year, controlled largely by men, not women." (Socialist Congressional Campaign Book, p. 255.)

From the report of an English army officer, "War, What For?" p. 222, quotes: "Please send young and attractive women as laid down in the quarter-master general's circular, No. 21A. . . . There are not women enough; they are not attractive enough. More and younger women are required. . . . I have order-
ed the number of prostitutes to be increased . . .
and have given special instructions as to additional
women being young and of attractive appearance."

Intemperance.

I have seen young bakers in the August heat of
Minnesota, stand ten hours a day against batteries of
hell-hot ovens. Sometimes they dropped their peels,
or in desperation threw themselves at the foreman, ran
to the nearest saloon, and drank themselves into a comfort-
able stupor. Is the President of the Woman's
Christian Temperance Union sure that she would not do
the same? The story of the baker is the story of foundry
men, laundry workers, cooks, and others who must work
for long hours in excessive heat. It is the story of
lumber workers, miners and all workers for whom all
but the grossest entertainments are made impossible.

"Yes," say you, "but the traffic itself—why don't
these liquor dealers do honest work?"

Bakers, miners, and foundry men do honest work.
Are you prepared to recommend that the proprietor of a
saloon give up his income to take his chances with these
honest workers? If we are sincere in our desire that men
shall be honest, why starve and betray the miner and
the baker and give the fat of the land to the saloon-
keeper, the political grifter, the white slaver? Why
preach temperance and support the profit system with
its thousand excesses, one of the least of which is an
eight-cent profit in a ten-cent glass of liquor? Why
exhort men to be good and pay them to be bad? Why,
in short, pray for heaven and vote for hell? We seem to get a good deal more of what we vote for than of what we pray for.

Do not misunderstand us Socialists—we must advocate sobriety for the sake of the working-class movement. We make a better fight sober than drunk and we can afford to put neither our heads nor our pockets out of commission. Most of the women of the movement will not take a drink of whiskey this side of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and then we trust there will be nothing to drive us to drink. Perhaps, also, we are a bit too proud to swill cheap beer while paying for the employer's champagne. Let us be sober, by all means.

Also let us be aware of the fallacy of the claim that the workers are poor chiefly because they drink cheap whiskey. Is it cheap whiskey that makes the six-dollar clerk poor? If all the men were as sober as the women are, they might be as rich as the women are. The men are poor because they drink cheap whiskey—the women are poor because they don't drink. A workman's budget includes beer and tobacco. A working girl's does not. The employer puts in his pocket the price of the girl's beer and tobacco—one of the things which might easily drive her to drink.

The starved peasantry of India and Ireland were poor—not because they drank, they never had the price of drink—but because masters owned the fields where the peasants toiled. You in my kitchen are poor
because I own the kitchen and take from you most of what you produce.

On page 79 of the Socialist Congressional Campaign Book, 1914, is found the following from Professor A. G. Warner's *American Charities*, published in 1894: "... the chief single cause of poverty as here studied is sickness or death in the families of the poor. Lack of work stands second, although if the averages as to lack of work, insufficient work, and poorly paid work be added together, as well they might be, they form the supreme cause of poverty. Drink stands third, though only one-half as great a cause as unemployment."

**Charity.**

While I am contemplating your unhappy plight outside of the kitchen, a Salvation Army girl comes in at the side door to remind me that there is much poverty and unemployment in the city and that she wants contributions for a soup kitchen. I tell her to help herself to some of the bones on the table. She may take those that smell bad—I cannot easily sell them and they are good enough for the poor. Then I charge her to see that my name appears upon the front page of the papers tomorrow. I am a philanthropist and entitled to advertising.

Chairman Walsh of the Industrial Relations Commission: "What do you think has been accomplished by the philanthropic activities of the country in reducing suffering and want among the people?"

Mr. Guggenheim: "There has a great deal been
done. If it were not for what has been done and what is being done we would have revolution in this country.”

Unemployment—Over-production—Foreign Markets—Strikes—The Army.

Unemployment increases, and with it prostitution, drunkenness and crime. The buying power of the people is low and food accumulates in the kitchen. I must sell this food. I must have armies to get and keep markets abroad. I therefore establish recruiting stations outside of which stand wonderfully attractive pictures bearing the legend, “Men Wanted in the United States Army.”

It pays to advertise. Well the masters of the world’s trade know it.

Pity it is that an interpreter might not stand beside that arresting picture at the recruiting station to say to the innocent young prospect, “You are wanted to break strikes, thus giving the industrial lord cheap goods. Then you must fight for dear markets in which to sell the goods. Also you must gain for him new lands in which he may rob other helpless workers; and for all the wars you fight he sells at high profit the supplies.”

Army advertising, being skilfully done, suggests that the army is of soldiers and for soldiers—that they take none of the risks and get all of the benefits.

There in the picture stands the young soldier—handsome, fine, radiant with health. He must be straight—a bow-legged man might not stop all the bullets that came his way.
Glad-eyed girls linger to gaze. They pine to join the army themselves—at least such single detachments as this young man represents.

"An Opportunity to Travel—A Chance to See the World."—how these suggestions stir the young hot-blood whose world is a gray room, a cheap restaurant, an exacting shop or office, and at its most exciting, a trip to Coney!

A chance to see the world, a hot time here; but the really big adventure is not advertised: you may see the next world as well, a hereafter which may be even hotter than the bill-boards care to specify.

The real art of army advertising lies in what is suppressed. We are accustomed to the "before and after taking" exhibitions: Mrs. Jane Jones, before taking Perunuts, is as thin as our good President Wilson. After taking she is as fat as William Howard Taft, the man who put the fat in fatuous. The soldier "before taking," we see in all fine attitudes from every happy angle. But "after taking," nay—it would be but a stupid military promoter who could not guess that pictures of faceless remnants of men might suggest to our boys that the price of a chance to see the world is over-high.

We who own the kitchen have two principal uses for the army—to break strikes at home and to sell goods abroad. The army is the head and front of our crusade for cheap men and dear markets.
Not the Tree But Its Fruits.

Crime, prostitution, drunkenness, child labor, government corruption, and war are so common in the world that they seem to be a part of the nature of humanity. In truth they are the inevitable outgrowth of the private management of a bread-getting machinery which has become too large and too productive for private control.
PART II.

The Heart of Socialism.

Our bread-getting machinery in its present form is necessary to the lives of men together. It may be called social-use property. Socialism stands for a new industrial control—for the social ownership and the democratic control of social-use or industrial property.

Some forms of property may be privately owned without injury to the community. Houses, food, clothing, books, music—things which are subject to private use should be privately owned.

The productive properties, the industrial properties, upon which all depend, cannot be owned by the individual without injury to the community. Mills, mines, railroads, telegraph and telephone facilities—the great means of production, transportation, and communication are subject to social use and should be socially owned and controlled.

Under Socialism you would own your home, but the people together would own the sawmills, the timber tracts, the stone quarries, the brickyards—the sources of materials for homes for all the people. You would own the bread on your table, but society would own the wheat field, the flour-mill, the great bakery—the sources of bread for all the people.

No matter what your political faith may be, you
accept the principle of social control to the extent that you believe in public schools, public roads, the public post-office, the public fire department, and such other things as are maintained for the use of the community rather than for the private profit of the few.

**Graft in Public Institutions.**

The public school and other public institutions, it is charged, are full of graft and other abuses. An examination of these abuses will disclose the fact that they are due, not to Socialism, but to the lack of it. The people must own not only the schools but also the book supplies, the materials for building the schools, and other things necessary to our system of public education. They must own not only the federal buildings, but also the railroads which carry the mails. They must own not only our public services and our industries, but also the government which administers these things.

Big property owners pay the bulk of the taxes. They begrudge every dollar paid out of the public treasury to teachers, postmen, and other hard-working public servants. Through the government which they control, business men fight the attempt of teachers and postal employes to organize, or otherwise to improve their working conditions. They are quite willing that the public funds shall be expended for the support of armies and navies, for the extension of foreign markets, and for other things which will increase the masters' profits and powers.
Some time ago when the teachers of Chicago made agitation for better pay, they were told that the public treasury was too poor to pay more. Through the efforts of Miss Margaret Haley and other energetic teachers, the fact was brought to light that the treasury was poor because the big corporations were dodging their taxes.

Why are big corporations permitted to dodge their taxes? Because, as before indicated, big business owns the government. In The New York Call of July 2, 1916, appears an article, “Pan-American Imperialism Reaching Out for Shekels,” by Irvin E. Klein, LL.B., from which the following passage is here pertinent:

“Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, and a delegation of prominent business men were sent to visit each South American country to formulate plans for the investment of capital in South America and to exploit its wealth. The battleship Tennessee was put at the disposal of the delegation and the government assisted them in every way. It is perfectly proper for our millionaire Secretary of the Treasury to help these exploiters on such short notice, if they represent prominent business interests, but this very same Secretary of the Treasury seems to have disregarded the charges of Basil Manly of the Industrial Investigation Committee, that $320,000,000 has been stolen from the United States treasury by income tax thieves. . . . Three hundred and twenty million dollars stolen, and not a thing done or said against these income tax thieves by the Secretary of the Treasury, who seems to find time to assist our
imperialists in non-government enterprises while he disregards the welfare of 100,000,000 people."

In one of the western states, a state school board not long ago was reported by the papers to have attempted to place a five million dollar book contract in favor of a book supply house. The people of the state did not want these books and the deal was hindered from going through. Evidently the book company had influenced the board by offering to share with it the profits on the order.

In connection with a discussion on the public schools, a woman in the South recently said, "Of what use are the public schools to me? We are so poor that my boy must go to the factory."

The door of the school stood open for this child but the hand of want forced him into the factory. The trouble seems to be not that we do own the schools, but that we do not own the factories.

The Railways and the Postal Service.

Mr. N. A. Richardson's "Industrial Problems," Chapter IV., gives some mightily instructive facts upon the charges made to the United States Government for railway mail service by the privately owned railroads of the country. His information is drawn from the Congressional Record and from Professor Parson's book, The Railways, the Trusts and the People. Following is a comparison of what different persons or organizations pay the railway companies for carrying 100,000,000 tons one mile, or one ton 100,000,000 miles: At average
freight rates, $800,000; at average railway express rates, about $5,000,000; at average excess baggage rates, about $6,000,000; at actual mail rates (1898), $34,754,000!

"Our government hires the railway companies to carry the mail. It pays these companies so much per pound for all mail carried and, in addition, it pays rental for the cars in which the carrying is done. This double system of charging is in itself peculiar. It is as if a business firm hiring cars for the purpose of shipping goods were to be charged, in addition to the car rate, so much per pound for what was put in them. . . .

"We pay car rental an average of $6,250 per year per car for cars whose construction cost but from $2,500 to $5,000 each."

A Railroad Senate.

Under date of May 12, 1908, the Congressional Record gives account of a bill that was then before the United States Senate providing, among other things, for an appropriation of $4,600,000 for railway post-office car service, or in other words, for car rentals. Senator Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma offered the following amendments: that no more should be paid for the transportation of mails than the express companies pay for the transportation of express of similar weight and character; to strike out the provision for the $4,600,000 appropriation; that no more be paid for annual rental of cars than 331/3 per cent of the cost of the car; and this amendment being rejected, that no
higher rental be paid for postal cars than the cars cost. All of the amendments were rejected. Senator Gore called for the yeas and nays on the amendment last offered. Although only one-fifth of the Senate need support this demand, the yeas and nays were not ordered. The Senate did not care to have the people know how thoroughly it belonged to the railroads.

Falsification of Mail Weights.

The contracts for carrying the mails are let on the basis of the estimated weight. To reach this estimate the mails are weighed once every four years. During the period while these weights are being taken, Senators and Members of the House mail out all sorts of things to pad the weights. In one case, 300 sacks of documents weighing from 100 to 125 pounds were mailed out by United States Senator J. B. Gordon and Congressman A. C. Latimer, and deliberately remailed so as to be weighed and re-weighed to increase the total weight. The annual gains to the railroads through overcharges for the handling of mails is estimated at $24,000,000. (Socialist Congressional Campaign Book, 1914, pp. 240-41.)

The Original Bribe.

Railroad workers like all other workers must pay tribute to owners for the privilege of working. Out of this tribute the owners pay political bribes. The power of the owner of the job to take profit out of human labor
is the foundation of corruption. When the worker bargains for his job he pays the original bribe.

You may refuse any such theory of political corruption. You may hold that it is all begotten by "the lust for gain in the spirit of Cain," and that it is impossible to kill that lust. Would not the lust die of itself if we took from it the thing upon which it feeds? The lust for gain is whetted by the endless opportunities offered by private ownership of bread to feed upon the very blood of our neighbors.

The absolute monarch lusted from time to time to cut unceremoniously the heads from the shoulders of his defenseless subjects. We may be sure that his lust was exactly as long-lived as was his privilege to gratify it. The absolute monarch has gone his way. In good time the capitalist and his secret diplomat with all their hideous military head-cutting must march out of the camp of life at the swords' points of an awakened and enlightened people.

**Private Property and Private Right.**

You who say that Socialism would violate private right cannot have observed that you have a private right to use the public road and the public post-office. You have a private right to send your child to the public school. Is it not strange that it is in the use of just those things that are managed on a socialistic basis that your private right is most fully protected? Indeed, there is just one sure way to protect private right and private property and that is to establish social control of the
general supply. The case was well put by Father McNabb, a Catholic clergyman, when he said that under capitalism some men own all property, while under Socialism all men might own some property.

Public Schools and Public Coal Mines.

It may be said that no objection is today raised against public coal mines which was not in days gone by raised against public schools. Public schools would not work; they would destroy parental authority; they could not be paid for; there would be no incentive to have them unless some owner got a profit out of them—in a word, they would topple over the whole fine structure that is founded on the faultless past. To some, no doubt, public schools meant “dividing-up”—Tommie Smith would come home from time to time with an eraser as his share, and Jimmie Brown with a desk.

The schools are divided up in the sense that they are held for the use of all. In that sense only does Socialism aim to make the railroad and the coal mine the property of the people.

Pity the Bachelor.

At one time it was thought preposterous that a bachelor should be taxed for the education of a married man’s child. This tax would surely send the bachelor on a riot or even out of the community. The old maids refused to worry—they could not see why confirmed bachelors would be a grievous loss to the community. But the question was bigger than the individual bachelor,
maid, or married man. It was a social question and was as such decided. It is to the interest of the bachelor no less than to that of the married man that there shall be an intelligent community. The community, bachelors, maids, and married men, is therefore taxed for the support of educational institutions.

Is Bread a Social Question?

Is bread an individual or is it a social question? Can any member of society afford to consent to a condition under which any other member is denied an opportunity to get sufficient bread—and I discuss bread now in its broadest sense—food, clothing, shelter, and the leisure and the education that go to the making of an acceptable social member?

Would All Be Paid Alike.

While we are on this subject of rewards to the members of society, we may well discuss the question so often raised, “Would all be paid alike under Socialism?”

We but waste our time in laying down hard and fast rules for the guidance of future generations, but we may profitably consider some principles which are sound in the premises.

I apply myself to the making of a loaf of bread. This loaf comes into being because I have put time and strength into working certain materials into usable form. A part of my life has gone into that loaf of bread.

Suppose that you and I work in a great bakery side by side. The machine which you use is for some reason
twice as hard to operate as that which I use. When the day's bread is finished, therefore, it represents twice as much of your life as it does of mine. This may be adjusted either by working you half time or by giving you double pay.

**Why You Would Not Buy the Bakery.**

At once you say, "If I got twice as much pay as you I should save my money and buy the bakery; and when I owned it and you had to work in it, I should do to you all that you did to those who had to work in your kitchen."

You would not buy the bakery under Socialism for the same reason that Mr. Rockefeller does not buy the public school today: the school is not for sale and under Socialism the bakery would not be for sale. The school is now off the market and Socialism purposes to take other social utilities off the market.

Would you be permitted to run a little bakery of your own? No doubt you would if you felt that you could give workers as good conditions and the public as good terms as the public bakery could do. The Steel Trust, as will further on be shown, does not feel that it can compete with a government armor plate factory. Somewhat less than ten per cent of the children of the United States attend private schools. (Earl Barnes: *Woman in Modern Society*, p. 77.) The right of the rich to have private schools in no way encroaches upon the right of others to attend the public schools which give standard service and are used by the majority.
How Little Can We Afford to Pay?

You are anxious to know in dollars and cents how much each worker would receive. Whether under capitalism or under Socialism, there is a standard of wages, a standard of opportunity for all, from which society departs only at disastrous cost to itself. For society's sake every serviceable member must be given a place to serve and must receive for his service enough to insure his right to intelligence and health.

The High Cost of Poverty.

"I am not my brother's keeper," we hear. "If a man is worth only fifty cents a day he should be paid only fifty cents."

If a worker is really only worth fifty cents a day, his place is certainly not in the workshops of the world, but in either the hospitals or the schools.

We already pay some workers fifty cents a day, or we suffer them to be altogether unemployed and unpaid. They live in disease-breeding hovels; some of them in desperation fall into ways of crime, or in despair, they go insane, or commit suicide. You would not pay a living wage, but you now must pay for hospitals in which to care for these unfortunates and the victims of the infection which they spread; you must pay for jails and gallows, for insane asylums and for potters' fields; yes, and you must pay for the wars of the battle-field which grow out of the wages wars of the workshop.
We Socialists are willing to pay for peace, abundance, intelligence. You republicans and democrats decide that the social wealth must be spent for war, famine, ignorance. Surely there is no accounting for tastes. The cost of poverty is paid in social health, in social happiness, in social morality, in social intelligence. Not only in these priceless things must the cost of poverty be paid, but it must be paid in good hard cash at last.

**Getting Possession of Industry—Confiscation.**

It is said that the government could not get possession of the industries. If this were true it would do the people no good to get possession of the government, since they could not thereby put themselves into business.

The European governments at this time take possession of any privately owned property they may need to help them in the great war. It is always the privilege of a government to confiscate property, that is, to take it for public use. In war time when the government seizes an automobile or other private possession, it is said to commandeer it, to take it for public use under pretext of military necessity. Applied to the persons of men, this process in war time is called conscription.

Why should we hold that the government can take possession of property and person for purposes of murder, but that it has no power to appropriate property for purposes of life?
Taxation.

The governments of Europe are now making generous use of taxation, a method of getting possession which is used in varying degrees by all governments at all times.

"The power to tax involves the power to destroy," said Chief Justice John Marshall.

The government through its power to tax can absorb into the public treasury either a part or the whole of any private property.

Competition.

Competition is a third means by which the people through their government can go into business. Our present Congress (1916) has decided that the government shall undertake the manufacture of its own armor plate. The Bethlehem Steel Company in opposing this action, has issued a pamphlet, *A Series of Statements to Congress and the Public*, under date of April 19, 1916.

In Statement No. 12 occurs this passage: "We have a plant now built which cost us $7,000,000. If a Government plant is built, ours is rendered useless and valueless."

Statement No. 7 quotes Senator Tillman as saying, "If the Government enters into its own armor manufacture itself, it will destroy your business in that respect at least."

Government manufacture for use would put trust manufacture for profit out of business. The trust knows this. The trust knows that when it manufactured
cheaper than the smaller plants could do, it drove them out of business. When it had the field to itself it was able to charge for its goods all that the traffic would bear.

The trust is more efficient and more economical than the small concern. To bring the trust to its greatest usefulness it must be made larger—it must include all the people. If the people owned the trust they would have no desire to raise prices against themselves.

As is to be expected, the Bethlehem Steel Company is very much concerned about the expense which the government is about to undertake. Its series of statement puts forth the following disinterested questions and suggestions; "A Proposed Waste of $11,000,000." "Why Should Government Money Be Spent for an Armor Factory?" "Is This the Time to Start a Government Armor Plant?" "Is Government Manufacture of Armor for Battleships Wise?"

It may be only a coincidence, but it is a strange one, that the trust's uneasiness lest the government should go bankrupt and its consequent offer to reduce the price of armor plate from $425 to $395 a ton, occurred at the time that the government first seriously considered going into business for itself.

Said the Hon. Clyde H. Tavenner, of Illinois, in the House of Representatives on February 15, 1915: "Let it be sufficient in passing to say that the Government purchase of armor has been a scandal from start to finish. The conduct of the armor ring in dealing with the Government averages throughout at least 80 per cent rotten."

"There have been nine official estimates as to the
actual cost of the manufacture of a ton of armor plate. The average estimate is $247.17 per ton. Yet since 1887 we have purchased 217,379 tons of armor, paying the armor ring an average of $440.04 per ton, or a total of $95,656,240. I believe I am well within the bounds of conservatism when I say that if all this armor had been manufactured in a Government plant, at least $35,000,000 would have been saved to the American taxpayers, and armor is only one of the things being purchased by the Army and Navy under similar conditions.

"If the Government builds an armor plant and a padlock is placed on its doors as soon as it is completed, and it is never used, it will, in the opinion of Secretary Daniels, pay for itself simply by enabling him to obtain fair treatment from the armor manufacturers." 

"Army and Navy officers generally are opposed to complete Government manufacture of munitions of war, taking the position that it is the part of wisdom for the Government to encourage private manufacturers to operate plants so that they may be available in time of war. Experience has shown, however, that instead of patriotically coming to the relief of the Government in time of war, the war traders take advantage of the necessities of the Government, which is at their mercy, and boost their prices. For instance, when war with Spain was imminent the armor manufacturers practically issued an ultimatum to the Government that they would not manufacture a single piece of armor plate unless the Government would agree to pay them $100 a
ton more than the price fixed by Congress after an investigation, as a fair price. And it is worthy of notice that their patriotism did not prevent them from selling armor to Russia for $249 a ton, while they were asking their own Government $616 a ton."

The steel trust is not slow to see that the competition of the Government would put it out of business—would take from it its priceless privilege of leeching on the public pocket. It is not the loss of equipment or the rendering useless of their organizations that big business men most fear—it is the establishment of an industrial order under which the people shall cease to be their prey.

Compensation or Purchase.

The Government can always condemn, appraise, and buy property which it wishes to take over. The State University of Minnesota in extending its grounds, recently condemned and bought many home sites from residents who preferred not to sell.

Let us suppose that the City of New York decided to go into the milk business. It might confiscate, or tax into the public treasury; it might buy, or compete out of business the existing private milk companies. Where the right of the city to go into business for itself is interfered with by the state, as was the case in Milwaukee, the people learn that it is necessary, not only to control the city government but also the government of the state and the nation. Socialism is not like smallpox—it doesn’t come in spots. We must have it all over.
It would make no difference by what method the city proposed to acquire its milk business, the private companies would fight bitterly a movement to deprive them of their power to buy milk from the producer at three or four cents a quart and sell it to the city dweller at eleven cents. They would insist that a socialistic milk business would knock all the props from under the churches and would utterly destroy religion. You see, the private milk companies are firm believers in at least the first sacrament—they want the people to consume no milk that has not been well baptized.

Socialism and Religion.

All who wish to get at the heart of the claim that Socialism is antagonistic to religion should read "Marxian Socialism and Religion," by Mr. John Spargo. This book can be had at the Rand School of Social Science, 140 East 19th Street, New York.

Ruskin once said in effect that it matters not whether there be one God or ten, the children of the world must be fed, and washed, and educated.

Modern Socialism is an outreaching to take the earth for the use of the children of the earth. It is a movement to establish the right of the people to stay comfortably and happily on the earth, and not an attempt to tell where people have come from and where at last they are going. Socialists are evolutionists, but so are the most studious churchmen of our day. Evolution, after all, is a study of the development of the universe and not of its origin.
The challenge of the Socialist movement is not "Where do you pray?" but "How do you vote?" It does not try to unite men on a common religious platform but upon a platform to secure to all the right to bread. I do not know what kind of religion you need—I do know what kind of bread you need. Bread feeds the red stream of life. It is the spring from which wells the blood of all. It is the seal upon the bond of the world's brotherhood. Protestant and Catholic; Jew and Gentile; man, woman, and child must stand together to protect the common bread. Upon such a question as religion we workers can afford to have no disagreement.

And indeed our masters are wiser than we: when they organize a National Association of Manufacturers they do not ask to what church an applicant belongs. The creed of the owner of industry is a commercial creed with two principal articles: buy labor cheap and sell the products of labor dear. An employer who accepts these articles and is willing to organize for their defense is welcome in the National Association of Manufacturers.

When employers send soldiers to shoot strikers, they do not ask after the religion of their gunmen; they want men who can shoot straight. At Ludlow, the officers, Linderfelt and Hamrock, a German and an Irishman, differing in nationality and no doubt in creed, were freely and equally used to do murder for the owners of the mines.

Padraic Pearse, a devout Catholic of the Irish revolutionary movement is dead—shot by a masters' government.
Karl Liebknecht, of the German revolutionary movement, who confesses no church, is sentenced to prison—by a masters' government.

Pearse and Liebknecht both stood for popular freedom. Could they afford for a moment to stand separated in the world's great political contest because accident had cast them in different religious moulds?

When your masters say "Fight Socialism; it is bad for religion," they mean "Support capitalism; it is good for religion." Let us be wise: it is not for religion but for their own privilege they plead. They seek to put upon their right to rob you the stamp of sanctity. Eugene V. Debs reminds us that the munitions manufacturers fear the workers will not get to heaven—fast enough.

Religion in its highest meaning is love of God and love of neighbor—and capitalism fosters religion! Where was the God and who were the neighbors of the men who burned the babies at Ludlow? Ludlow is typical of all strikes. Where are God and neighbor at Verdun today where

"The upturned faces of a million dead
Plead to the sky."

Verdun is typical of all battles. And strikes and wars are of capitalism—they are no part of the plan and program of Socialism. They would find no place within it. Strikes and wars are born of the private ownership of the earth and in them always religion perishes: God is forgotten, love is dead, and neighbors are not!
“The devil has a right to rule if we let him but he has no right to call his rule Christian Civilization.”

Socialism and Homes.

One hesitates to drag forth the stale claim that Socialism is the enemy of the home at a time when homes owned by wage earners are about as scarce as real religion in a strike. The United States Labor Report, 18th Vol., pp. 54-55, shows that in all the nation, 81.1 per cent of the workers’ homes are rented, 8.3 per cent are mortgaged, and but 10.6 per cent are owned free.

In New York City a recent census report showed 9,000 homes owned free, something like 14,000 homes mortgaged, and 384,349 homes rented.

Men who must run from place to place looking for masters who can profitably hire them, find but little encouragement to buy homes. I have in mind Troy and O’Fallon, Illinois, and Aspen, Colorado, once prosperous mining camps now worked out. When the mines closed there was no sale for property. Miners who had bought homes in these places were obliged to sacrifice them to look elsewhere for work.

Socialism means the opportunity to serve, and the right of the workers to enjoy the results of their labor undiminished by rent, interest, and profit for an idle owning class. Under such conditions, would you have a home or not? The profit takers tell you that you would not. It seems that it would be up to you, would it not? We have permitted our masters to do our thinking for us and they have assumed without permission the
right to do our eating for us. Thinking by proxy may be all right but eating by proxy is a delusion and a snare.

Can We Agree?

Those who own what is necessary to life control life in all of its phases. If we would be free we must in common own what is necessary to the common life. Can we agree upon that?

If we are agreed upon the necessity of social control of the socially necessary industrial property, surely we are also agreed upon the necessity of a government which will represent in fundamental things the common will.

In reason, then, all who want, first, social ownership of our great industrial properties; and, second, a government pledged to a program of social control, belong in a political organization devoted to the achievement of these things. The Socialist Party is such an organization.

Many stand aloof from it because it is made up largely of common working people with soiled and hardened hands. If no hands became hard and no backs bent in unpaid service, there need be no Socialist Party. In the meantime, some of the world’s best intellect is in the workers’ movement. There, too, is its cleanest conscience. Is it not easier to stand with the toilers for men, with their dirty hands, than with the spoilers of men, with their dirty consciences?

It is true that the discipline of this, as of any great movement, is severe. You refuse to submit to it.
But—is the discipline of capitalism easy? Are you willing to continue in it?

No task that is worth while is easy—and the task of building a future for the children is worth while. We cannot hope to leave individual protection for the children of the coming generations. We can leave something better for them—social protection, a world in which they may live and labor without paying tribute to industrial masters.

The Fulfilment of the Law.

About the machines of industry the world’s workers stand. There they touch elbow to elbow. They come to understand the common pain and the common failure. They learn that no man is bad—that all are as good as their opportunity gives them to be. There they hear the insistent cry for bread coming up out of the heart of life and they all understand that language.

We have had a splendid commandment of love, “A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.” The commandment of love we have given to ribald violation because we have not known the law. And now we are slowly learning the law from that strangest of all teachers—the great machine. It looks like a dead thing, but out of its lifeless body is born a throbbing, palpitating social soul and consciousness. Into the hearts of men the purr of its wheels and belts sings a vibrant “yes” in answer to the old question, “Am I my brother’s keeper?”
I am my brother's keeper. My brother is my keeper and I never more can live without him. I cannot repudiate my responsibility to my brother, nor would I if I could. There is nothing worth while but service. There is nothing sweet but love. Love is the fulfilment of the law; and although the guns boom today over the corpse-littered battle-fields of hate, to the listening ear there comes through all the clamor and clangor, the clear, triumphant note of life ascendant.
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