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# WILSHIRE EDITORIALS

BY  
**GAYLORD WILSHIRE**  
*Editor Wilshire's Magazine*



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*Thomas Dixon Carver*

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## PREFACE

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The contents of this volume consist almost exclusively of my editorials published within the past six years either in "Wilshire's Magazine" or in "The Challenge," its predecessor.

The burden of my song, as the reader will quickly gather, is that an industrial cataclysm is about to appear in the United States as the result of over-production.

I predict this notwithstanding that to-day as I write we are in the fever of a greater industrial expansion than the country has ever before experienced. It seems impossible to supply demand. Factories are over-burdened with orders. Our mines of copper, lead, zinc, silver and iron are being worked day and night under the stimulus of tremendously high prices, and yet are unable to supply demand.

However, my endeavor is to show that all this activity is ephemeral and temporary, that the great demand comes far more largely from consumption by the capitalists of goods for new capital expenditure than from any demand by the workers for necessities of life. Shortly, the great demand is for pig-iron, not pig-meat.

The essential difference between the two demands, speaking economically, is that the one will cease as soon as the new machinery is built, and that the other, based on human hunger, can never cease.

I find in the Trust the sign that the industrial demand for new machinery is coming to a close; the Trust is manifestly a necessary device of the capitalist to subdue the ill effects of over-production in being or in prospect.

Our immensely increased capacity to produce, as the result of the use of better and better machinery, has not been accompanied by any superior facilities for distribution and consumption except to the extent that the capitalists have found an opportunity to expand their plants.

The workers cannot, to any extent, increase their power of consumption, because that power is limited by their wages, and wages are forced by competition to remain at about the point of subsistence.

Money wages have, indeed, increased somewhat in the last few years, but the rise in price of living has kept real wages down to about the same old level of subsistence. The present period of great expansion is, to my mind, directly traceable to the stimulus given by the three great wars with which the world has lately been scourged. I refer to the Boer-British South African war, the Spanish-American war, and, finally, to the Russo-Japanese war. The effect of this last war is seen in our present great industrial prosperity. I think that its influence cannot last much longer than a year from to-day.

I believe that when the collapse of the present boom shall usher in a huge unemployed problem that the workers of the United States will refuse to be placated by any reasoning of the capitalists to the effect that they ought to expect to go hungry, knowing that they produce so much more than they can buy.

The day has passed when the people of the United States will be satisfied to starve because they produce too much food.

The day has passed when the people of a whole village will submit to death from typhoid fever because the doctors and preachers pronounce it a visitation of God as a punishment for their unrighteousness. They now know that typhoid comes with polluted water supply, and they will proceed to purify that supply at once.

It will be the same way with us Americans in regard to

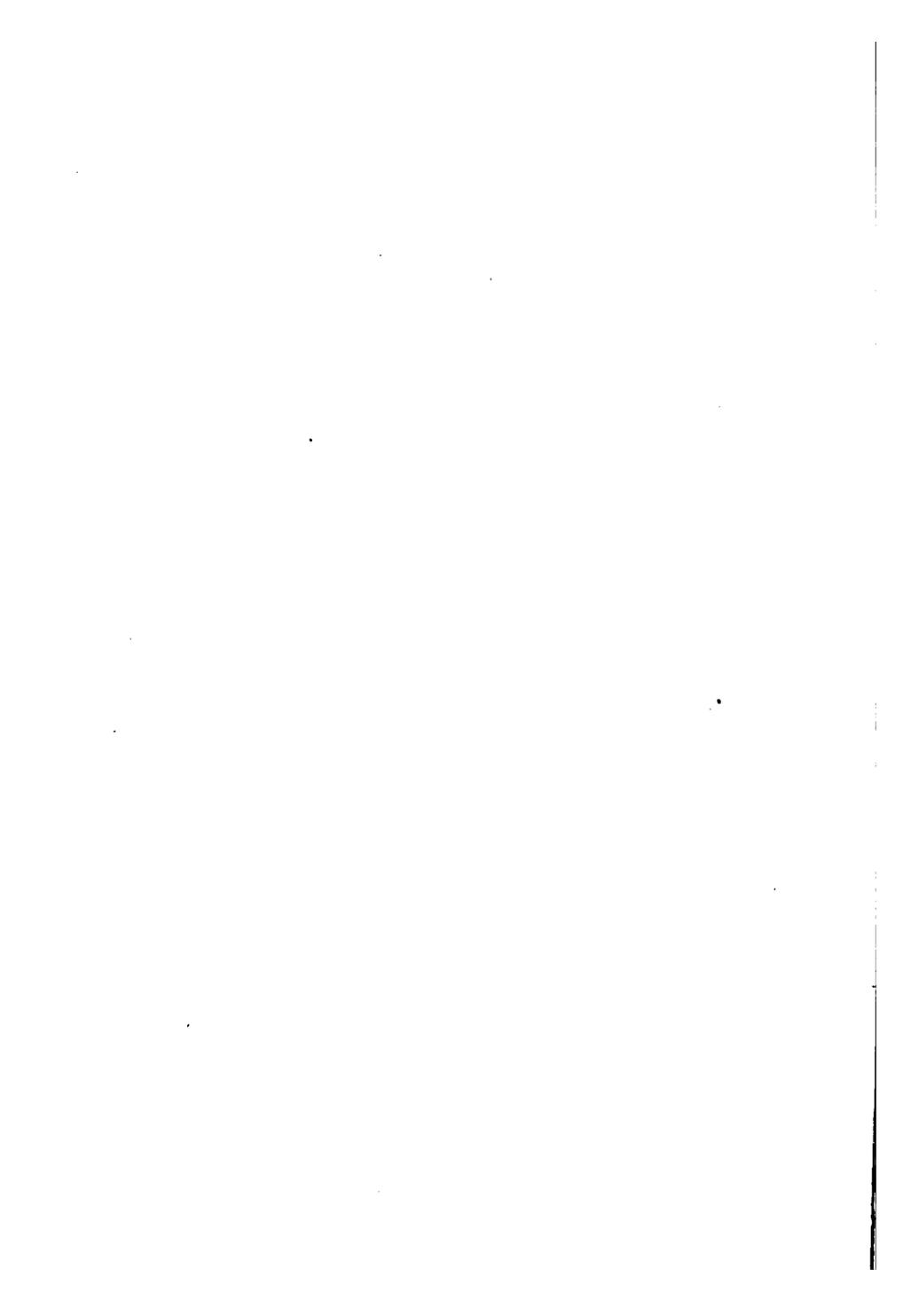
death from starvation when the capitalist cannot employ us owing to over-production. Some years ago we would have quietly starved, thinking that such events as panics and trade depressions were mysterious events sent upon man by a divine providence, into whose ways it was profane to explore.

We now know differently. We know that a trade depression is caused by over-production, which in turn is caused by the inability of the workers to buy with their low wages what they produce. We know that low wages are caused by competition between workers—by the competitive system. We, therefore, see that the base of all the trouble is in the competitive system.

My editorials are built upon this theory, and they try to show how by the substitution of the co-operative system—Socialism—we can solve the industrial problem now threatening us.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

BREKOP, CAL., NOV. 14, 1906.



## SOCIALISM: A RELIGION

**I** THINK most Socialists would agree that until the belief in Socialism gets hold of the hearts and emotions of the people more as a religion than as an understanding of economic events, that there is not going to be a Social Revolution.

In the first place the economics of Socialism are not sufficiently easy of explanation to the general public for them to be understood quickly enough for us to gain a large following in any short period of time.

Men usually have taken up a political faith not because they have arrived at it from a course of logical reasoning, but because they have gained it through their emotions rather than their reason. However, this admission does not necessarily imply that such faith necessarily rests on a false foundation. It may or may not.

Every period of depression in this country has awakened a feeling of revolt among the ones affected injuriously, and they have sought in the past to remedy their ills by a variety of panaceas.

It is not so many years ago when faith in the greenbacks was prevailing, and it seemed to many of us the great and only remedy for human ills, and later on we pinned our faith to Mr. Bryan and his remedy of free silver.

To-day there is a marked tendency among the people to place their faith in Socialism. In each case the method by which the greatest part of the believers in greenbacks, free silver and Socialism arrived at their conclusions, was much more through their hearts and emotions than through their brains and intellects. But because we have been wrong at least two times out of the three it does not follow that now when we decide upon Socialism that we must be again wrong for the third time.

It has been rightly said that it is much easier to sympathize with suffering than happiness; that is, where ten men will sympathize with you, wishing for Socialism because

it will alleviate suffering, there is one man who will go with you because it promises a world of happiness and beauty.

The Socialist has three classes of men to whom he appeals: First, the large mass of humanity who wish a change because they themselves are actually suffering from poverty. Secondly, another large mass of people who, while they themselves are not suffering from poverty, wish to see others' sufferings alleviated. Third, a class, and a very much smaller class, are those who picture the earth made into one divinely beautiful garden for man in the state of complete happiness, and this ideal makes them Socialists.

The best Socialist is one who cannot only sympathize with poverty and wish to alleviate it, but who has the imagination to see the world of beauty which Socialism promises as the goal to be realized.

In this day of machine production it is not difficult to show that we can produce more than enough to banish poverty. There was a day when poverty was the result of under-production, famine and war. The world was hungry, because there was not enough to eat. To-day hunger and want exist in civilized countries not because there is not enough produced, but because we don't know how to properly distribute the product. If we could properly distribute what is produced without at the same time checking production, there is no economist but would admit that the problem of poverty could be solved.

Under our competitive system a man is not paid according to what he produces, but according to what he may sell his labor for in the competitive market.

The employer buys labor just as he buys any other material. If he is making shoes he figures out how much the labor cost is, how much the leather cost, how much his rent and interest are, etc. He cannot pay more for his labor than his competitors do, any more than he could pay any more for his leather than they do—not if he expects to sell his shoes against them in competition.

On the other hand, the man that sells his labor, just as the man that sells his leather to him, must sell at the market rate, otherwise he cannot dispose of his product, his labor.

If Jones offers his labor for \$2 a day to the employer, then it is just as hopeless for Smith to try to sell his labor

for \$2.50 a day, as it would be for Smith to ask \$2.50 a pound for leather, which the employer could buy for \$2 a pound. If there are plenty of men who are willing to sell their labor at \$2 a day and their leather at \$2 a pound, then, of course, the price of leather or labor cannot rise above \$2. There are always many men out of employment in the United States, even in times of prosperity, and, therefore, it is futile to expect that wages can rise very much above what the unemployed ask and they ask just about enough to keep them from starving. Hence under our existing conditions remuneration to the workingman must always remain approximately at the mere point of subsistence, no matter how much more than a subsistence the worker may produce.

The reason of this holding down of wages to the bare subsistence point is the competitive system, and as long as that system exists, the workingman cannot expect to get more than at best a mere living. Hence, no matter how much we may increase in productivity, the laborer will find it impossible to share in the increase.

The average annual wage to-day is something less than \$500 per man; while the annual product to-day has been estimated at about \$2,000; but whether it is \$2,000 or \$20,000 makes no difference as far as the laborer is concerned, because under the competitive system he cannot possibly get any more than this living wage of \$500.

The surplus is automatically dumped into the laps of the employing class—into the hands of the owners of the machinery of production and the land.

Of course it often happens that some individual employer may get very little, if any, of this surplus. He may have to pay all his gains away to pay his landlord, if he is a manufacturer in the city of New York, or if he is a farmer in the West he may be forced to pay his gains to the railroad, and so on.

The employing class—the capitalist class—utilize this automatic surplus product coming from the laborer in two ways. First, they spend part of it, and second, they invest part of it. We may pass by the question of what they spend as being relatively of no economic importance, unimportant because it is not a channel which can be automatically enlarged in times of emergency.

It is the investment of capital in savings which absorbs a great part of the surplus product of labor. This is the part which goes to build our railroads, our manufactories and our industrial undertakings as a whole. It is the opportunity for investment of savings which to-day creates and is responsible for our present period of prosperity. As long as the capitalist can see an opportunity for the profitable investment of his surplus he will invest, and this means that he will continue to employ labor, build new railroads, etc.; but let it once come to the point when there is no profit to be made in the further building of railroads, of oil refineries, etc., then you may be sure that he will stop his investing.

This is the future the Socialist sees is sooner or later going to confront the capitalist class, viz., the inability to invest their surplus, and therefore the inability to employ labor, and therefore a great unemployed problem must ensue.

It might be thought by some that there is an unlimited opportunity for the building of new machinery, but the trust is in evidence as contradicting such an assumption. The trust is a white flag hung out by the competitive capitalistic armies announcing their surrender to monopoly and to combination. Over-production threatens their existence.

But the trust is only a temporary remedy, for we must remember that all our industrial equipment is for the purpose of making goods to be distributed to the working class.

The working class under our original analysis have only about \$500 a year to buy the product, and as under our competitive system this \$500 cannot be increased, it is not at all difficult to see how man with modern machinery can produce more than he can buy. Therefore, the wonder is not that we are threatened with over-production to-day, but that we were not overwhelmed with it years ago.

However, the technical improvements in production have been so revolutionary that no sooner has one piece of machinery been installed than another has been invented to take its place, and the first piece has been torn down and the new installed, thus giving employment to labor. But this building of new machinery to supersede old machinery has at last come to a stop, and the trust is the sign that this climax has been reached.

Two years ago we were threatened with a period of great

depression, but along came the Russo-Japanese war to distribute goods in great quantity and at the same time draw more than a million men from the labor army of the world, and the result of this was a tremendous increased demand for products in Western Europe and the United States. The San Francisco earthquake will have a tendency to prolong the stimulus given by the war. The effects of this war are rapidly wearing off, however, and it will not be many months before there is a great fall in prices and a great cessation of the demand for labor. This means a great unemployed problem and means that this nation, now in its heyday of prosperity, is soon to be confronted with a terrible economic crisis. In the previous periods of depression we looked to superficial remedies for relief. We were like a quack who would attempt to cure smallpox by treating the eruption.

The Socialist sees that it is useless to try to alleviate poverty as long as you let rest the cause of poverty, viz., the competitive system. He would abolish the competitive system and substitute the co-operative system, which merely means the distribution of products to men as they may produce rather than distributing as little as they can live upon. To do this it is necessary for us to own the machinery of production; that is, it would be absurd for us to try to establish the co-operative commonwealth if we should leave the trusts and railroads in the hands of the Gould-Vanderbilt-Harriman-Rockefeller-Astor Company.

It is necessary for the people as a whole to own and operate these great machines of production and to distribute the product to ourselves as workers, not upon the basis of how little we can use, but upon the basis of what we produce. If by virtue of modern machinery we can produce one hundred times the product we can without machinery, then let us have a product one hundredfold greater instead of taking only one-tenth of the product and allowing ninety per cent. of it to rest in an unused accumulated heap in the hands of the capitalists and justifying them in saying that there is over-production and therefore no opportunity to give us work.

I have shortly sketched the economic basis of Socialism, and if it be difficult of understanding to many readers my original contention that Socialism will not gain the day through an appeal to the understanding as much as an ap-

peal to the heart will be justified. We can all feel for the man that is suffering from hunger, and we can all see the absurdity of his being hungry merely because there is so much bread that there is no opportunity to hire him to either raise the wheat or to grind the flour or to bake bread.

Even in this present period of "prosperity" the growth of the Socialistic undercurrent of sentiment is apparent to every one, not only in the increased Socialistic vote in all parts of the world, but particularly is it exhibited in the current literature of the day, not merely the literature of exposures of graft, but the literature such as is produced by such as our Gorkys, our Tolstoys, our Zolas, our Londons, our Sinclairs and other men of genius, who are voicing the cry of the disinherited.

It is impossible for a man even though he be in perfect health, with the exception, say, of a crushed finger, to be happy until the pain from his finger has departed.

Humanity is just as much a living organism as is a man's body a living organism. We cannot have a single member of our great organization of humanity hurt without all of us feeling the pain, just as the man with the crushed finger feels pain throughout his body, although only his finger is affected. Even the most hard-hearted of men will admit that he could not sit down to eat his dinner with any pleasure and have alongside of him a hungry man who because of poverty could not share his food. Fundamentally, our instinct is to relieve the pain of our brother men just as much as it is for us to relieve the pain in our crushed finger.

Socialism recognizes this emotional interdependence of all humanity, and calls upon it to further a movement to relieve all humanity of all its pain, viz., its poverty.

On the other hand, the mere relieving humanity of the pain of poverty is only the first step toward putting it in position to properly enjoy life. The man with the injured finger does not look upon the end of life to be relieved of pain. His end of life is to enjoy happiness, and that is a positive condition and not a mere negative one. A man has the greatest enjoyment in the exercises of his functions, first of the physical, and then of the intellectual and spiritual.

With poverty abolished from the earth, men will be relieved of the necessity of paying attention to material needs

or at least the attention necessary to be paid will be inconsequential. They will devote themselves to living their spiritual lives, and at last the souls of all men will really live.

Humanity then will become a race of gods and every man will then be fit to be in communication with God. Religion in the broader and higher sense is the relating of man to the universe, and Socialism is merely the path to this great end.

The poets and artists are merely men who best experience an emotional contact with all humanity and who can precipitate their emotions in visible shape—in their poems and statues—that all may see and enjoy. When Socialism comes, all men will not only feel themselves individually happy, but will also feel themselves perfectly related to a happy humanity, and that humanity as a whole will feel its relation to every individual man. Then all men will be poets and artists, and then indeed will be the Birth of the Superman.

The greatest exaltation that can come to the spirit of man is to realize himself at one with the universe.

This can only come when men are as perfectly related to each other and to humanity as a whole as are the cells in the living body related to each other and to the body as a whole.

Men must be united to humanity in an organization at once perfectly democratic and perfectly autocratic.

All humanity will be at one with God and every man will be a god.

This is the glorious ideal which spurs on the Socialist and which enthuses him with a religious ecstasy comparable with no emotion which has ever hitherto stirred the world.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRUST

**T**HE real danger of the Trust exists not in what it is to-day, but in what it promises for to-morrow. Most writers on the Trust have confined themselves too much to expatiating upon its most palpable features. Anyone can see the menace to our institutions involved in the change from industry conducted on a competitive democratic system to a monopolistic autocratic system. Anyone can see the menace to labor if there is but one employer instead of a hundred. Anyone can see that when the production of a commodity is controlled by a Trust that prices may be put up to exorbitant figures. All these points are so obvious that it is a waste of time calling attention to them.

Not only is time wasted running over and over again the obvious and manifest dangers of the Trust, but the remedies suggested for its elimination are usually so absurd that their proposal constitutes another waste of time.

It is the indication of what is to come that constitutes the dangerous significance of the appearance of the Trust, for the Trust signifies the near approach of a tremendous Unemployed Problem.

A great change in public opinion regarding the Trust issue has occurred in the last few years. It is not so very long ago when all our public men and newspapers had but one solution for the problem: "The Trust must be destroyed," they said. To-day nobody in his right senses looks to the possibility of the destruction of Trusts, for Trusts are now admitted to be the inevitable result of our competitive economic system.

I do not propose to devote any great attention to a demonstration of the inevitability of the Trust, as I regard such a task as practically superfluous. The point I care more to dwell upon is not the inevitability of the Trust, which will be generally agreed upon, but upon the impossibility, in an economic sense, of the permanence of the Trust. Let me say at once, before I raise false hopes in the breast of the classical economist, that I do not propose to show that Trusts must fall

to pieces of their own weight and that competition must be restored owing to the entrance of fresh capital into the field attempted to be monopolized. That would be an extremely foolish position to take after having asserted the inevitability of the Trust.

Neither am I attempting a glittering paradox by first asserting the inevitability of the Trust and in the next breath declaring its impossibility. The theory which I shall attempt to demonstrate is that the natural and inevitable evolution of our industrial system is from competition under private ownership to monopoly under private ownership, and from monopoly under private ownership to monopoly under public ownership. In declaring the impossibility of the permanence of private monopoly, I speak simply from the standpoint of the political economist, and I leave out of consideration political and industrial changes which may or may not be brought about by the uprising of a long-suffering and indignant people.

Public ownership of industry might be brought about next month if the people had a sufficient desire to effect it. However, it is not to the "might be" I appeal, but to the "must be." I shall endeavor to prove that public ownership—Socialism—is not inevitable because it is desirable, but because it comes into the category of the inexorably necessary. My first task will be to prove the necessity of the Trust, my next to prove the necessity of Socialism.

The Trust arose from the desire of the manufacturers to protect themselves from over-production and the consequent mad and suicidal struggle to dispose of their surplus stock.

Over-production arises because our productive capacity has been developed to the highest degree with labor-saving machinery operated by steam and electricity, while our consumptive capacity remains stunted by the competitive wage system which limits the laborers—who constitute the bulk of our consumers—to the mere necessities of life. I will not tire the reader with long statistics exhibiting the enormous strides that have taken place in the productive capacity of men, due to modern machinery, nor will I harrow his soul with the well-worn details of the narrow, sordid life of squalor lived by millions of our workers. It is patent to everyone that the wage worker of to-day consumes but little if any more of the necessities of life than did his grandfather of fifty years ago.

The consumption, per capita, of beef, flour, potatoes, coffee, tobacco, wool, etc., has varied little, if any, in the last fifty years. Every student of history knows in a general way that the ordinary laborers of this country fifty or one hundred years ago lived in a fair degree of comfort, were warmly clad in their homespun and comfortably housed in their log cabins. The best proof of this is their notoriously fine physical development, their longevity and freedom from disease. The average family was from ten to fourteen, for neither the husband nor the wife felt the dread of an addition to the family that is so characteristic of to-day. Race suicide is purely a modern thing.

I do not think any fair-minded person will claim that the modern day laborer on his \$1.50 per day, and very uncertain of that, living in a city, wearing shoddy clothes, breathing sewer gas, eating tuberculous beef, drinking typhoid bacilli in his milk and fusel oil in his whisky, and absorbing intellectual garbage from his yellow journal, has had any great augmentation in the pleasures of life through the inventions of the marvelous nineteenth century.

But it may be pertinently asked, "Where has disappeared this immense stream of products that is the result of the labor of the nation applied to modern machinery?"

Taking the product of labor as a whole, it flows into two broad channels, one to the capitalists, the holders of wealth, and one to the workers. The ordinary workers at best merely get enough to keep them in efficient condition. Part of the workers, the aristocracy of labor, the trade-unionists and skilled labor generally, the proletarians who sell their brains rather than their hands, may get something above the mere necessities; but, broadly speaking, competition prevents any great augmentation of the share that goes to labor beyond that of the mere necessities of life.

The whole of the remainder of the product of labor falls automatically into the lap of the holders of wealth simply as a rent, with no economic necessity on their part of doing anything in return for it.

Witness the enormous incomes of the Duchess of Marlborough and the Countess Castellane, representing abroad the Vanderbilt and Gould wealth, and discover if you can any return they may make to the American people. It is possible

that somebody might strain his imagination into believing that the Astors, the Rockefellers and the Vanderbilts, who between them have an income something like \$200,000,000 per year, perform some economic good in return, but I doubt if their most generous retainer would say that a hundred thousand a year each would not be sufficient compensation considering that our college professors get on an average less than \$1,000.

The stream of wealth flowing into the coffers of the rich flows out again divided into two streams, one of which goes to satisfy what they are pleased to regard as their necessities of existence, a wonderful conglomerate of beefsteaks, truffles, champagne, automobiles, private cars, steam yachts, golf balls, picture galleries, food and clothing for their servants, etc., all classified under the general head of consumables and paid for by "spent" money.

The other division of the stream is what is termed "saved" money, and goes into the building of new machinery of production, new railroads, canals, iron furnaces, mills, etc. It is this last channel for the "saved" money for investments that has been the great sluiceway for carrying off the surplus product and avoiding a plethora in our industrial system.

Notwithstanding that the prodigality of the American rich in unbounded luxury is the wonder of the age, still the percentage of the very rich is so small that all their efforts in lavish "spending" have had little effect—economically—compared with the wealth they are forced to "save," owing to lack of ingenuity in discovering new modes for "spending." There is a grim satisfaction in the reflection that the "saving" capacity of the nation is increased by the concentration of wealth. Thrift is no longer a difficult virtue when it requires more labor and pains to "spend" than it does to "save," and this is the predicament of the very rich Americans.

No man cares for two dinners, and when Mr. Rockefeller with his \$100,000,000 a year income "spends" over a thousand dollars per day on himself and his household, he finds it both pleasanter and easier to "save" the remainder than to lay awake nights devising bizarre ways to "spend" it. However, as the condition of affairs now is in the business world, it must be admitted that it is about as difficult for him to discover channels to invest his savings as it is to invent ways to "spend" it. I pity him. Some thirty years or more ago

when Rockefeller went into the business of refining oil, he was not then bothered with the problem of investing his profits. First, because they were not then so large as to be cumbersome; and, secondly, because the oil business itself, notwithstanding sharp competition, was a fairly profitable one, and he had then a natural place there to reinvest his earnings. However, others in the oil business, his competitors, also reinvested their earnings in the oil business. Finally the capacity for refining oil became greater than the market demanded. Each refiner was bound to get rid of his surplus product at any price, and the price of the surplus determined the price of the whole. Prices sank to a ruinously low figure and bankruptcy stared them in the face. Over-production must be curtailed. The Standard Oil Trust was born.

All this has been brought out time and again in the many federal and state inquiries into the Standard Oil Trust. Rockefeller completely proved his case in the Congressional investigation of 1888, that competition was ruining his business and that combination had become an absolute necessity. In fact, there has never been any questioning of his testimony establishing these facts. The politicians, however, thought it was a chance to make political capital, and urged the destruction of the Oil Trust, not attempting in the least to controvert Rockefeller's statement of facts showing that combination was an absolute necessity. But notwithstanding the efforts of the politicians to overturn the laws of nature and make water run up hill, Rockefeller persisted in combining and making money instead of following their plan of competing and losing money.

The only reason that capitalists in the oil business kept on investing money when they knew there was already too much money in that business was because the opportunities for the investment of capital in other industries promised no better returns.

Capital, like water, seeks its own level. When no Trust is on guard to intimidate would-be investors, abnormally large profits will induce the flow of fresh capital to any business until profits are reduced to the normal. Hence, as it may be inferred, if capital was investing in oil refineries, notwithstanding the unpromising outlook, it was doing so because other businesses were in the same state of plethora and could

offer no better inducements. That this was true is fully substantiated by the subsequent formation of trusts in other lines of manufacture to prevent the very same plethora of capital that had been affecting the oil business. The great industrial undertakings of the world are practically finished as far as present developments indicate.

As the late David A. Wells says in his "Recent Economic Changes": "It would seem indeed as if the world during all the years since the inception of civilization has been working upon the line of equipment for industrial effort— inventing and perfecting tools and machinery, building workshops and factories, and devising instrumentalities for the easy communication of persons and thoughts; that this equipment having at last been made ready, the work of using it has, for the first time in our day and generation, fairly begun; and also that every community under prior or existing conditions of use and consumption, is becoming saturated, as it were, with its results."

There is no country in which the industrial machinery is so much over-built as in the United States. We are saturated with capital and can absorb no more. In normal conditions the machinery of production will produce more in three days than we can consume in a week. The present boom is recognized by all as destined to be of a most ephemeral nature.

As a general law in economics it may be stated that the tendency to combination increases as the number of competitors decreases and the amount of capital for each competing plant increases.

In 1890 there were 910 establishments manufacturing agricultural implements, with a capital of 145 millions. In 1900 we have but 715 establishments, although the total capitalization has increased to 157 millions.

In establishments manufacturing salt the number has decreased during the past ten census years from 200 to 159, while the capitalization has increased over 100 per cent., from 13 millions to 27 millions.

Slaughtering establishments have decreased in number from 1,118 to 921, while their total capitalization has increased from 116 millions to 189 millions.

As a matter of fact, all three of the above businesses are each in the hands of a Trust.

Perhaps the most striking of the returns is that from the carriage and wagon factories. These have fallen in number from 8,614 to 7,632, while at the same time their capitalization has increased from 104 millions to 118 millions. But this is not the point that is so especially noteworthy. The number of wage-earners has decreased from 64,259 to 62,540, and the number of "salaried" employees—clerks, salesmen, etc., is now actually less than one-half what it was in 1890. They now number 4,311 as against 9,194 in 1890. This cutting off of "salaried" employees means a saving, according to the census, of \$3,459,289 a year to the carriage makers.

The figures from the flour mills also show the same trend toward the elimination of superfluous employees. The total capital employed in flour milling has increased in the last ten years from 208 millions to 218 millions, but the number of wage-earners has decreased from 47,403 to 37,073. "Salaried" employees have been reduced from 16,078 to 5,790, and the millers are paying out \$3,492,590 less per annum for salaries to-day than ten years ago.

As has been delineated, the volume of production has been constantly rising owing to the development of modern machinery. There were two main channels to carry off these products. One channel carrying off the product destined to be consumed by the workers, and the other channel carrying all the remainder to the rich. The worker's channel is in rock-bound banks that cannot enlarge owing to the competitive wage system preventing wages rising *pro rata* with increased efficiency. Wages are based upon cost of living, and not upon efficiency of labor. The miner in the poor mine gets the same wages as the miner in the adjoining rich mine. The owner of the rich mine gets the advantage—not his laborer. The channel which conveys the goods destined to supply the rich is itself again divided into two streams. One stream carries off what the rich "spend" on themselves for the necessities and luxuries of life. The other is simply an "overflow" stream, carrying off their "savings." The channel for spending, i. e., the amount wasted by the rich in luxuries, may broaden somewhat, but owing to the small number of those rich enough to indulge in whims it can never be greatly enlarged, and at any rate it bears such a small relative proportion to the channel for investment that in no event can much hope of avoiding a flood

of capital be looked for that way. The rich will never be so ingenious as to spend enough to prevent over-production. The great safety overflow channel which has been continuously more and more widened and deepened to carry off the ever-increasing flood of new capital is the channel which carries the savings of the rich, and now this is not only suddenly found to be incapable of further enlargement, but actually seems to be in the process of being dammed up.

And why not? Man's material wants are limited, no matter how unlimited may be his spiritual ones. If one bridge is sufficient to carry me from New York to Brooklyn, then two will be a surplus. When one car line is built on Broadway, there is no room nor necessity for more.

It is superfluous to point out that with wages determined by competition a workingman can create no effective demand for the satisfaction of his spiritual wants. He is lucky enough to get the necessities of life and is not fool enough to refuse a wage because it does not afford luxuries when he sees a man in waiting behind him only too willing and anxious to take his place if he should give up his job.

Let us cast a broad sympathetic look over the surface of the United States, with the perplexed eye of a man with a million dollars or more looking for a promising and safe investment. Would he care to build another transcontinental railway? I think not. There are too many already. Would he care to go into wheat-growing? Not if he is not in need of a guardian. One year it pays, then for the next three years there is either no crop on account of drought, or there is low price owing to over-production, and the wheat-grower has no chance of forming a trust. Too many farmers to combine; it is difficult enough to get ten men into a combination, but when you have 10,000 it is manifestly an impossibility.

Is there one single industry which he could find that is of a nature to warrant the investment of a large capital that is not palpably over-done? As for smaller industries there is a consensus of opinion in the business world that there are practically none promising good returns. They manage to exist, like the mice in a granary, escaping destruction owing to their insignificance.

The channel which carries the surplus wealth for the up-building of new industries we can imagine sub-dividing itself

into a many-branched delta, each mouth furnishing the supply for a particular industry. When there was no over-supply of capital in an industry the capitalists controlling the branch of the delta flowing to their industry used all efforts to widen and deepen the channel. When finally they had all the capital they wished, they formed their trust, and the process was reversed. It was as if they had thrown a dam across the entrance to their branch and turned the stream back into the main stream to be distributed through the other mouths into the other industries.

With this metaphor before you it is easy to see that with the successive closings of the mouths by the successive trusts so much the greater becomes the supply for the other mouths and so much the sooner does it become imperative that the capitalists in the other industries throw across their protective dam. As in a real river, so with our imaginary river, when a number of mouths are dammed up, the river no longer can find a sufficient exit through the remaining mouths, and it has a strong tendency to overflow the dams, which will require strengthening if they are to remain secure.

Each new trust that is born is a menace to the security of all previous trusts.

Rockefeller, with his enormous surplus income, cannot find room to invest in his own confessedly overdone oil business. He is the modern Alexander the Great of our industrial field, sighing for more worlds to conquer. He has already taken possession of the electric light and gas plants of New York City. He is in control of the iron industry. He owns the Lake Superior mines and the lake transportation service. He will soon be in complete control of the railways of the United States. He is about to control the copper mines of the United States. He is in control of the largest banks in New York. When Rockefeller gets control of an industry the temptations for outside capital to compete against him are not overpowering.

The proof that Trusts are necessary as a protection against the rising flood of capital is simply overwhelming, both in theory and in fact. It seems most palpable that every industry in this country must in time fall into the power of the Trust.

The Trust with its enormous capital not only gives our

capitalists better facilities for competition with foreigners in foreign neutral markets, but by damming up the old and natural domestic channels for investment is actually forcing them to cut out new channels for investment abroad.

The present immense flood of surplus capital in the United States is shown by the treasury balance showing the greatest stock of gold on hand ever known. The banks are over-laden with money. American money is entering into the world's markets as a buyer of bonds of foreign nations.

Chauncey Depew says that we are producing 2,000 million dollars worth of goods every year more than the home market can absorb; that we must extend our foreign markets if we wish to avoid a great Unemployed Problem arising from our domestic manufacturers being unable to hire men to make goods that cannot be sold. That American capitalists fully realize this is shown by their aggressive entry into foreign manufacturing fields.

The late President McKinley only a month or so before his death made a speech declaring that foreign markets must be obtained by reciprocity treaties and that this was absolutely essential to our further industrial progress.

President Roosevelt also declares that we must have an outlet for our productions abroad as the domestic market no longer suffices. All this is exactly in line with my argument, as to premises, but I disagree as to remedy.

Foreign trade can never solve the problem of overproduction. In the first place most of the goods that the foreigner formerly gave us in exchange for our domestic productions can now be made both cheaper and better at home than abroad, and therefore we do not now find the same advantage in foreign trade that we did.

There was a day when we traded off our wheat for English steel rail, but we can now make steel rail cheaper than England. We still have our wheat to sell but we no longer find it profitable to take steel rail in exchange. As will be seen from the following circular recently issued by the Silk Association of America, the United States is no longer dependent upon France or any other country for its silk goods, and hence another important item of foreign exchange is about to lose its power as a purchasing agent of our products:

"The great equipment of the silk mills in machinery now,

say 36,000 broad looms and 7,000 ribbon looms and all run by power, is evidence sufficient that the domestic silk manufactures are fully up to the demand of the consuming markets of the United States."

In fact, the foreign goods that can be profitably imported into our country are getting narrowed down to agricultural productions from the tropics. It is evident that the importation of such goods cannot offset our balance of exports. Last year we exported 600 million dollars worth of commodities more than we imported. After taking account of the money spent by American tourists abroad, remittances for interest on foreign loans and freights paid foreigners on ocean transportation, there is evidently still a heavy credit balance in our favor. Now the foreigner may go into debt for our goods for a certain period, but that cannot, on the face of things, be a permanent method of trading. There must either be a settlement some day or the other or the trading will be stopped by the debtor going bankrupt. In this instance, it is Europe that is going bankrupt, and when she confesses she cannot pay America, then America herself, with her heaviest customer a bankrupt, will not be very far from bankruptcy herself.

We will not take goods from Europe to settle our trade balance and she cannot give us gold. How then can foreign trade be any solution of our problem of over-production when we cannot trade?

However, for the moment suppose our manufacturer, burdened with his surplus of American goods, as a last resort, to get rid of them, exchanges them for, say, French goods. He now has on the docks in New York 2,000 million dollars worth of French goods instead of his 2,000 million dollars of American goods. Will anyone tell me what better off he is? How is he going to get rid of those French goods?

Americans either will not or cannot buy them. The rich will not buy because they already have all the French goods they want. The poor cannot buy because their wages do not allow them anything to buy with.

Foreign trade is but the most ephemeral solution for the problem of Over-Production.

American capitalists are to-day more in need of foreign fields for investment of their capital than are European capitalists. Within the past few years the international financial

market has reversed itself, and America is now the creditor instead of the debtor nation.

The "Trusts" are merely a dam built to prevent the swamping of our industries by the rising flood of domestic surplus capital, just as the tariff is a dam to prevent them being swamped by foreign capital. The "Trusts," however, do not prevent the rising of this flood.

It is impossible to dam up all the mouths of the Mississippi, no matter how high the dams. A flowing river must find the ocean somehow, and if not by one channel, then by another. The Trusts will afford but a temporary breastwork for our captains of industry. It will, however, be a flank movement rather than a frontal attack that will finally dislodge the captains from their fortress.

The Trust is not only a protection against undue competition, but it is a labor-saving device of the highest possible efficacy. The Trust pursues its end in a perfectly sane and scientific manner. No longer do the old planless methods of competition prevail. The Trust being the only producer in the field produces exactly what the market needs. There is no more danger of either an over-supply or a shortage of Standard Oil in any city than there is of water, gas or postage stamps. The Trust no more needs canvassers and advertisements to sell its goods than does the government to sell its postal stamps. This increased industrial efficiency of the Trust, together with its prevention of waste of capital in unnecessary duplication of machinery, hastens by so much the completion of the world's industrial outfit.

It will not be long before capital will in vain seek profitable investment. Interest, which is determined by the amount of gain received by the last amount borrowed, will fall to zero and money will remain unlent in the banker's hands. The incentive for the poor man to be "thrifty" will perish. The workers now engaged in producing new machinery of production will join the unemployed army in regiments. The Trust will be as defenseless against this new phase in the industrial strife as was the armored knight of old against hunger and thirst.

Political autocracy is possible, but industrial autocracy, no matter how benevolent, is impossible. At present the Trust is an invaluable and absolutely necessary weapon of defense for

the capitalist in the industrial warfare, but when the enemy to be fought is not competing capital, but a complete cessation of demand for products owing to unemployed labor having no wages to buy with, its value has passed.

On board ship in mid-ocean if I have control of the water supply I can demand everything in exchange for the indispensable fluid, but when at last I have gathered everything into my possession then my monopoly becomes of no more value, for there is nothing left to be given me. If I am wise I will then peaceably give up control of the water and let it be taken over by the crew. I will be in great luck if they do not get the fever of co-operation and come back after me for the good things they have already given up for the first water they were forced to buy. It is thus in the United States. The monopolists have unwittingly run both themselves and the workers into an industrial *cul de sac*.

The capitalists may possibly see the danger first and make a turn that will give them a short and precarious lease of life in their present position. An eight-hour law, a minimum wage, old age pensions, etc., all such reforms might possibly extend the capitalist system.

The best thing of all, however, to bolster up the capitalist system is a rattling good war between the great powers. If the principal industrial plants, railway shops and bridges, etc., of this country were destroyed, the up-building of them would give labor unlimited employment and capital great scope for investment of savings. Witness the boom following our civil war, also the late Spanish war, the British-Boer war, and now from the Russo-Japanese war.

However, wars cannot last forever. The capitalists sooner or later will be forced to face the insoluble problem of finding work for men when there is absolutely no work to be found. It is absurd to hire men to build oil refineries when half of those already built are standing idle. The workman cannot blame the capitalist for refusing to employ him at a loss. But his stomach may be a better reasoner than his brain in this emergency. It will demand food. He will say, "Here is plenty of machinery to produce food, now why is it I can't get any? You say, Mr. Capitalist, that you can't hire me at a profit. That may be so, but why can't I take the machinery myself and run it and take the product and feed myself? You

say you can't run it except at a loss at present. If so, then you will lose nothing by letting me run it. Anyway, I don't care what you wish, I know I am starving. You admit you can't give me food. Now I know and you know that my labor will produce enough to feed me if only I have your machinery. I propose to take it and use it for that purpose. I can do it, for I am bigger than you are!

"You say I produce too much. If that is true, then so much the less fear of my starving when I produce for myself."

The capitalist may reply: "Why, John, you can't run a flour mill all alone by yourself, that takes a thousand men. You cannot transport that flour on a railway by yourself, that takes another thousand men to run it. You need associated labor. You will be forced to run the country just as it is run to-day." "Oh, no," will say John, "I will run the flour mill and railways co-operatively by a public corporation, and I have that corporation already formed. It is the United States Government. We will all be shareholders and we will pay the workmen upon the basis of what they produce and not by a competitive wage determined by how little they can live upon. We won't have any over-production to scare us then. When we nationalize all industry that bogey man of over-production will die a natural death."

Free trade is sometimes suggested as a remedy for monopoly by those who do not recognize that trusts are a natural evolution of industry. When a trust in a protected industry is formed to prevent destruction of that industry by domestic competition and then, having complete control of the domestic market, it raises prices abnormally, it is but natural that there will be a suggestion to allow domestic consumers the benefits of foreign competition by reducing the tariff. If this is done no good would follow, for it would mean:—First, the foreigner will destroy the Trust by his ability to sell at a lower cost; second, or the Trust will destroy foreign competition by lowering its price.

Even the most rabid of the Trust destroyers would hardly be willing to destroy the whole industry to carry out his ends.

Most of the trusts in this country are abundantly able to take care of themselves, not only in the domestic market, but as the export returns show, are able to compete successfully with the foreigner in his own country, so that the tariff to-day is of

no use to the trust except as a means of allowing it to charge higher prices to Americans than to the foreigner. Free trade would certainly abolish this unjust absurdity, but it would as certainly not accomplish the end set out for, viz., the destruction of the Trust. In fact, the very fact that foreign competition had to be met would be an additional reason for the Trust's existence, for the concentration of capital would make it that much the better fighting machine.

The protective tariff is, so far as it goes, a supporter of the present industrial system, inasmuch as it prevents labor and capital operating at the point of greatest advantage. A protective tariff gives better employment to labor exactly as inferior machinery requires more men to operate it than superior.

Some have suggested that equality in freight rates obtained by government-ownership of railroads would destroy Trusts. The slightest investigation, however, would show that many Trusts do not in the least depend upon favors from either railroads or government. The taking over of the railroads by the Government would, however, have far-reaching and revolutionary results. The immense labor-saving that would occur from a centralized management would, of course, serve but to accentuate the unemployed problem. This would be the least of its effects.

The capital invested in railroads is half the whole industrial capital of the United States. A transfer of ownership to the State would mean the payment to the present railway owners of an enormous sum of money that would naturally seek investment in other industries.

These industries are already about at the point of crystallizing into monopolies owing to the plethora of capital, and the advent of such an enormous flood of money set free by the expropriation of the railroad owners would not only complete the process, but would cause the amalgamation of all the Trusts into one huge Trust, the coming Trust of Trusts. Nationalization of the railways would be letting free such a flood of capital that the ship of state would be immediately floated into the calm sea of Socialism.

During the last twelve months, nearly \$50,000,000 has been paid in dividends by the Standard Oil Trust. It may be noted that the investing public pay no attention to the intrinsic value of a stock, i. e., to what the property owned by a corporation

cost. Nor is the "face" value of stock of any moment. A share of stock may be nominally worth \$100—as is Standard Oil stock, but as it pays such enormous dividends investors are willing to pay \$700 for each \$100 share. On the other hand there are some corporation stocks where each \$100 share actually represents \$100 invested, yet owing to various conditions dividends do not amount to 2 per cent. a year, and hence the market value of the stock is not \$50 per share. There is no remedy to be found for Trusts by prevention of stock watering.

Neither would publicity of accounts avail. Everybody knows that the Standard Oil Trust is making profits of over fifty million dollars a year. Yet what good does the knowledge do the public? Admitting that oil sells at double what it should, what are you going to do about it? Why has not Mr. Rockefeller as much right to the unearned increment derived from his monopoly of the oil business as has Mr. Astor to the unearned increment from his monopoly of land in New York City?

Mr. Hearst is just now leading a great crusade in favor of the municipal ownership of public utilities. He declares that it will end the reign of the grafters and the bosses.

This may be true enough and nobody can deny that, speaking generally, municipal ownership is an excellent thing and a great step in the right direction, but the question I put to Mr. Hearst is: "How will municipal ownership guarantee work to the unemployed man? How will it increase the worker's share of the general product?"

If I am hungry and I take one step or even ten steps toward the restaurant, no one would think of saying that the steps so taken would lessen my hunger.

Municipal ownership is only a step,—a means to an end,—the end is the establishment of the complete co-operative system.

Look at Glasgow, the city which Mr. Hearst points out to us as having so much municipal ownership and no grafters, yet Glasgow has even more poverty than has New York.

However, while I readily admit that Glasgow would probably have still more poverty than it has now, and that if would undoubtedly have a higher death rate than it has, if it did not have public ownership, for private ownership usually results in an impure water supply and badly ventilated, crowd-

ed and unhealthy street cars, yet I say that this admission merely grants that public ownership is a good reform. It is quite inadequate to abolish poverty.

Let us by all means, I say, have municipal ownership, just as I say let us have any other good reform, but do not let us forget that the main evil to be abolished is the competitive system, and that until we abolish that system we cannot abolish poverty, no matter how much municipal ownership we may inaugurate.

In order to establish the co-operative system we must have not only municipal ownership of municipal utilities, but we must also have national ownership of national utilities.

Let us have public ownership of all the means of production as a basis for our co-operative commonwealth, but let us always keep in view that the end is the abolition of poverty and not merely the getting rid of grafters and political bosses.

Let Mr. Hearst declare that he is for public ownership because it is a means to the establishment of the entire co-operative system, because he knows that nothing but that system can ever abolish poverty, and then his position will be much more logical than it is at present.

No small and cramped ideal can nerve humanity for any great upward step.

The socialist sees in the co-operative commonwealth not only the abolition of poverty, but he sees a future earth peopled by men who have become a race of gods, free, healthy, beautiful, happy. A society where men love each other, love the world, love life, for life then will be at last really worth the living.

Life will be worth living because all that to-day makes it a hideous mockery will have disappeared.

There will be no fear of starvation staring one in the face because he cannot get work. Everyone will then be his own employer.

There will be no one living in dark, noisome, unhealthy tenements, all will have beautiful, light, sanitary apartments.

There will be no herding of people in cities as to-day, for there will be no landlord at hand to demand rent for each square foot of land, and there will be no private owner of street cars and railways at hand to make profit on each mile one may travel from workshop to house.

Each worker will, if he wish, live in his own cottage in the green fields, miles from his work, for transportation will be so rapid, so pleasant and so cheap that he will have no reason to crowd into the tenements of a city.

Besides his pay—for under Socialism everyone will easily earn more than what \$5,000 a year now affords—will be so much greater and his hours of labor so much less that he can easily afford his own country home and have plenty of time to enjoy it as well as to spend in getting to and fro from his daily task.

He will not feel that he must "save" his earnings to provide for accidents and old age. There will be no more reason for "saving" under socialism than there is for a man who lives on the shore of Lake Superior digging a well.

There will be plenty for all and there will always be plenty more to come when men own the earth and are not under tribute to landlords and capitalists. The earth produces wealth in plenty for all, the problem to be solved is not production, but distribution.

Municipal and national ownership of all the means of production, democratically managed by the workers themselves, will solve the problem of distribution by substituting co-operation for competition.

To resume: We are confronted by a fact and not a theory. The Trust is here to stay as long as our competitive system of industry endures. Democracy has been ousted from industry by autocracy, and as our political institutions are but a reflection of our industrial institutions, we should not pretend that anything but a sham democratic political state remains.

The trade-unionists pure and simple, the anti-imperialists, the would-be destroyers of Trusts, are all right enough sentimentally, but are too limited in their vision. This nation has the mightiest task cut out before it that the world has ever set to perform. The ship of state already is in the cataract of a great social Niagara. It is not too late to save her if we only have the patience and brains to cut our political Welland canal, and let her float gently into the Lake Ontario of Socialism. Delay is dangerous. That we shall finally get into our metaphorical lake—Socialism—is absolutely certain. The only question is, shall we go over Niagara or through the canal?

Now is the time, if ever, when this country needs earnest men who know the truth, and are not afraid to cry it from the house-tops. Once let us get into the rapids and nothing can save us from the terrors of a violent revolution. Democracy must be established in industry and re-established in politics. There is really no first step to nationalization of industry; that time has passed. A half-way policy is impossible industrially, unrighteous ethically, and unsound politically. The main plank, and in fact the only necessary plank in our political platform should be: *"Let the Nation Own the Trusts and Let the Workers Have All They Produce."*

## WHY A WORKINGMAN SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST.

**A** SOCIALIST is one who desires that the wealth of the nation be owned collectively by all the people rather than individually by a small fraction of them—called capitalists.

By "wealth of the nation" is meant the land, the railroads, the telegraphs, the flour mills, the oil refineries; in short, all those agencies by means of which food, clothing and other commodities are produced.

By Socialism we mean governmental ownership and management of all wealth-producing industries. For instance, just as some of the industries, such as the common schools, the post office, etc., are now owned and managed by the people; under Socialism, not only these but also all other industries would be owned and managed. In short, Socialists propose instead of Morgan and Rockefeller owning the United States and running it for their own selfish benefit, that we—the people—shall assume possession of it ourselves and run it for our own benefit.

This is such a very simple proposition that anyone should be able to understand it. That every patriotic American, and especially every workingman, is not in favor of Socialism can only be explained by his ignorance of what Socialism really is.

It is certainly a praiseworthy sentiment for the citizens and inhabitants of a nation to desire to own their own country. It is as natural a thing for them to so wish as it is for a man to own his own house, rather than to rent it of a landlord.

The motive that inspires a father to provide a home for his family is of exactly the same nature as that which animates the Socialist, in desiring that all men shall have homes of their own.

We said that every workingman who understood what Socialism meant would certainly be a Socialist—for assuredly

your condition in life is not such that you should fear a change. You are poor; you are dissatisfied, or at least you ought to be dissatisfied with your lot in life; you have a sense of being unjustly dealt with by society; you know that your labor alone produces all the good things of life, and you know that some one else enjoys them; you know all these things, and you know, or you should know, that as simple a thing as casting your ballot intelligently can produce a change, so that you yourself will receive and enjoy all the fruits of your labor, with no necessity of giving the lion's share, or any other share, to Rockefeller, Vanderbilt & Co.

It is true that there is some excuse for your not realizing that the shackles which tie you to poverty are but figments of your imagination. You are be-fooled and humbugged at every source to which you might look for information. The newspapers ostensibly devoted to the interests of the workingmen in reality are but the tools of the capitalists—their owners.

The politicians, notoriously such liars and knaves, you scarcely listen to, except to deride. Reflect on your condition, and consider that you, a citizen of the United States, are an inhabitant of a country possessing natural resources capable of easily supporting over ten times its present population. You are informed by unchallenged, by uncontrovertible statistics that, by the development of the steam engine and labor-saving machinery, the labor of one man can to-day produce commodities—food, clothing, lodging, etc.—sufficient to more than comfortably provide for twenty, and yet the fact stares you in the face that the return you get for your labor scarcely keeps you alive. Knowing these things, can you remain contented to live under a social system that gives you an existence more miserable than that of a slave? Do you wonder to whom goes the surplus produced, and why?

Let us put the matter clearly before you. The capitalist class owns the essentials of production—that is, the railways, the flour mills, the oil and sugar refineries, and the land.

Now, to get clothing, food and lodging, both land and machinery must be employed, and if one class own these essentials of production, it is evident that it can demand of you, the class which does not own them, as much rent as it pleases for the use of them.

And what does it please to demand?

Everything that you produce, except the very small part called "wages" which it allows you to keep, just sufficient to sustain your existence. You are in nearly the same position as horses, in that you can never expect to get any more than just enough to keep you in a condition to be able to work. The chief difference is that the employer of the horse feeds him even when he cannot for the time being use his labor, while the employer of you workingmen feeds you only when you are useful to him, and when you are not—as in dull seasons—he lets you out to starve, as far as he is concerned. He loses money if his horse starves, but he loses nothing if you die.

You ask, why don't capitalists pay higher wages? Why don't they pay wages sufficient to allow you to properly feed and clothe yourselves, your wives and your children? You ask, why don't workingmen successfully demand wages sufficient to enable them to educate their children in the public schools? Why mock us, you cry, with free schools, when we must send our children to the mine and the factory to earn food for our family?

The answer is short and simple.

As long as there are millions of unemployed men in the United States only too glad to get a chance to work for wages that will afford the bare necessities of life, wages will never rise. Consider a familiar every-day occurrence in business life. A and B each own a coal mine. Owing to competition each is forced to sell his coal at the lowest price possible. The item of labor is the chief one in the expense of mining coal—so, supposing that A pays his men less than B, then he is in the position of being able to undersell B, and, unless B can manage to get his labor as cheap as A, he must retire from business, for he can sell no coal. The capitalists could not under our competitive system pay higher wages, even though they might wish to do so.

Then, on the other hand, consider the laborer—the miner. Suppose he is getting one dollar per day and some poor fellows come along, out of employment—some emigrants, for instance—who, rather than starve, offer to work for seventy-five cents per day; it is certain that, as the owners of the mines are forced to always buy the cheapest labor that is

offered, our dollar-a-day laborer must accept a reduction in his wages to seventy-five cents or be replaced by the emigrant. Hence we see how it is that the pressure of the unemployed upon the labor market always keeps the price of labor at the lowest notch. And the more labor-saving machinery that is introduced, the more men are thrown out of employment, and the greater the struggle to get hired at any price. Considering how it is ever thus under our present competitive wage system that wages must remain low, it is easily seen how absurd it is for Democrats and Republicans to claim that free trade or free silver, a high tariff or a low tariff can ever make wages high.

Workingmen are at last coming to recognize the fact that there is no reliance to be placed on either of the old parties and that they must organize a party of their own which will do away with the competitive wage system entirely, and substitute the co-operative system.

Workingmen—Americans: The issue is plain. Yours is the choice—whether to remain slaves in your own country, fettered by your own hands—to see your wives and your children live in poverty and squalor, aye, and often starve before your very eyes—or whether you will be free men, not in name only, but in reality—whether you will own your own country and enjoy the full fruits of your honest labor.

You may say: "Ah! Well enough! Those are fine words—but it is impossible for anything to be done! Workingmen have always been poor and always will be poor. You Socialists merely make us feel our poverty more keenly—make us discontented without showing us any practical plan to abolish the causes of our discontent. Of course, we want to be in better circumstances—of course, we wish to provide better for our families. Certainly we would rather send our children to school than to the factory. We know that we are virtually slaves—and, of course, we would like to end our slavery. What fool would not have his fellow men own their own country, rather than let the capitalists own it? But even supposing the wealth of the nation were divided up, as we suppose you Socialists propose, that would simply mean a matter of time before Rockefeller & Co. would have it all back again."

Workingmen, you are mistaken; Socialists do propose a most practical solution of the problem of how to *permanent-*

ly abolish poverty. If you will consider our plan you cannot help but agree that its accomplishment would prevent any fear of Rockefeller & Co. ever getting our country away from us after it is once restored.

Socialism means anything but the division of wealth. Socialism means the absolute concentration of the ownership of the wealth of the country into the collective control and ownership of the people themselves, through the government. The only division that Socialists propose is the fair division of commodities produced, but they never propose the division of the ownership of the machinery that produces commodities. For instance, the people (the government) will collectively own the land, the grain elevators, and you and I individually will own the product: the bread.

As to the practicability of collective or government ownership of the means of production, it is best answered by the consideration of the excellent management of such machinery as is now managed by the government, such as the post office, the public schools, the Panama Railway, etc.

When, by the mismanagement of private owners, some railway is thrown into the bankruptcy court, and the government is forced to take control and management through a receiver, it is notorious that such government management has been uniformly successful. If the people can successfully operate bankrupt railroads, why should they not be able to operate solvent and successful railroads?

Government ownership of railways and telegraphs is the usual method in Europe and Australia. However, there is really no serious attempt to deny the feasibility of government ownership, and what we will now demonstrate is, not the practicability but the absolute necessity of government ownership of all the means of production—Socialism—if we wish to preserve ourselves from starvation. It seems paradoxical, but nevertheless it is true, that the more productive machinery the more difficult it is for the laborer to get the wealth that is so easily produced. Let us consider the present state of industry in the United States.

Within the last few years the owners of the various great industries of this country, through the tremendous development of their plants and the consequent fierce competition to sell goods, have been compelled to consolidate their interests

into "trusts," as a matter of sheer necessity, to preserve themselves from bankruptcy owing to overproduction and the resultant low prices.

Having in mind the millions of poorly clothed and fed men, women and children, it may seem to many that the excuse of "overproduction" the "trusts" give for their existence is the boldest of lies. But it must be remembered that the owners of the sugar, beef and other trusts are not in business for philanthropic motives—"not in business for their health," but to make money. The mere fact of people starving for the want of what their machinery produces does not constitute any sound business reason for capitalists to feed them. Unless people have money they have no legal right to food. So we see that as far as the capitalist is concerned there is overproduction when he finds no "buyers," notwithstanding there may be plenty of "wanters" who want but have no money to buy.

In a country as productive as the United States and where wage-workers—the great consuming class—are paid such a small part of what is produced, there must always be danger of a great surplus remaining in the hands of the capitalists unless they avoid such a result by increasing consumption or by restricting production—and restricting production means shutting down factories—turning out of employment willing workers to starve in the midst of plenty.

This critical period, viz., a great unemployed question, has only been prevented from appearing long ago because the constant progress of invention has given the capitalists an opportunity to increase consumption and at the same time to make a good profit in employing workingmen both in the building of new machinery and in the reconstruction of old machinery. For instance, within the last few years the street car lines have been transformed from horse-power systems to electric power. This work has given employment to thousands of men. As long as there was a demand for new machinery there was always life for the existing social system, for labor could be kept satisfied by being employed.

However, the appearance of the "trust" means that the making of more new machinery is unnecessary. The new machines are not only finished, but the capitalists say that there are in fact now already too many built. The "trust" is

a necessity to them, they say, not only to prevent the production of unnecessary machinery, but to prevent the operation of the existing surplus machinery in producing surplus goods which can only be sold at a loss. Socialists are quite in accord with the capitalists who declare that anti-trust laws are absurd, as trusts are a necessary development of our competitive system, yet at the same time we realize that the trusts are the forerunners of a huge unemployed problem.

The "trust" solves the problem of "overproduction" for the capitalist, but it does so only by bringing up a future problem of unemployment for the workingman.

"Overproduction" is caused by the competitive system preventing the workmen demanding enough wages to buy the goods they themselves have produced. In order to prevent overproduction the competitive system of distribution must be abolished and a new system substituted which will allow the workers to consume what they produce.

This new system is the co-operative system, the inauguration of which would mean that the workers would receive wealth accordingly as they produced it, instead of upon the present basis of allowing them the very least that will afford the bare necessities of life.

However, it is evident that if the workers take all they produce that there will be nothing left for the capitalists.

There will be no incentive to own property privately, for there will be no profit, no rent, no interest.

The abolition of the profit system practically means the end of the system of the private ownership of capital. It would mean the inauguration of the system of public or government ownership of trusts and monopolies—in fact, of all capital.

Socialism means, in other words, the co-operative or government ownership and management of all capital and the co-operative distribution of the product to the workers.

Socialism means industrial democracy. We now live under an industrial autocracy, with King Rockefeller as our industrial ruler, just as before 1776 we lived under a political autocracy with King George of England as our political ruler.

The reasons which led America to conquer for herself political democracy are not nearly as strong as those which are now about to force her to achieve industrial democracy.

Public ownership of monopolies, or Socialism, is an in-

evitability because it affords the only possible solution for the distribution of commodities when the machinery of production finally develops beyond the control of the capitalists. This stage in the evolution of industry is now upon us. The "trust" is the significant sign of the impending collapse of capitalism.

The "trust" is not only a protection against competition, but it is also a labor-saving machine, effecting tremendous economies in production. Just as the manual laborers of fifty years ago tried to destroy the first machines which displaced them, so we see a like ineffectual clamor from the smaller capitalists of to-day against their inevitable displacement by the trust magnates.

But monopoly is the future determining factor in production, and competition is forever dethroned. We already see each of our great industries controlled by one corporation headed by one man—a captain of industry—and this state of affairs is what more than anything else demonstrates the practicability of Socialism. Certainly if a Gould can successfully manage the telegraphs of the country, there can be no difficulty in the government doing the same thing.

We already manage the post office—why not the telegraphs?

If Mr. Rockefeller manage the oil business, Mr. Vanderbilt the railways, Mr. Armour the beef business, Mr. Pillsbury the flour business, Mr. Schwab the iron business, Mr. Havemeyer the sugar business, Mr. Frick the coal business, and Mr. Astor our land; we say, if these capitalists can manage these properties for their own selfish ends, that we, the people, can just as well manage them for our own use and benefit.

Capitalism in its death throes tries every means to sustain prices at a profitable basis against the constantly growing menace of "overproduction." To this end it adopts the "trust" at home, as a means of restricting domestic production, and, on the other hand, it institutes a policy of "imperialism" abroad as a means of increasing foreign consumption. Hence we see that both "trusts" and "imperialism" work hand in glove and are simply results of the vain struggle of the capitalists to maintain falling prices.

The Democrats are pursuing a chimera when they strive to prevent these natural results of our industrial system, and the Republicans adopt an even more dangerous policy when they

refuse to admit that such signs are indicative of an approaching social revolution.

All the foregoing is pretty plain talk, and should not be easily misunderstood. Some, however, while following the argument that (1) wages cannot, under the competitive wage system, rise above the subsistence point, no matter how productive labor may become, and (2) that this curtailment of consumption must result in overproduction, and (3) that next is the trust, and (4) the trust must be followed by (5) the great unemployed problem, may not see the solution in (6) the final, public ownership of the trusts and other machinery of production—Socialism.

Of course, it must strike everyone as absurd that people cannot get enough to eat because they produce too much, and yet everyone realizes that a laborer cannot eat if he doesn't get any wages to buy food. It is also plain that a laborer cannot get a job of the baker to make bread if the baker already has too much bread in his oven—so much that he can't sell the bread already baked.

It is also pretty evident that if the laborer were his own baker he would not starve for bread when it is his own oven that is full of bread.

Now this is simply the Socialist argument. We say that this country of ours, America, is like a grand bake-oven filled with bread, and cake, too, for that matter. That the head baker of the national oven, Mr. Rockefeller, can't hire us to bake bread because he can't sell us the bread we have made, but that this is no reason why we should starve when all we have to do is to take over the bakery ourselves and take the bread out and feed ourselves with our own baking.

There really would be no opposition from Rockefeller to our taking the business off his hands so long as we took it for ourselves and let him have his share along with us. Rockefeller is not necessarily such a bad fellow, but he naturally would object if he thought we were going to take the national bakery—otherwise our own country—away from him in order to give it to Carnegie or Vanderbilt, the very men from whom he has just wrested it away for himself. The opposition to Socialism isn't from Rockefeller & Co. It is from the stupidity and apathy of the very people most to be benefited by it, from workingmen themselves.

All we have to do, in order to own our own country, is for a majority to vote for the Socialist Party, the only party that is pledged to carry out that idea. With the success of that party, and the change that it would bring about, no one need work over three hours a day, and everyone who wanted to work could find it, receiving in return the full fruits of his labor. Everyone would have leisure—children would be educated—all would be free, and happiness would reign supreme.

Workingmen, you now know the road to freedom. When you pursue that path you will be free—before that, never.

## WHY SAVE MEN'S SOULS?

**T**H**ERE** was a time when talking about saving the souls of men was ever wearisome to me. It seemed such a useless thing to talk of saving men's souls, when their bodies gave no sign of possessing any souls worth the saving, even when it was granted that they had the souls to save. On the other hand, I had to admit that there really existed no incentive to save men's bodies, if they had no souls to make it worth while. But, later, when I came to see that it was a mathematical certainty that men's bodies were going to be saved, I began to consider the soul of man.

The bodies are of a certainty going to be saved. Man's increasing control over natural forces will finally cause the earth to produce such a vast quantity of wealth, that it will finally overflow any artificial dam that men may erect in the vain attempt to make it artificially scarce, in order that the possessors of it might hold the non-possessors in subjection. A dam across a mill stream is of value only when there is neither too little nor too much water. It is just as necessary that there be a waste-way, as that there be a fall. When the stream is so full that the whole surrounding country is at flood the power of the dam is gone.

Air is just as useful to man as food, but it has no value since it may be had for the breathing. When food becomes as plentiful and as easy to obtain as air then food will be as valueless as air; but that does not mean that it will become useless. Man will still eat and breathe.

However, on the day when food loses its value because all may have it in plenty, on that day men's bodies will be saved; and the earth will become peopled by a healthy, strong and beautiful race of men. It will be as impossible for men to be unhealthy and ugly—the words are synonymous—as for a herd of deer in the wild forest to be ugly or unhealthy. The earth will sing with joy and beauty. But granting that it will thus sing, why should I be interested in hastening the day of song? Not because of any

hope that I individually shall be either a participant or spectator. I have such hope, of course, for the day when food will be as plentiful as air is near at hand. The real joy of striving for a Heaven on Earth consists in the striving itself, and not in the hope of realization.

It is but shifting the question to say it is natural for man to strive for the beautiful. Why is it natural to strive for beauty? Why do we love life? Why do we love music? Because Life, the Soul of Things, is harmony. There is a rhythm vibrating through the universe which causes all things to vibrate in unison with it. It makes inanimate Nature take form in harmonious lines of beauty. Not even a snowflake but joyfully obeys this rhythmic law of beauty. In response to it the butterfly paints her wings and the nightingale tunes her lute. The composer arranges his anthem, the painter his colors, the poet his words, and the true man his deeds, to come into unison with the same great song of life. The effort is with most of us unconscious to-day. When we shall become conscious of what we are doing we shall come into the greater joy that a Mozart possesses over a nightingale, or a Raphael over a butterfly. The joy of the consciousness of harmony is greater than the mere feeling of the harmony. It is the joy of the soul over the body. Anyone may enjoy a symphony, but the greatest joy is to those who understand, to musicians. There is a joy of the material and a joy of the spiritual; but the joy of the spiritual must have a material base. To have spiritual harmony we must have material harmony. I may enjoy the symphony more in my soul than in my ears, but I must have my ears to support the soul's delight. I may hear the symphony but once, but I must have had ears to have heard it that once if it is to light my soul through eternity. The spirit must have the earth to root itself in; otherwise there can be no spirit. We cannot have souls without bodies and we cannot have great souls if we starve the body.

Life is the successive annihilation of shorter rhythmic waves by the larger ones, a continuous progression to an infinitely great vibration. You have seen a storm begin at sea—first are the ripples, then the short, choppy waves, and finally come the grand, heaving swells which absorb all the little waves and ripples that preceded them. Humanity

is now in the stage of the ripples, but the tide is flowing, and all men are being irresistibly forced from their petty vibrations with the little ripples to move with the larger and larger waves of human thought and sympathy now so rapidly forming on the ocean of life in response to the rising storm of human thought.

## A PROPHECY OF 1891.

[An excerpt from my preface to the American edition of the *Fabian Essays* published by the Humboldt Publishing Co. of New York, in June, 1891.]

**T**O the American readers of these essays, it may prove a matter of surprise to learn that English Socialists find in the United States the most pronounced economic phenomena, which, to their eyes at least, seem to prognosticate the near approach of the coming social revolution. I refer to the "Trusts."

It may be remarked, however, that while they consider the "Trust" as a symptom that the competitive system is in its last throes, they wait for the appearance of similar industrial combinations in England to stir Englishmen to a revolt; and that Americans, as if to square the account of '76, are to learn revolution from their transatlantic cousins.

By "revolution" is to be understood, of course, not violence, but a complete change of system; and by "revolutionists," those who advocate such a complete change. As Lassalle reminded us years ago, trifling reforms may be, and often have been, accompanied by excessive bloodshed, while revolutions have worked themselves out in the profoundest tranquility.

It seems to be typical of all social revolutionists that national pride always asserts itself, no matter how much patriotism may be decried as mere racial selfishness whenever discussion arises as to which nation is to be the first to throw off the shackles of capitalism.

The Fabian essayists certainly make out a strong case in England's favor.

The German points with pride to the million and a half votes polled by the Socialists at the last elections for the Reichstag.

France, the mother of revolutions, sings the Marseillaise.

The Belgian asks but for universal suffrage to show the world what he will do in the way of revolution.

I, as an American Socialist, put forth my patriotic plea in favor of my own country's prospects of being the first to inaugurate the era of industrial emancipation.

There is one point upon which I think all Socialists are agreed, namely, that it is one and the same golden chain that fetters the proletariat of all nations, and that the weakest link in that chain is the measure of the strength of the present social system. Snap but one link in any country, and at the same moment the proletariat of the world are free.

The social revolution, when it does come, must soon be international (though resting perhaps for a period upon national Socialism). I imagine, for instance, that on gaining universal suffrage, Belgium's proletariat should expropriate the capitalists and inaugurate a successful co-operative commonwealth. Is it possible to conceive that workmen of all nations would not make a successful demand for the establishment of a like social system in their own respective countries? Moreover, the general industrial condition of the great nations is approximately the same. All complain of overproduction. All are vainly trying to solve the question of the unemployed; in all the tendency to great social change is a marked feature. In all, the great capitalists, crushing out their smaller rivals and concentrating wealth into fewer and fewer hands, are the true progenitors of the revolution.

The people of the United States, the nation that certainly furnishes the best educational facilities for demonstrating the advantages of the concentration and crystallization of capital, should naturally and logically be the first to strike for economic freedom. To-day, in the United States, 50,000 people, out of a population of over sixty-three millions, own everything worth having in the whole country.

Four men, viz.: Gould, Astor, Vanderbilt and Rockefeller, practically control, and, what is more important, are rapidly absorbing the wealth of this 50,000. The day is not so very far distant, and a sociologist can predict almost its exact appearance, just as an astronomer calculates the date of an eclipse of the sun, when, if no structural change in society takes place, these four men will be the sole owners of the United States. I think that, if such a state of affairs should come about, no one would differ with me when I say that it would force a reconstruction of society. In other words, the sixty

odd millions of people in the United States may now rest undisturbed, and allow a plutocracy of 50,000 to own their country; but when it shall come to having only four own it, patience will cease to be a virtue.

That the tendency of the wealth of the United States is to concentrate into larger and larger masses, held by a constantly diminishing number of capitalists, is not disputed by anyone at all familiar with the statistics of the case. This process continued and followed to its logical conclusion must lead inevitably to Socialism. If Gould & Co. are not to own the railways and telegraphs, the land and machinery, there can be but one possible successor, viz., the people, as represented by the Government.

The only possible chance of retarding the approach of Socialism, is to stop the tendency of capital to congeal in a few hands. Some plan must be devised to prevent Gould and Vanderbilt gobbling up more railways; to keep Astor's hands off city lots, and to check Rockefeller's insatiable and omnivorous appetite for industrial plants. It requires but slight intelligence to comprehend that neither a high nor a low tariff, nor free trade, would appreciably affect Vanderbilt's income. Fiscal legislation, whether it takes the form of free coinage of silver, lending money on crops, or increasing paper money until the circulation is \$50 or \$5,000 per capita, will never divert the Pactolian stream which flows into Mr. Gould's golden reservoir.

Even the nationalization of the railways and telegraphs, although proposed as a reactionary measure calculated to enable farmers, by obtaining lower freight rates, to increase their margin of profit sufficiently to enable them to hold their own as independent producers, would, if put into effect, but precipitate the very event which it is hoped to retard. Governmental ownership of railways would involve the payment of several thousand million dollars to the present owners of railway securities, all of which must seek reinvestment. Senator Carlisle's objection as to the difficulty of raising the money for such a purchase is trivial. The credit of the United States is good enough to float bonds for many times the amount required, although the purchase at their present fancy valuation of watered stocks would be utterly unwise and unnecessary.

The great question to be answered in order to avoid a great unemployed problem, as stated, is for the present owners to find a safe and profitable place to reinvest the thousands of millions of dollars received in exchange for their railways. The channels for profitable investment of such a large amount of money are certainly not visible. It could not be spent in building new oil refineries, as Mr. Rockefeller, of the Standard Oil Trust, is armed with statistics to prove that there are too many oil refineries already. The same blockade to the entrance of fresh capital into the building of more sugar refineries is also sure to be encountered, as Mr. Havemeyer, of that trust, says that he is compelled to shut down part of the refineries already in existence, to prevent the unprofitable over-production which would otherwise ensue. That there is absolutely no chance at all to-day to invest any considerable amount of capital in building *new* machinery of production in the United States, is a palpable truism with financiers. The only chance for an individual to invest is to purchase existing plants, but that simply is shifting the solving of the investment problem from one capitalist to another, and usually from the large capitalist to the small one.

Nationalization of the railways in the United States would mean the immediate expropriation of all small capitalists by the big ones. If Gould, Vanderbilt & Co. cannot own railways, they will invest their money, both principal and income, in flour mills, gas works, cotton mills, etc., and the former owners of those industries will soon be enlisted in the ranks of the proletariat under the banner of Socialism. Nationalization of the railways could not possibly be effected without causing the crystallization of all capital invested in the other industries of the United States in the hands of such a comparatively small number of owners that the advent of Socialism would certainly be almost instantaneous.

The problem of giving work to the unemployed, although not at present a threatening one in the United States, is, however, destined soon to become one of the utmost importance, and at any time liable to come to the front.

There are at present, according to Carroll D. Wright's governmental statistics, on an average, over one million able-bodied men in the United States willing to work, yet unable

to find employment. The pressure of these upon the ranks of the employed effectually prevents wages rising above the point of mere subsistence. Hence the very fact that we in the United States have such a fertile soil, in such unlimited quantities, such ingenious labor-saving machinery, together with an industrious and intelligent population, tends to make the problem of the unemployed but the more threatening, since these very elements only conduce to an enormous product per capita, with no corresponding methods of distribution. The old-time argument, that our great farming population, with its members all owning their own homes, would always prove an insuperable barrier to Socialism in the United States, is completely out of date nowadays, seeing that the greater part of our farmers are already proletarians, while the few that still own their own farms are hopelessly in debt, and even they are demanding the most Socialistic measures, such as national warehouses for grain, and nationalization of railways. Considering how near at hand is the great social metamorphosis, I would earnestly advise the readers of these exceedingly clever and able essays to give them deepest thought. They express clearly the nature of the crisis through which we are now passing, a crisis in which none who well understand it can fail to be vitally interested. We are now swinging on the hinge of destiny, we are in the transition state of the greatest sociologic event that history has yet recorded. Let him who runs, read.

## HOP LEE AND THE PELICAN.

**H**OP LEE was an intelligent young Chinaman, born of poor but honest parents, upon the banks of the Yellow River. From early childhood he had been accustomed to assist in getting a living for himself and the other members of his family by fishing with the ordinary rod and line. Although this primitive method of gaining a livelihood had been followed by his father and by his forefathers for many centuries, it remained for Hop Lee to improve upon it so that it yielded such rich returns that he could live sumptuously without working; and this tale is to show how successfully he worked out his plan.

It was not so much a brilliant burst of genius as it was the spur of necessity which led Hoppy to his great discovery. As he sat on the bank with his empty basket beside him, and fished in vain day after day, he watched with deep chagrin a gay flock of pelicans that came down upon the waters in which he, alas, fished so fruitlessly, and filled themselves to repletion.

Not only was he envious of the success of the pelicans, but he realized that the noise and splashing they made drove away from his hook many fish which he otherwise might have caught.

Poor Hoppy pondered long upon this distressing situation. He watched the pelicans moodily as they gaily dived to the bottom of the river, waving their web-feet in the air, and triumphantly bringing up fish after fish which they stored away in their pouches to be devoured at leisure when the day's sport was over, or fed to their young. Finally, one bright day, a brilliant idea occurred to him whereby he would not only prevent the pelicans from driving away his fish, but would actually compel them to deliver to him the fish they caught and fill up his empty basket. But how to put his ingenious plan in operation? Flattery should be the key to success.

How he ever did it I don't pretend to know, but somehow

or other he learned the pelican language. This was the first step towards his goal. Then he provided himself with a polished ring of brass, and betook himself bright and early, in the morning to his usual post on the river bank. In a tentative way he spoke to several pelicans as they glided past him on the river, till finally one of them stopped to have a little chat with him. Hoppy seized his opportunity, and with soft, insidious words beguiled the foolish bird up on the bank. Then he proceeded to tell it how much its wonderful pelicanic beauty would be enhanced by a lovely necklace like the one he held in his hand. Would the pelican not allow him the pleasure of seeing the necklace around its graceful neck? The pelican foolishly listened to Hoppy's flattering words, and consented to be decorated. You could see from the beatific expression on its face as the ring was slipped over its head how pleased it was with the beautiful necklet.

To Hoppy, however, the ring was strictly an object of utility. As soon as the ring was around the pelican's neck, the unlucky bird found it impossible to swallow the fish it caught. Every time it tried it found itself almost choking to death, and at last, in desperation, appealed to Hoppy to save its life. Hoppy, who was at hand upon the bank eagerly awaiting developments, was only too glad to spring to the pelican's assistance and promptly remove the fish from its throat and thus prevent its untimely demise.

The pelican's gratitude and joy were unbounded when Hoppy relieved it of the fish. It felt its palpitating heart go out of its throat back into its breast again; but it also saw the fish go out of its throat and into Hoppy's basket. Its distressed throat was relieved of a heart and a fish at the same time.

Hoppy then proceeded in a friendly tone to advise the pelican for its own good. "You can easily see," he said, "that you cannot continue to wear that ornamental ring about your throat and at the same time swallow as large a fish as you used to do. Of course, I know you do not wish to part with that thing of beauty about your lovely neck merely for the sake of having your stomach filled. Now that you have seen how beautiful it has made you, I feel that there is no way of your living without it. One gets used to

luxuries so quickly they become necessities. So, in future, when you catch a fish you must always come to me to be relieved, and I will be ready and only too glad to help you. Of course, I will see that you shall be fed. I will take the fish to my chopping block, and cut off and give you as large a piece as you can politely swallow. In this way your life will be saved, and you will be fed with food that is the right size for you in your new and improved condition. At the same time I, too, will be fed by taking the fish that you are now unable to swallow, as a small return for the assistance I shall lend you."

Hop Lee had made a grand discovery, how to live without working, and at the same time had convinced the pelican that it was only through the exercise of his great brain power and generosity that it was able to escape being choked to death when it tried to eat the fish it caught.

Hop Lee waxed fat on this arrangement. After the first pelican got the ring about its neck, all the other pelicans were anxious to get rings about their necks and be in the fashion, and very soon Hoppy had all the pelicans on the river busily and cheerfully engaged in catching fish for him. And so it happens that, even to this day, Hop Lee and all his descendants have a prospect of living indefinitely on the banks of the Yellow River in ease and plenty.

Of course, as the natural reward of his industry and abstinence, the ingenious Hoppy speedily accumulated a fortune from the sale of the fish caught by the pelicans. In time he made a tour of the world. When he visited America he was introduced to Mr. Pierpont Morgan. It is related on good authority that he was highly amused at the striking resemblance between that gentleman's ideas and his own. Hoppy saw immediately that the American workingman had put a ring about his throat which forced him to give up the fish he catches to Mr. Morgan and to be satisfied with a tail diet. "The ring is a little less tangible, to be sure, than that about the necks of our pelicans," thought Hoppy, "but it amounts to the same thing. The competitive wage-system forces the laborer to take a wage that will just give him a living. He cannot ask for any more, because there are plenty of men waiting around for the chance to work upon the basis of the fish-tail diet. As long as pelicans or workingmen are

satisfied with fish tails there is no use giving them more, whether you be a Morgan or a Hop Lee. Hence the American workingman produces his \$2,400 a year and gives up all but the \$400 fish tail to Mr. Morgan, just as the pelican catches 2,400 pounds of good fish and gets only 400 pounds of fish-tails in return; yet both the pelican and the American workingman get down and thank God that such men as Morgan and Hop Lee live to prevent pelicans and workingmen from starving to death.

Hoppy congratulated himself, however, on being in a much safer position than Mr. Morgan, for if his pelicans ever got over their feeling of gratitude and pride in their rings they could not get them off their necks, even if they wished; whereas Mr. Morgan's pelican workingmen always have the opportunity of taking the competitive ring off their necks. The American pelicans have merely to "wish the ring off," and off it goes. The way for them to express this wish is to vote for Socialism. A great many American pelicans decided to wish this ring off their necks at the last election. Unfortunately there were still more who wished to keep it about their necks, so Mr. Morgan still gets the fish and Uncle Sam gets the tail.

## A TALK WITH ROCKEFELLER.

**L**AST March, while on my way from Los Angeles to San Francisco, I had occasion to stop over a few days at Santa Barbara, one of the most famous of the California resorts. Except for the want of angels, it is about as near an Earthly Paradise as one can imagine. It is directly on the Pacific Ocean at the opening of a lovely little valley. At the head of the valley, under the mountains, about two miles from the sea, is the old Franciscan monastery built by the monks a hundred years or more ago, when California was under the dominion of Spain. The Church of Rome had in hand a grand plan to convert the Indians to Catholicism by the establishment of a chain of semi-socialistic communities, under the rule of the priests, running from San Francisco all the way down to the lower end of the peninsula of California.

With the ceding of California to the United States, the monasteries had a hard time to survive, for the property they had owned was largely lost, and the Indians, who had been faithful workers in their fields and vineyards, were dispersed. Probably at no time before, and certainly at no time since, have the California Indians had either the material or the spiritual advantages that they enjoyed under the kindly rule of the old Mission Padres.

In the old days the missions were surrounded by great stretches of pasture land upon which grazed countless herds of sheep, cattle and horses, all the property of the Padres, and used to contribute to the welfare of all. The monks introduced a good system of irrigation. The fig, the vine, the olive and the orange were cultivated with greatest success. Then the more that was produced, the more the monks and the Indians got. There was no fear of starvation on account of "over-production" in those silly, primitive days. They produced for use and not for profit.

I can imagine how astounded one of the old Padres would have been if told that he would be forced to go without olive oil some day if too many olive trees came into bearing, because the price of olive oil would fall below the cost of production. Such reasoning would have been absolutely in-

comprehensible to him. For me to have told him that the mission must go hungry simply because there were too many fat cattle would have led him to regard me as a fit subject for a "rest cure." However, in those careless days they had no "rest cures," for paradoxically everyone had to do enough work not to require a "rest."

The people who most require a "rest" are those that do not "have to" work. I don't say they do not actually work hard, I say they do not "have to" work at all. There is a fine distinction. Schwab never broke down until he worked because he "wanted to."

However, we are in the days when people do need a "rest cure," and Mr. John D. Rockefeller showed his usual good judgment in picking out Santa Barbara to get his needed "rest."

The Hotel Potter is directly on the sea; it is a fine, modern hotel, opened this season for the first time, and Mr. Rockefeller was not by any means the only multi-millionaire there enjoying the perfect climate of Santa Barbara, a climate as perfect in winter as in summer.

The local Santa Barbara paper proudly printed a list of our American nobility there, gauging the relative value of titles by the size of the bank rolls. The total value footed up to something near a thousand million dollars, which can be readily believed when I say that not only were the Rockefellers there, but also Mrs. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. Marshall Field, Mr. Armour, Mr. Seward Webb, and other noble multi-millionaires too numerous to mention. Robert T. Lincoln, son of Abraham, was there, and scheduled at ten million. However, of all the lot, Mr. Rockefeller being the richest was the noblest, and was the centre of attraction from all Santa Barbara, including myself.

Mr. Rockefeller, I may say in the first place, is not by any means the physical wreck that the press likes to make him out. I sat at the next table to him and can vouch for the strength and variety of his appetite. His color is good and he looks a fairly healthy man for his age, 64, with the exception that he has lost every spear of hair from his head and face. He was most affable and approachable to everyone and seemed to make a point of going the rounds every day with a glad hand out for everyone. His interest

in life seems to be centered on the game of golf. Knowing that his nervous system is so wrecked that he can not care to burden his mind with anything very strenuous, I really felt conscience-stricken in ever departing from the subject of the weather and golf in my talks with him. However, one day I did bring up the subject of Trusts. He listened with interest to my exposition of the Socialist philosophy regarding monopoly and said, "Well, Mr. Wilshire, I can't speak as to other Trusts, but certainly as far as the Standard is concerned over-production of oil led to the formation of the Trust. We were producing three times as much oil as could be sold and the trade was in a very bad way. The Trust resulted in the greatest benefit to the refiners and at the same time the general public were also benefited by getting lower prices."

Mr. Rockefeller inquired if I had read the articles by Miss Tarbell upon the Standard Oil Trust now running in McClure's Magazine. "All without foundation," he said, "the idea of the Standard forcing anyone to sell his refinery to it is absurd. The refiners wanted to sell to us and nobody that has sold and worked with us but has made money and is glad he did so.

"Now you, Mr. Wilshire, are personally acquainted with so and so (mentioning men, our mutual friends, interested in the Trust), and you know that such honorable men would not do anything maliciously to injure anyone. You know they all did well by coming into the Trust. I can tell you that everyone else has done well that came in with us. It's absurd to say that the Standard forced the refiners into the Trust. They were only too glad to come in and they have all made money by coming in. Natural conditions would have ruined us all if we had not formed a combination. I thought once of having an answer made to the McClure articles," continued Mr. Rockefeller, "but you know it has always been the policy of the Standard to keep silent under attack and let our acts speak for themselves, and I suppose it is the best policy for us to continue upon that line, don't you, Mr. Wilshire?"

I was quite overcome with confusion at having the richest man in the world seek the advice of a Socialist upon a question of personal conduct and could do no more than blurt out a general assent to his position.

"Don't you think, Mr. Rockefeller," said I, "that since the Trust is, according to your own theory, a result of over-production, it means we are approaching a time when the general stoppage of this unnecessary production by the Trusts will have the tendency to create an unemployed problem?"

"No," said Mr. Rockefeller, "I think the Trust, by regulating industry and systematizing business, will help keep up this present prosperity. We have never had such a period in the history of the country before, and yet there never were so many Trusts, hence it cannot be said that Trusts prevent prosperity. There are less unemployed men than ever before known in the history of the country. And, anyway, since we are both agreed that an anti-Trust law is absurd, since it is attempting to prevent the consequences of over-production, how would you propose to solve the Trust Problem?"

"Yes, Mr. Rockefeller, I am as much aware of the futility of anti-Trust laws as you are. The Socialist remedy for the Trusts is Government Ownership."

"Do you think the Government could run the Standard as well as we run it?" asked Mr. Rockefeller.

"I would not be positive that the State could run the Trusts any better than you and Mr. Morgan do, speaking from the standpoint of industrial efficiency, but Government Ownership is a necessary basis for the operation of the co-operative wage system which must supersede the present competitive system to allow us to escape an unemployed problem, which is simply the result of competition among laborers, forcing wages down so low that the laborer cannot buy what he produces."

"But we have no 'unemployed question.' We never had such a demand for labor before," returned Mr. Rockefeller.

"Yes, that is true," said I, "but I am looking into the future, and I can see an inevitable unemployed problem looming up there. The Trust is meeting a present emergency, but it is only a temporary stopgap, and it is not in the least going to be able to solve the unemployed problem of the future."

"Well, Mr. Wilshire, I am not looking ahead as far as you are. Business is to-day good, and I think it will con-

tinue so. If it does not, then we must let the future settle its own problems."

"Well, anyway, Mr. Rockefeller, I am very glad to have had the opportunity of having had this talk with you, for I feel that when the industrial crisis does come up in the future, it will help very much for us to understand each other's position. There is nothing better than having men like you and me, who have a common interest, coming into personal contact with each other. While our views are different, yet our having met will lead us to have more respect for the sincerity of our mutual opinions, and our personal good faith."

"That is quite right, Mr. Wilshire," said Mr. Rockefeller, "and I am very glad to have had the pleasure of this talk with you."

This closed the interview upon the Trust Problem, for although I talked with Mr. Rockefeller a number of times afterward, it was nothing but "golf and weather."

I am satisfied from my talk with Mr. Rockefeller that he is true to himself. He thinks he is all right. He thinks that his business methods have not only been the best for himself and his fellow stockholders, but also for the public generally. Mr. Rockefeller is in no sense a man of theories. He sees a present necessity, and he acts upon it without considering what will be the next step. He is democratic and without envy in his manner and instincts, and I am sure he would like to have all his brother Americans have as much money as he has. Ostentation is an unknown word for him. His is the instinct of the coral insect that thinks of nothing more than the next infinitesimal layer it is laying upon the coral reef that founds a future continent. Mr. Rockefeller is the power behind Mr. Morgan's throne, and he does not emerge into the light, not because he objects to the world-glare in which Mr. Morgan basks, but simply because pomp and glory are matters of indifference to him. He has no pleasure in making a show of himself. Some newly rich men envy the footmen on the box of their carriage, owing to their conspicuous position and their gaudy livery. Mr. Rockefeller is not of that sort. He rides in his carriage not to exhibit himself and his wealth, but to "get there," and he does "get there," too.

I do not think this is at all an unnatural view for me to take of Mr. Rockefeller's philosophy of life. It is the philosophy held by all normal men and I think Mr. Rockefeller perfectly normal except for the having of an unusual ability in the art of the making of money.

We live to live, not to let other people know we are alive. I don't wear clothes for ornament, but for warmth. I don't go to the opera to exhibit myself to other people, but to satisfy my ears and eyes.

The squirrel does not lay up his winter store of nuts in order to make other squirrels envious of him, nor yet to have them admire his wealth and foresight. He lays up his nuts for the one and single purpose of feeding himself when the snow covers the ground and when if he had no store on hand he would starve.

The Bees act on the same instinct. In California the Bees living in a climate where there are flowers all the year round follow up their old instinct developed under different climatic conditions, of gathering honey for a winter that never comes and consequently laying up immense stores of honey that is never consumed at all and simply goes to waste unless man wandering in the forest happens accidentally to find the bee tree.

Mr. Rockefeller is like the California Bee. He is obeying a fundamental instinct to accumulate, although the original incentive for laying up more wealth has long since ceased. However, it is just as much a part of his life to go on accumulating wealth which he cannot consume as it is for the California Bee to accumulate honey which she cannot consume. You no more could reason Mr. Rockefeller out of following up his irresistible instinct than you could successfully reason with a Bee. For even suppose you could teach a Bee the futility of gathering honey which would never be eaten, what a miserable little Bee you would make feeding her on the Fruit of the Tree of Economic Knowledge. How could the poor Bee pass away the time if she could not gather honey? Would you teach her to play golf? Would you teach her to gamble with her sister Bees, to see which Bee should have the most of the Useless Honey that no Bee wanted anyway because there was already too much on hand?

No, if you had a kind heart you would let the poor Bee

go on for the rest of her Bee life gathering honey, even though you knew she was making something that would be of no use.

For the Bee to be happy she must be a Busy Bee. Her problem in life is not to *own* honey, but to *make* honey. I don't know that Browning was thinking of either Busy Bees or Busy Rockefellers when he wrote:—

The common problem, yours, mine, every one's,  
Is—not to fancy what were fair in life  
Provided it could be—but, finding first  
What may be, then, how to make it fair  
Up to our means; a very different thing!

But his philosophy was all right, just the same.

Now, you can't introduce any game to a Bee that will let her be a Lazy Bee and yet imagine herself a Busy Bee. You can't make her drunk, for instance, and make her think she is doing great stunts in the honey-making line, while, as a matter of fact, she is fast asleep in the club window of the Hive. Neither can you get her to chase around the Golf Links of a Honeyless Garden pretending to gather honey, but in reality simply playing in a make-believe Game of Life.

Now, with Mr. Rockefeller it's all different. He has a man's imagination, and so you can fool him. On nice, clear days you can set him to playing golf, and he will forget all about the real Game of Life and enjoy the imitation more than he ever enjoyed the real. At least, he thinks he does, and this is the same thing.

Then, on rainy days, you can let him stay in the Club, and by sundry and judicious Scotch High-balls you can fool him into thinking he is doing things when he is, in reality, not even walking around a golf links. Oh, it's a great thing to be a Man rather than a Bee.

But there is another difference, too. The Bee gathers her honey in a fair field, one that is freely open to all Bees. Mr. Rockefeller gathers his honey from a private preserve. Here we have a great United States Flower Garden and plenty of Honey for All. Years ago our grandfathers made a very silly arrangement with certain people, whereby Mr. Rockefeller owns this Flower Garden. We gather the Honey for him, and he gives us of the Honey such a share that will

keep us sufficiently alive that we may have strength enough to fly around and continue the gathering of still more honey for him. I say this was a silly arrangement, for there was no reason why we should not, in our Own Country, our Own United States, our Own Flower Garden, have ALL THE HONEY we might make for our OWN SELVES, instead of giving up three-quarters to capitalists like Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan. However, our grandfathers made the agreement and we grandchildren seemed to think that neither should we ourselves back out of it, and that we should, moreover, pledge our own grandchildren to continue the arrangement perpetually.

The trouble that is now vexing our souls, however, is a very serious one. We thought our contract carried with it the implication that as long as we were willing to gather honey from the National Garden for Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan, that they would be willing to let us in the field and to gather and get our one-fourth of the gathering. It appears we made a mistake. Mr. Rockefeller is now saying that he has all the Honey he wants and that there is no use of our making what he don't want. He has formed his Trust for the express purpose of fencing us out of the Garden of Earth. We cannot deny that he has much more Honey than he can use because his big Standard Hive is the most conspicuous thing in the field.

No, we cannot deny that our labor has become useless to him, for he has all he wants, but, on the other hand, we also cannot see how we are going to get any Honey for ourselves when the big Trust Screen is completed and we are denied access to the Flower Garden of Life. We are very reluctantly being forced to see that we must own the Earth ourselves if we expect to have the right at any and all times of entry into the National Garden to supply ourselves with the needful Honey.

When the Nation Owns the Trust Hive all us American Busy Bees will have the right to enter and make Honey and partake of the common store gathered by all.

If we wish to have what we gather let us Bees Get Busy.  
"Let the Nation Own the Honey Trust."

## THE TRUE JOY OF LIFE

**T**HERE is but one true Elixir of Life, and that is to live. A great many people think they are living when in reality they are simply letting their bodies and souls undergo a process of decay. Some who are sure they are living are simply burning themselves up. To really live and be respectable under modern conditions is possible but for a favored few, favored either by heredity or environment, or both, and of those few there are but a fraction who take advantage of their possibilities. What with the difficulties of steering a career between being eminently respectable and disgracefully dissipated, few escape wrecking their souls. The very first requisite of respectability is to conform your thoughts and actions to those of the community among whom it happens to be your lot in life to be thrown. A buried corpse conforms to its surrounding soil. It finally becomes undistinguishable from the soil itself. It is the soil. An acorn buried in the soil is a thing of life because it refuses conformity. It becomes the glorious oak. The dead man is always respectable; the live man never, if he really lives. On the other hand, it is just as much against life to dissipate and burn up your energies in living a life which the respectable call disreputable as it is to deaden yourself by leading the life the disreputable sneer at as "respectable."

To live is simply to express yourself—to express yourself physically, mentally and spiritually.

You cannot live if you do not express yourself, and you are not expressing yourself when you think, speak and act in a certain manner—not because that is *your* way—but because it is the way of someone else—because it is respectable.

We live for the sake of experiencing sensations. Every natural movement of the mind or body gives us a pleasurable sensation. If we are unable to exercise our functions properly and normally, the desire for the sensations which would

have been the result of such exercise, leads us to offer ourselves a sensation more or less similar to one derived from exercise, but induced by the use of a narcotic or a stimulant.

A man working all day in a dismal coal mine, denied all sight of the beauties of nature, develops unconsciously, perhaps, an intense longing for the sight of trees and grass and flowers and sunshine. He cannot satisfy that longing. To support life he must stay down in the mine. Is it then a wonder that he takes whiskey which will at least give a certain stimulus to the sensations which his nature so imperatively demands? Granted that the exhilaration caused by the whiskey is altogether of a baser kind than the exhilaration caused by the sight of a green sward, still it at least does take the man away from himself and his environment, and this is an effect that seems a psychological necessity to men living unnatural lives.

It is well enough for the man, whose life itself is a dream in the eyes of the miner, to berate the miner for his drunkenness. But he should bear in mind that the only time the miner ever feels he is living, is when he can get away from his real life by deadening his nerves with whiskey to such an extent that his environment becomes subordinate to an imaginary one.

We universally excuse a man for drugging himself when he is about to undergo a surgical operation. If whiskey could be used instead of ether for the anaesthetic, who would blame a man for drinking it when his leg had to be sawed off? After the operation, for weeks the man may be in pain. We do not frown upon his taking opium. But let him recover from the physical pain, and then take opium or whiskey to rid himself of a spiritual pain and we at once view him with scorn, notwithstanding that we all say the pain of the mind is greater than that of the body. It is natural for man to escape pain, and if he cannot escape the pain itself, he will do the next best thing—deaden himself to the sensation.

A healthy man in a natural, healthy environment will never think of narcotizing himself. He will not wish to lose any of his sensations—any of his life.

A man goes to the opera, but certainly does not take a sleeping potion beforehand. Not at all; he wishes all his

senses with him. He wants to be fully alive in order to enjoy every moment.

You could not think of a man wishing to get drunk in heaven. It is an absurdity. Yet, if a man happened to have gone to hell, what man would blame the poor devil for getting as drunk as he could and staying that way as long as his satanic host would furnish the high-balls?

The true course of the temperance reformer is to make this world so little like hell and so near like heaven that no man will dare to get drunk for fear of missing part of the show.

And it must always be remembered that a heaven on this earth implies something for us to do, some task to perform that we feel and know is useful to ourselves and mankind in general. We cannot get a full life by plowing the sands. Digging post holes and filling them up again may exercise our muscles, but it is deadly to the soul. Conjugating Greek verbs and never getting any further in the language may be very good intellectual discipline, but it would never make an intellectual man. To enjoy digging the post holes we must know that they are to be filled by fence posts and that the fence is something that performs a useful function. We can only take pleasure in the study of Greek verbs when we know it will lead us to wander intelligently in Greek literature.

It is the uselessness of the sports of the rich that poisons them. Young Vanderbilt feels this when he runs a stage coach for hire. To drive a coach and four every day up and down the pike without "paying passengers" becomes monotonous, but let him know that every man has paid for his seat, and immediately there is added a sense of usefulness to the coach driving that gives it the zest and flavor of life.

When we have reorganized society it is quite true that the demand for useful labor to produce the necessities of life will be extremely small. At the outside two hours per day will give every man all the food, shelter and clothing he will ever wish.

Men will not wish champagne and cigars, because they will not wish to deaden their senses in a world of love and beauty. They will not wish to have individual ownership of expensive things, because such ownership to-day is only desired for the sake of ostentation, a motive that will entirely disappear

with the effacement of a system which enables one man to take the wealth produced by another.

But while the demands for necessities will be immeasurable, architecture, the greatest of the arts, will consume men's labor and time to an unparalleled and unimaginable extent. The buildings of the World's Fair will be reproduced on a far grander scale and in permanent marble in every State in the Union. Built not only for the joy of men seeing them after completion, but built for the actual joy and pleasure of building them.

We know how the cathedrals of the middle ages were built by singing workmen. If they sung and loved their work in those days how much more will labor in the future enjoy its work when all will be filled with that cosmic consciousness of universal joy which can only come when all men are brothers and join in the great work of making life beautiful?

It is only when mankind has developed into a complete and world-wide organism that man as an individual will really and at last live. For not till then will his heart throb in unison with the heart-beats of all humanity.

## TWO WORLD CONQUERORS

**A**LEXANDER sighed when he had no more worlds to conquer.

When Morgan conquers the world, it will be the world that will do the sighing. The world will sigh because it will be unemployed.

That is the difference between the two world conquerors; or, rather the difference between their two methods of conquest, and it is a mighty big difference, too, let me remark.

If Alexander had not gorged himself at that famous dinner and died of indigestion from too much food, he might easily have served out his allotted time of life reigning over this old world. The dinner was an accident. There were no necessities of the case demanding that Alexander should gorge himself to death. He might have lived as abstemiously as John D. Rockefeller if he had only had a modern liver to have compelled abstemiousness. But men did not have modern livers in those heroic days, and so Alexander must die ignominiously. We have learned something in the last few thousand years—thanks to Bernarr Macfadden. We now eat only when we are hungry, that is, if we have the sense and the cents—for we must have both.

Alexander had but to fulfil one condition to hold his throne. He had to keep his health. In fact, this was about the only condition imposed upon a king in feudal days. With good health and reasonable luck and intelligence, most kings could be pretty sure of keeping their jobs.

With our new emperor of the world, Mr. Morgan, it is not a question of his health—it is a question of his wealth; of his ability to continue making money out of his job. I don't mean that Morgan himself would abdicate his throne if he found there was nothing "in it." I mean that Morgan to-day holds his sceptre by reason of his ability to give men and capital employment; or, to be more correct, by reason of the industrial conditions being such that men can be profitably

employed. Morgan does not and cannot create such conditions. He simply takes advantage of the conditions as they may happen to exist in the industrial world, and it so happens to-day that labor and capital can be reasonably well employed, and Morgan reigns in peace. He came to his throne because of a great over-production of the industrial machinery of the United States. This condition necessitated the formation of vast combinations of railways and industrial enterprises. Morgan, as a great banker, was called in by the capitalists to conduct the formation of these combinations. The war with Spain coming on, followed up by the Boer war, caused a great demand for commodities, which was followed up by a great increase in price. The new Morgan combinations not only profited by all this, but owing to their combination they could effect vast economies, yet, at the same time, keep up selling prices by means of their monopoly. Profits never amounted to such a prodigious sum as to-day in the United States. Morgan's Steel Trust is making money at the rate of nearly \$140,000,000 per year. The result of all this money making is naturally being followed up by vast expenditures of money to still further perfect the machinery of production in order to still further increase profits. One railway company alone, the Pennsylvania, is about to expend \$100,000,000 in betterments in the next few years.

However, this cannot continue forever. There is fast approaching the day when the greater part of this work of perfecting the machinery of production will be finished. The Pennsylvania tunnel under the Hudson River will cost \$60,000,000, but certainly no one can think that when it is finished there will soon be need of another tunnel nor of widening the one just built. And the wildest imagination can hardly dream of even a third tunnel being built in the near future. It is the same way with the immense amount of money now being spent upon improving our railway systems. Heavier bridges and heavier rails are the order of the day. But when the new rails are laid and the bridges strengthened it will be years before they will wear out.

That the business men of this country do not look for the perpetual continuation of good times is seen from the market price of the preferred stock of the United States Steel Company. Here is Schwab making an affidavit valuing the assets

at over thirteen hundred million dollars and claiming that the earnings for the year will be over one hundred and forty million dollars, whereas the fixed charges are only something over fifteen million dollars. Notwithstanding all this, the 7 per cent. preferred stock of the company sells for less than 90 cents while our United States bonds paying 2 per cent. sell for 108.

The only possible reason why a 7 per cent. investment sells for less than a 2 per cent. one is because of the uncertainty of the 7 per cent. being permanent. Yet, according to Mr. Schwab, the only way the Steel Company could fail to pay its 7 per cent. would be owing to an almost inconceivable demoralization in the iron industry of the country. And the low price of steel stock to my mind indicates exactly such a feeling of uncertainty and foreboding now existing in the minds of the investing public. Even the "gift" of \$4,000,000 per year, as evidenced by Mr. Schwab's increase in the wages paid by the Trust, has not to any measurable extent reassured the public mind. One thing it does show, anyway, and that is, that Schwab is a man of discernment. He saw that he would sooner or later be forced to give higher wages, owing to the increased cost of living, and he simply took time by the forelock and forestalled the men's demands, and gets credit for great philanthropy. If he had waited for a strike and then given in, he would have been a poor captain.

The iron industry of this country pays the railway companies between sixty and seventy million dollars per year for transportation.

Now, then, if we are going to have such a falling off of demand for iron that there is going to be a failure to pay the 7 per cent. upon the preferred stock of the Steel Trust, it certainly means that a great part of the millions the Steel Company is now paying the railway companies is going to be lost to them.

The collapse of the steel and iron industry means the collapse of the railway industry, and in fact the collapse of the steel industry means the collapse of practically all the industries in the country. I am predicting this by my words, but our capitalists are predicting it much more effectively by deeds when they refuse to buy Steel Trust stock at par.

This is the pyramid of human money bags upon which

Mr. Morgan is perched and from which he views the world as his own—the ability of the Steel Trust to pay dividends.

As long as capitalists want steel rail, just so long will the Steel Trust employ men digging iron ore, transporting it in vessels and trains to the mills and transporting the finished article on the railways to their destination.

But the question of capitalists “wanting” steel is not a question of volition. They only “want” when there is a demand, and this demand can only exist when there are economic conditions which create such a demand. It is beyond the power of the capitalists to create “conditions.” It is true they may by foresight and combination modify conditions very much, but the general current of industry is quite beyond their control under our existing competitive system. It is true that if Mr. Morgan was the Director General of the whole of the capital of the world he could manage better to keep things going until all the world was perfectly equipped with the latest industrial machinery. When this was finally accomplished he, having nothing more to do with his income, would at last be compelled from the very necessity of things to introduce the co-operative wage system to get rid of his money. But Morgan is not in complete control of the world’s capital although he seems rapidly approaching it. He must consider other competing capitalists. He must both husband and waste his capital as the exigencies of the competitive strife demand.

He is not a free agent although freer than any capitalist yet that the world has ever seen. Take his position in the industrial world to-day, particularly in connection with the great iron industry. He is the whole thing from beginning to end. He controls the iron ore, the vessels carrying the ore, the furnaces making the ore into pig iron, the conversion of the iron into steel, the rolling of the steel into beams and steel rail. He not only controls the railways which buy the steel rail, but he controls the great construction companies which use the steel which goes into the manufacture of steel buildings and steel steamships. In fact, Morgan performs every act in the whole scale of industry from the very beginning up to the very last act of consumption. But, Morgan, as a capitalist, is limited in his powers of consumption exactly as Morgan, as an individual, is limited in powers of eating.

He, as a capitalist, can have an indigestion of too much capital, just as a man can have an indigestion of too much food. His body is an organism, more or less perfect, that will only consume so much food. The body politic likewise, whether Morganized or simply organized, can consume only so much capital. The best Morgan can do for his own body is to keep it well organized and exercised and not to feed it either too much or too little. If he could perform the same service for society he would be safe in holding his throne as emperor of the world—but he can't. That is, he can't unless he supplants the existing competitive wage system by the co-operative system, and this change can never be made for society. It must make it of its own accord and motion and for itself. A man may cultivate the soil and plant a rose bush, but he cannot make it blossom. The bush must do that for itself. All he can do is to hasten or retard the event. Now, society is simply a human rose bush, with somewhat more sense than the common, or garden variety. Morgan is only a part of society and can only contribute his part of the social consciousness which will cause us to know we are to blossom into Socialism some day, and which social consciousness will enable us to prepare for that momentous event, and enable us to somewhat hasten the glad day.

Our physical body is simply an organization of living cells. Each cell looks out for itself, but it can only do so by helping to keep the whole body in a condition of health so that it can derive its proper sustenance from it in turn for the sustenance it gives the body. If anything goes wrong with a cell, for instance, if the cells in the legs become tired with too much walking, they first give a civil warning that they must have a rest, and finally if they don't get what they want, they go on a strike and won't work at all. Then the body must come to their relief—it has no choice. Just as the coal miners in society to-day first make a demand and then finally go on a strike to get what they want. If they had the sense of the cells in the body they would get what they wanted or society would go cold.

The latest theory of cancer is that it is simply an ordinary cell that has gone crazy and determined to set up a little *imperium in imperio* of its own. It wants to be the whole thing itself. It levies on all the tissues of the body just as

if it had the right to claim a separate organization as well as the body. The body cannot stand this rebellion. It finally weakens under the stress of civil war, and unless it exorcises the cancer it dies and with it dies the cancer.

The Trust is simply a cancer on the body politic. It is an organization gone wild which thinks that the sustenance intended for the whole of society should be diverted to it.

At one time it was the feudal kings who took to themselves the wealth intended for all, but to-day it is the money king who usurps the rights of society, and right royally he does it, too!

As Mr. Wayland says in the "Appeal to Reason":

"In view of the hesitation in the world of stocks, bonds and gambling occasioned by the illness of the English king, a financial report says that while the king was more ornamental than vital, 'he was a discreet and mute partner in many important enterprises.' In the olden times the king raised an army of free-booters and overrun and pillaged his neighbors where he could, and on the booty thus obtained lived in luxury. That was at least open and in a sense honorable. He made no pretenses to be otherwise. To-day he takes the ways of business to accomplish the same ends. He invests in 'enterprises' that have for their object the taking away from the people the results of their labor, and appropriates them to his own use. He and his fellows secretly conspire against the rest of the human race to cheat them in the matter of price and cost, and extract millions from them to squander on idle ostentatious living. The king is a mere child in this to such as Morgan: combinations of men steal from the people a tiny speck on every mouthful of sugar, every drop of oil, every glimmer of electricity or gas, every mouthful of food, every rag of clothes. In this age we have not one king but many, and many whose names even we never hear, or of whose existence we are unaware. Stores to-day have become so many tax-collecting offices for the men who own the Trusts; the erstwhile merchant is to-day but the collector in the cunning system of taxation without representation. We read and wonder at the stupidity and patience of the past generation in their submission to the tribute of kings, but they were never bled to one-tenth the extent the people are to-day by commercial kings, whose incomes from the people are greater

than any England's kings ever dreamed. We could better support five-fold the royalty and snobbery of England in their present useless lives than support the tens of thousands of tax-collecting vermin that swarm the industrial body of the people. What we pay for national and local taxes is nothing compared to the sums we have laid on us each year by the lice of capitalism. Go to any city and see the long line of mansions, palaces and exclusive pleasure places—inhabited by human beings who never do a useful stroke of labor, whose lives are spent in cunningly extracting from the workers the honey of wealth they produce, and you can readily see how insignificant the public taxes are compared to what it takes to keep up these drones. [The income of a Rockefeller or a Morgan is greater than the royal income of *all* the royal families of *all* Europe.]”

No, it is true that no feudal king ever had the twentieth part of Rockefeller's income, and it is just owing to this enormous drain upon the people that capitalism will never have the long life enjoyed by feudalism.

It's on the same principle that a man can endure a wart on his body much longer than he can a cancer. The kings and dukes were mere little warts on society. The Rockefellers and Morgans are virulent cancers. The wart remains in nearly a static condition. It grows very slowly and it takes but little nourishment from the system to feed it; it causes little pain or discomfort. Not so with the cancer. It grows every day and the older it gets the more it drains the system and the more pain it causes.

Now, when a man has a cancer, he doesn't expect to get rid of it by reasoning with the cancer and persuading it to leave his body. Not at all. He summons up his resolution and cuts it out. He never thinks of having any resentment against that cell which has gone wild and made a cancer out of itself, and threatens his life. If he is a scientist he knows that that cell is totally irresponsible. It is simply diseased, and if properly treated and put in a proper environment it will once again resume its rightful status in the body.

The Trust cancer upon the American people is not yet in the open virulent stage. It gives some annoyance; we all know that an abnormal growth is upon us; but we will not take measures for its removal, however, until the disease as-

sumes the acute form and it becomes a matter of life and death with us to remove the false growth and correct the tendencies that brought it on.

Now we simply let Teddy tell us that he will have Dr. Knox cure us, and let it go at that.

## HOW HIGH CAN WAGES GO?

**A** GREAT many employers conscientiously believe that wages cannot be raised if the increase will make the cost of production greater than the present receipts of the business will allow to be paid.

They seem to be quite oblivious to the possibility of raising prices sufficiently to enable them to pay the higher wages. In the last coal strike the operators said that if they paid the wages demanded by the miners they could not get enough for the coal to enable them to pay cost of production.

However, as soon as production was curtailed the price of coal went up from \$6 to \$20 per ton. Here, then, was a difference of \$14 per ton, while the advance in cost of mining coal, which would have been the result of paying the increase of wages demanded by the miners, would not have amounted to twenty cents per ton.

The people simply must have coal, and if the cost of operating the mines forces up the cost, then the people, rather than go without, will pay whatever is necessary to get it even if it be \$20 per ton. Of course, when such a tremendous rise takes place there is naturally a great diminution of demand, but nevertheless this does not alter the fact that for the coal that is sold the operators will be able to pay the miners tremendous wages. I take the following from the Toronto "World":

### EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE.

But no power on earth can make an industry or a business carry a heavier wage burden than its strength will uphold. Overloaded, it must get rid of part of the burden or it must sink. And the alternative which the wage earner must choose is to lighten the burden when it is too heavy and not to increase it when it is as heavy as can be tolerated, or he will do the worst thing he can do for himself. He will narrow his own field of employment. He will diminish its fruits which may be divided with him. He will kill the goose that lays the golden egg.—New York Press.

This editorial opinion is called forth by the current trend of the labor situation in Great Britain and the United States. According to the London, Eng., Chamber of Commerce returns, there occurred in 1901, for the first time since 1895,

a heavy fall in the total wages of British workmen. In 1901, the "Chamber of Commerce Journal" computes, there was a decrease in wages of £1,584,000 (about \$7,900,000), as against an increase in 1900 of about £6,000,000. Thus far in 1902 the downward tendency has continued, so that the end of the year will doubtless show a further recession of the total wages from the highest figures of 1901.

It is found, on looking further into the Chamber of Commerce report, that though this reduction occurred in the total wages paid out, in some groups of industries the workmen actually secured increased wages. In other words, while wages in particular groups have advanced, the general decline in wages forced the total results far down, as the statistics quoted above show.

Taking these figures as a text, "The Press" warns trades unions against the indiscriminate forcing up of wages in industries, some of which may not be able to stand the advance in expenditure entailed. "The Press" then proceeds:

Because there has been a great boom in one industry, with largely increased wages, not only made possible but voluntarily raised in response to the universal law of supply and demand, we have seen indiscriminating wage-earners taking it for granted that there should be a corresponding increase in wages in industries and occupations which have been in fact, for one reason or another, languishing. They have attempted to enforce their demands when the temporary enforcement of them must inevitably cripple their employers, if not drive some of them to the wall. A case in point whose details we have given some study is that of the carting and trucking business. For the last two years this business has been staggering under burdens of exceptional disadvantage. The increased cost of horses put a heavy tax on it. The increased cost of all the materials used for building and repairing the equipment of the business—the wood, the iron and steel of the wagons and the material of the harness—added to the burden. Then the cost of feed, owing to the crop failures, practically doubled, so that the trucking and general delivery business was in the worst shape to make money at any time in years. And at that very time of distress—at the extreme depression of the business—the drivers, handlers and other workmen employed in the group decided that because others had been getting advances in wages—they should get them. The demands were presented by the union and the choice was given to the employers of granting them or of suffering a strike. In one case which we examined the new scale presented to an employer called for an additional wage payment of \$60,000 a year. The business was not making one-fourth of that sum. But the scale was generally enforced, with the result that some of the

employers were compelled to cut down the number of their wagons, to injure the efficiency of their service, and to reduce the scope of their business, while others were put out of business entirely.

In these days of searching for a means of bringing capital and labor into proper relations with each other, any illuminating comment on the problem is of interest, and we therefore quote our contemporary on this question.

The average production per laborer according to Census Bulletin 150, U. S. Reports, is \$2,451 per year. The wages paid average \$437 per year.

Certainly if the laborers were completely organized, then they could get the whole of the \$2,451 that they produce, less such sum that the capitalist needs to keep up his plant and pay him wages of superintendence.

The Steel Trust to-day pays profits of over 100 millions per year. If times were dull they would run the works at a loss rather than shut down.

If labor could hold its own in a strike it could put up wages to the extent of absorbing the whole of the present 100 millions profit, for it would pay Mr. Morgan better to lose all his profits rather than shut down the works.

In the case of the trucking industry in New York which "The Press" refers to, it can be seen upon a moment's reflection that the carriage of freight from the depot to the store is an absolute necessity to the merchant. There is no substitute that can be offered for transportation by the trucks. He simply must pay what the teamsters demand or go out of business.

He may have been basing his business upon a certain cost of truckage, but if so he must re-base it upon another cost and add the difference to the selling price of his goods. He need not fear competitors, for the same extra cost will likewise force them to adopt the same means of preservation. If the extra cost of trucking would ruin business in New York, then the excessive rents paid there to the land-owners would have certainly ruined business long ago. But we all know that business increases every year in New York, and every year up go rents. The merchants simply recoup themselves by charging higher prices. And if people cannot afford to pay the prices, then they will move away and down will come rents.

## COLUMBIA'S RACE FOR LIBERTY.

TO many the verse, "Sweet Land of Liberty," when applied to America, seems to be the baldest irony, but there was a day when it was not a joke. One of the very significant features of the times is the attitude that *Life*, a paper having its circulation almost exclusively among the "400," is taking toward our modern plutocracy. One would think that it would be the last paper that would publish such a cartoon as that seen on another page. Just now, no doubt, poor, foolish Columbia is valuing the miserable apples of Greed and Avarice that her competitor, the Trust, casts in her path more than she does the winning of the race for Liberty. But the race is not by any means as nearly over as the plutocrats in the royal box would seem to imagine. The Trust has one more apple to throw, Fraud, and he will needs throw it soon, too, and then his last card will have been played. Columbia can win as easily as could the goddess of old, and that she will win in the long race of a nation's life is certain, notwithstanding the tricks of her competitor. The marvel, however, is that she allows herself to be tricked even for the moment. Why is it that a people as intelligent as we Americans certainly are, allow ourselves to be kept out of our inheritance by such self-evident trickery as the Trust is now imposing upon us? Here we have a country that is palpably more than capable of supporting all of us in affluence. The Trust, by the great economies it has been able to effect in production, has confessedly made the task of producing the things we want infinitely much easier than ever. But notwithstanding that the Trust admits on the one hand that it has enabled man to control nature that much the easier, it, on the other hand, is denying men employment, alleging that they are no longer needed, owing to these self-same economies, and this denial of employment means the impossibility of men procuring the food they need simply because it has become so much easier to produce that food. Is it not absolutely incomprehensible to

think that we Americans can accept such a condition of affairs and not see the utter absurdity of it all? Here we are in America, a land flowing with milk and honey, we have given over to the Trusts the management of procuring this milk and honey in the manner which will require the least human exertion. We have labored for years and years constructing machinery to lessen the task of milk and honey getting. We have been so busy making these machines that we have almost forgotten why we started out to make them, namely, in order to lighten our toil. In fact, we have almost begun to think that the making of the machines was an end in itself instead of being the means to an end. So immersed have we been in the process of making machines that when the Trusts came along and told us that more machines are now built than there is any need for, and that, therefore, our labor will be no longer needed, instead of our throwing up our caps with a "Huzza! Boys, the Work of Man is Done! Now let us Use these Machines over the Making of which We have Spent so Many Weary Years of Toil!"—I say, instead of making any such an outcry of joy at the completion of the task, we are terrified to death, for we think unless we can continue the making of machines, no matter how little they may be needed, that there is no other way of our being able to use our labor in getting a living. We laugh at the Irishman who thought the only way to get his pig roasted was to burn down his shanty, yet we Americans are just as silly. We think the only way for us to get bread is to continue building superfluous machines. Simply because in the beginning of our industrial development all our labor force could be profitably spent in the making of tools for the production of bread, now that we have practically completed such tools we are terrified that we cannot continue getting our bread as we formerly did because the work of making such tools is completed. When we were building such machines, we simply made a trade of our labor. Part of us worked in the fields growing the wheat and another part of us were working in the machine shops making mowing machines. Then we exchanged our mowing machines for the wheat and fed ourselves. The end was to feed ourselves, and we thought to attain that end more easily by building mowing machines. We fed

ourselves all right enough before we ever had any mowing machines, but we were not satisfied to leave well enough alone. We must do better, and we certainly can do much better, for one man with modern machinery in the wheat field can do the work of one hundred. And now when we have quite finished building all the machines we need, we find that instead of getting one hundred times as much wheat as we did before we made the machines we actually are told by some of our statesmen that we may not even get as much as we did before we had any machines at all. The only hope for us, according to some people, is that we develop our foreign trade so that when we make more mowing machines than can be used in this country, the foreigner will take pity on us and use them in his country. This is called by the Roosevelt-Hanna combination salvation by reciprocity. It means that the mere finishing up of sufficient mowing machines to cut all our American wheat must now be followed up by us Americans building mowing machines for all the rest of the Earth. When we finally finish this mighty task we are not told that we will then get that hundred for one return that we have been waiting for, lo! now, these fifty years. No, we are told that after we have built machines for all the world, then we will have indeed finished our task and it will then be time for us to move off the Earth. Just the time when we thought we were getting in shape to rest and enjoy life we are told it is time to die. However, we are not going to move off the Earth, and neither are we going to shuffle off this mortal coil. We are going to suddenly awaken to the fact that we have been fools long enough, and we are going to simply let the machines do our work; and we are going to eat the bread without any pangs of conscience that it is produced by the harnessing of Niagara rather than by the sweat of our noble brows. If anybody wishes to sweat, let him take a vapor bath, but as for us we see no terrors in a dry-browed future. Anyhow, we are going to have one try at it, even if we lose.

All this is not saying that labor, like virtue, is not its own reward, but there is such a thing as having too much of a good thing. We are too apt to look upon the only possible reward for work to exist in its product, but as a matter of fact there is an equal reward in the very work that led to

the product, although our modern methods of employment quite obscure it.

For a healthy man there is a joy in digging post-holes, provided there are not too many to be dug in a day. There is certainly more joy in the digging of a number of post-holes than there can be in any possession of the holes after they are dug. What painter ever enjoyed the possession of his picture as much as he did the painting of it? I am sure if Pierpont Morgan were to analyze his feelings, he would admit that his pleasure in forming the United States Steel Company was far greater than any he now has in possessing the cash and bonds he received for doing the work. Even the mere reminiscence of the performing of a good work is a far greater pleasure than the possession of any reward.

This reward existing in the actual doing of the work runs all through nature. We see it in the intense delight of children to do something of use for their elders. What little girl in fortunate circumstances does not like to make an effort at cooking or sewing for her mother? But when we see a little girl sewing her soul into her work in a sweater's den we can hardly realize that under different conditions that same work which now wears the child's life away might be a joy to her. It is not work, but over-work, that is painful.

The determination of when work becomes over-work is also of a varying nature. A man will perform prodigies of labor during a hunting trip that will but add to his health, whereas the same amount of work done digging our post-holes would be heart-breaking drudgery. Similarly Edison working night and day perfecting an invention can do such strenuous work with no ill results to his health, whereas if he were without the stimulus of the pleasure in the work he would break down at it. It is often said that when a successful business man does far more work than his meanest employee, therefore his material reward should be justly reckoned accordingly. This reasoning entirely overlooks the reward that exists in his work in itself. That there is more joy in giving than receiving is a truism, but that the giving consists in the doing of the work which produces the gift is often overlooked. However, if we analyze some of our social customs we find that this idea of the pleasure of making

a gift of the products of our labor, when that labor is confessedly from its nature of a pleasurable kind, is tacitly confessed, for such a gift is conventionally possible among equals and friends, where any other would be impossible.

For instance, if I go shooting and send a brace of wild ducks to my friend, they will be gladly accepted, notwithstanding he may have a suspicion that I have bought them in the market. However, there is a chance that I really have shot them myself and anyway I have had the fun of the trying, and hence he feels that in accepting them he is under no obligation. If, on the other hand, I should send him a pair of tame ducks with no intimation that I had acquired them in any other way than by purchase, the present would be regarded in the light of an insult. I can only give him *tame* ducks if it is known that I am playing at the gentleman farmer and am raising ducks purely for amusement. These customs regarding the kind of labor incorporated into a thing deciding upon the possibility of its being a gift, I say, have at base a clear recognition of the delights of labor when done under proper conditions.

It seems absurd to many to say that labor in the future with Socialism will give quite as much pleasure, if not indeed more pleasure, in the doing of it than in the participation of its results. Where does the pleasure come in to-day when we go off to the woods for a week's picnic? It is certainly not in the eating of the fish or game that may be killed. In fact, people often go out camping and take all their provisions with them. Of course, the change from conventional city life is a pleasure, but I venture to say that a great amount of the pleasure consists in the doing of the necessary camp work. I think it will be admitted by those who have tried both ways that when servants are taken along to do the work, half the pleasure of a camping trip is lost.

It is quite true that all high civilizations in the past have been based upon the servitude of man to man. A select few have been permitted to live a higher life perched on the backs of the many. And far be it from me to say that there is not a strong argument in favor of having a small class enjoy the delights of culture rather than have the whole mass brutalized.

Man must have servants to take the labor of getting a living off his shoulders sufficiently for him to develop his intellect. However, there is no reason why man's servant should not be a machine just as well as it should be a fellow man. It is not the nature of the *servant* that gives the necessary leisure. It is the nature of the *service*. I must have food and clothing. It can be given to me by a slave operated by muscle or by a slave operated by steam.

Even on the camping trip it must be remembered that although we may take no servants with us, nevertheless we take congealed labor along with us in our flour and bacon, our blankets, our guns, and in fact the whole of our camp accoutrements. The goods we take with us represent just so much less labor for us to perform while on the trip.

I am dwelling upon this idea of the pleasure of work because I feel that many of those who have wealth to-day look with unnecessary horror upon a change of society which will necessitate conditions in which all must work. They not unnaturally think that by "work" is meant the kind of work both as to time and nature such as they see laborers, clerks, servants, etc., doing about them.

I don't blame a man raised in the lap of luxury looking with consternation upon a future which implied that he would have to do work of this kind. It is but natural that he should make up his mind to fight to the death to resist any such change. I know that in the days before I was a Socialist and had simply a vague idea that Socialism meant drudgery for everyone and that it was to come, if ever it did come, through the deliberate organizing of the working class to take possession of the wealth of the rich. I say that when I thought this I, too, had made up my mind to fight to the last ditch rather than let it occur. I felt that I might as well be dead as live the life I saw the poor of to-day living, and that I could risk nothing by fighting, and I might gain. In those days I never had heard of social evolution as something that was of present-day importance. It had never been suggested to me that Socialism was coming like the winter's snow, and that I might as well try to fight off that snow with Krupp guns as to resist it. That Socialism was such an inevitability and that it did not mean drudgery for men, but universal joy, suddenly broke upon

me one day. It was no supernatural light either, that led to my conversion. It was simply deductions obtained from the appearance of the trusts, and my knowledge of the business conditions that led to this appearance.

I made a flop in one night, about fifteen years ago, from being the most extreme follower of the *laissez faire* school of economists to the most extreme of the collectivist school. There was no step-by-step process in my evolution, and I have never budged an inch in my economics since I made my change of belief. Immediately I became a convert to Socialism I thought that every man I talked to would see things as I did and follow suit.

The economic necessity of Socialism seemed so easily proven that I was really green enough to think that Mr. Rockefeller himself would see the point when it was shown to him, and might even join in the movement to introduce Socialism. Upon this theory I actually wrote him a very polite letter showing how he had a chance to go down into history as the introducer of Socialism if he would but turn his vast wealth to that end. I am still waiting hopefully for that reply. It will soon be fifteen years, but still my patience is not exhausted. In the meanwhile, however, Mr. Pierpont Morgan has appeared on the financial horizon so that there is a double string to my bow. It may appear to some that it is the height of absurdity for me to suggest in any way except as a joke that Rockefeller or Morgan should ever accept the Socialist theory and would assist in its consummation. I admit that my experience in gaining converts from the rich does not justify me in still having hope, but hope is notorious for its triumphs over experience.

To prove that Socialism is inevitable is just as simple a problem for me to demonstrate as that two and two are four. If the demonstration that two and two are four should prove to me something I did not like to know, and it does very frequently, too, I certainly would not so stultify myself as to refuse to admit that two and two continue to make four. Now there is nothing particularly different in the make-up of Mr. Rockefeller and myself, and whatever difference there is should make him still more likely to come to my view of the case. He is a better figurer than I can ever hope to be, and therefore he should arrive at my conclusion upon the

mathematical grounds much sooner than I did, once his attention is called to the problem. Upon the ethical ground he certainly has far more reason to come to my ground than ever I had to be here. I never set myself up as a man to lead the prayer meetings and as an elder in the church. I never, in fact, made the least pretense of any altruism in my make-up. I simply made a study of how to amuse number one, and in fact I have never professed anything different, even since I became a Socialist.

Hence it seems to me that Mr. Rockefeller as well as Mr. Morgan, who are both good at figures as well as devoutly religious, are theoretically bound to come sooner or later into the collectivist school of economics, and become contributors to this magazine.

They both pray every day to the Lord that His "will be done on earth as it is in heaven." I would ask any good Christian who is not a Socialist, if such a thing can exist, what is his idea of God's will on earth? Wherein does his idea of the kingdom of God on earth differ from the idea that the Socialists have of the earth under Socialism? Certainly neither Mr. Morgan nor Mr. Rockefeller have as much cause as other rich men to disagree with the Socialists because we say that they are the agents who are working out our ideal. Of course, I can understand how Mr. Rockefeller would not agree with the Democrat or the Populist who wishes to destroy the trusts, but I do not see wherein he and the Socialist would have any room for discussion. Even upon the point of private ownership versus public ownership of the Standard Oil Trust Mr. Rockefeller would be in agreement, for we both say that the change cannot be made before the people wish it done, and that after the people do so declare that such is their wish, then there will be no resisting their will. Probably Mr. Rockefeller would to-day not be in favor of the nationalization of the trusts, but he could easily excuse himself by saying that he is simply averse to doing anything that the people do not wish done, and certainly he would be fully justified in his contention that the people have done little to indicate that they wish any such step taken.

Young Mr. Rockefeller declared the other day that the development of the trust was like unto the development of an

American Beauty rose. That to have a fine rose many buds must be pinched off and their sap turned to the remaining one, and he paralleled it in saying that to have one great business many smaller ones must be exterminated. This again is in line with the Socialist's idea. The Standard Oil Trust is itself but a large bud, and it, too, must be pinched off in order that its sap may flow to the American nation as a whole, for the nation is the American Beauty rose that we are all interested in developing to its highest possibilities.

Pinch, brothers, pinch, pinch with care,  
Pinch every Trust that absorbs our air.

## THE MUTATION THEORY APPLIED TO SOCIETY

**W**HEN one states that it is his theory that the final move of society will be in the nature of a leap rather than a slow and steady progression through the successive municipalization and nationalization of public utilities until all wealth is finally nationalized, he is often condemned as being unscientific and as being no true follower of the theory of evolution.

To be called unscientific is about the greatest insult that can be hurled at a Socialist, and he has felt a certain justice in such a criticism when he himself feels he has failed to clearly demonstrate that the same laws which govern the evolutionary development of plants and animals also hold in the development of the social organism of man, of society.

If, for instance, it was admitted that the development of the deer or the elephant in its present form and shape from lower forms of life was the result of the slow and steady progress of natural selection extending over millions of years, why was it not logical to insist that the move from the present competitive man-eating-man society of to-day to a society of brotherly love and co-operation must also require the slow progress of the centuries?

It was no particular comfort for the evolutionary yet revolutionary Socialist to hear that the researches of Geikie, Lord Kelvin and other scientists showed that the time required by the theory of Darwin for the development of the higher types of animals and plants, time mounting into the thousands of millions of years, was simply impossible because the earth as a planet in a condition cool enough for life to exist was impossible a hundred million years ago. A thousand million years ago the earth was an incandescent glowing sun. However, the scientific proofs of an evolutionary descent were so positive that the educated world generally became convinced of its truth, notwithstanding the objection of the lack of time declared so necessary by Darwin. Then, too, there were

many missing links connecting species to species, which the theologians have not failed to point out, the loss of which the Darwinians never were quite able to satisfactorily explain.

However, all these faults in the Darwinian theory are remedied if the "mutation" theory of progress is adopted instead of the theory held by Darwin of a slow and almost imperceptible progress. Those holding to the mutation theory, or the "jump" theory think progress from species to species to have been made, not by a slow process, but by sudden and unexpected jumps. Just as if, for instance, there being no deer in the world, that the cows of a certain herd should suddenly and unexpectedly give birth to a number of young deer instead of calves, and that these deer should then interbreed with themselves, and so give rise to a new species—to deer.

That new species should have originated in this manner without apparent reason and from parents so very different would have been as difficult of acceptance by the early Darwinians as the story of the creation of woman from Adam's rib.

However, a number of recent experiments upon the lower forms of life have shown conclusively that there, at any rate, one species may by being placed in a new environment, give rise to a totally new and different species, and if this may happen among the lower species, there is possibly no sound reason why it may not happen among the higher.

Recently there was a very interesting paper read by Dr. H. C. Bastian before the Royal Society in London. The Doctor is a supporter of this theory of the production of one form of life from another form. Most biologists hold to the hypothesis of homogenesis or the production of a given form of life from the same form. Dr. Bastian has shown, however, says W. E. Garrett Fisher, in the London "Mail," by an experiment anyone can repeat, that one form of life does at times give rise to a totally distinct form, under the influence of purely physical conditions. His experiment is as striking, though it deals only with microscopic and lowly forms of life, as if a hen's egg were found, under special conditions of incubation, to give birth to a duckling.

"When the eggs of a common 'wheel animalcule,' the *Hydatina*, which is found in the stagnant water of many

ponds and ditches, are allowed to germinate in small stone pots from which both light and certain invisible rays, which seem to play a part in the process, are excluded, Dr. Bastian finds that some of them invariably give birth to a different kind of animalcule. The Hydatina is a multicellular organism, which belongs to a class, the rotifera, holding a place of its own in the zoological scheme. When its eggs give birth to the ciliated infusoria, which Dr. Bastian has obtained from them in many instances, we have offspring of a perfectly distinct nature from the parent. These infusoria belong to the simplest class of living animals, the protozoa, each of which consists of a single cell. Their bodies are not differentiated into parts as is the case with all higher forms—including the parent Hydatina—but the solitary cell has to perform all the functions of vitality. To a biologist the case is just as remarkable as if a cat gave birth to a sparrow, or a hen's egg produced a frog. It is a clear case of the transmutation of life, corresponding closely enough to the transmutation of radium-emanation into helium.

"To the lay student of the problems of life this remarkable discovery has a two-fold interest. In the first place, it helps us to understand how all the wonderful varieties of life which now people the globe may have developed, within the somewhat limited time which physicists allow for the operation, from the primordial germs. In the second place, the fact of the transmutation of life, once established, throws some light on the question of its origin."

That heterogenesis is also a method of progress among plants is being every day made clearer and clearer, and that the same will be made clear regarding all life is surely only a question of time, is my own belief.

To Professor Hugo De Vries the world is most indebted for its knowledge of the facts as to plants in relation to this profoundly interesting and far-reaching theory.

His book "Species and Varieties, Their Origin by Mutation," published by the Open Court Publishing Co., of Chicago (\$5), marks in its way the greatest step forward we have had since the publication of Darwin's epoch-making "Origin of Species." It lights up many of the dark places in the Darwinian theory. As the author says:

"A grave objection which has often and from the very outset been urged against Darwin's conception of very slow and nearly imperceptible changes, is the enormously long time required. If evolution does not proceed any faster than what we can see at present, and if the process must be assumed to have gone on in the same slow manner always, thousands of millions of years would have been needed to develop the higher types of animals and plants from their earliest ancestors.

Now, it is not at all probable that the duration of life on earth includes such an incredibly long time. Quite on the contrary, the lifetime of the earth seems to be limited to a few millions of years. The researches of Lord Kelvin and other eminent physicists seem to leave no doubt on this point. Of course all estimates of this kind are only vague and approximate, but for our present purposes they may be considered as sufficiently exact.

In a paper published in 1862 Sir William Thomson (now Lord Kelvin) first endeavored to show that great limitations had to be put upon the enormous demands for time made by Lyell, Darwin and other biologists.

From a consideration of a secular cooling of the earth, as deduced from the increasing temperature in deep mines, he concluded that the entire age of the earth must have been more than twenty and less than forty millions of years, and probably much nearer twenty than forty. His views have been much criticized by other physicists, but in the main they have gained an ever-increasing support in the way of evidence. New mines of greater depth have been bored, and their temperatures have proved that the figures of Lord Kelvin are strikingly near the truth. George Darwin has calculated that the separation of the moon from the earth must have taken place some fifty-six millions of years ago. Geikie has estimated the existence of the solid crust of the earth at the most as a hundred million years. The first appearance of the crust must soon have been succeeded by the formation of the seas, and a long time does not seem to have been required to cool the seas to such a degree that life became possible. It is very probable that life originally commenced in the great seas, and that the forms which are now usually included in the plankton or floating-life included the very first living beings. According to Brooks, life must have existed in this floating condition during long primeval epochs, and involved nearly all the main branches of the animal and vegetable kingdom before sinking to the bottom of the sea, and later producing the vast number of diverse forms which now adorn the sea and land.

All these evolutions, however, must have been very rapid, especially at the beginning, and together cannot have taken more time than the figures given above.

The agency of the larger streams, and the deposits which they bring into the seas, afford further evidence. The amount of dissolved salts, especially sodium chloride, common salt, has been made the subject of a calculation by Joly, and the amount of time has been estimated by Eugene Dubois. Joly found fifty-five and

Dubois thirty-six millions of years as the probable age of the rivers, and both figures correspond to the above dates as closely as might be expected from the discussion of evidence so incomplete and limited.

All in all it seems evident that the duration of life does not comply with the demands of the conception of very slow and continuous evolution. Now, it is easily seen that the idea of successive mutations is quite independent of this difficulty. Even assuming that some thousands of characters must have been acquired in order to produce the higher animals and plants of the present time, no valid objection is raised. The demands of the biologists and the results of the physicists are harmonized on the ground of the theory of mutation.

The steps may be surmised to have never been essentially larger than in the mutations now going on under our eyes, and some thousands of them may be estimated as sufficient to account for the entire organization of the higher forms. Granting between twenty and forty millions of years since the beginning of life, the intervals between two successive mutations may have been centuries and even thousands of years. As yet there has been no objection cited against this assumption, and hence we see that the lack of harmony between the demands of biologists and the result of the physicists disappears in the light of the theory of mutation.

Summing up the results of this discussion, we may justifiably assert that the conclusions derived from the observations and experiments made with evening-primroses and other plants in the main agree satisfactorily with the inferences drawn from paleontologic, geologic and systematic evidence. Obviously these experiments are wonderfully supported by the whole of our knowledge concerning evolution. For this reason the laws discovered in the experimental garden may be considered of great importance, and they may guide us in our further inquiries. Without doubt many minor points are in need of correction and elaboration, but such improvements of our knowledge will gradually increase our means of discovering new instances and new proofs.

The conception of mutation periods producing swarms of species from time to time, among which only a few have a chance of survival, promises to become a basis for speculative pedigree-diagrams, as well as for experimental investigations."

Professor De Vries finds that Lamarck's evening primrose is at least one flower that is to-day constantly mutating, that is, its seeds produce plants quite different from the parent, primroses indeed, but of a different kind, and that these new primroses persist in their deviation in their progeny.

This conduct of the primrose seems to be unique among plants, but very probably when further and closer investigations are made, other plants will be found to be also con-

stantly mutating. Certainly it would seem if one plant can mutate, then all may mutate.

As to animals, there is no direct evidence that they have mutated—but, on the other hand, development by slow degrees is a question of circumstantial evidence—that is, there are no data of the young of any certain animal being so different as to constitute a new species. There have never been known cows to bring forth deer, for instance, but because nothing like this has been noted in the present, there seems no reason to think that it can never have happened in the past or may never happen in the future.

There are many missing links in the chain which leads us to the little five-toed animal which was the great-great-grandpa several million years ago of the horse of to-day, and it is just as likely that many of these missing links mean so many mutations in the evolutionary progress of the horse. That is, that the reason no links or steps are found is simply because there were no steps. Nature took a jump and skipped a few steps.

The theory of natural selection does not attempt to give a reason for the birth of a new species. A new species spontaneously appears, and if it is the fittest to live, then natural selection is merely the sieve which determines that it is best fitted to live, and therefore it survives, while others less fit die. And it may be here said that the new variety or species may or may not be a step higher in development. It may be a step backward. No doubt at one time the tapeworm, which now can only live as a parasite, had, far enough back, a very self-respecting, hard-working worm for its grandfather, who made his own living in the open, without thinking of relying upon harboring himself inside a man or dog in order to get his living without work, just as many an idle capitalist of to-day is the son of a workingman of yesterday.

To account for the appearance of certain species of animals by any theory of an imperceptibly slow variation through the workings of natural selection is quite impossible. For instance, take the giraffe, which, owing to its long neck, can browse off the branches of trees quite out of reach of other animals. Now, if the first giraffe had a neck of only a foot or so longer than this short-necked parent, it would not have been a bit better off than with an ordinary neck. It was

three-foot neck or nothing for it. Mutate or no grazing on the high trees for him.

The same with the Australian ant-eater, which has such an extraordinarily long tongue that it can reach ants in the most secure ant hill. That tongue had to be very long, to say nothing of its being very glutinous, or it would have been no improvement at all on a short tongue. It is certainly much more comfortable to have a mutation theory to explain such jumps than to confess you cannot explain it at all.

However, to get back to the mutation theory as applied to the evolution of the organism of human society.

While nobody will ever probably be able to explain why it is that a primrose mutates, because nobody can understand why the cells of the primrose prefer to organize one way more than another, yet when we come to the question of explaining why human society mutates, we have a different proposition. It has had revolutions in the past, it has mutated from feudalism to capitalism, and Socialists say it must mutate from capitalism to Socialism. And the reason society mutating can be explained, is because we ourselves are the cells of human society, and we know why we move from this place to that, and why we organized in the past this form of government in Russia and that form of government in America, and why we must re-organize our governments again in the future on new lines.

To-day when we look back over the pages of history we can often understand why men and nations had to act just as they did, yet we know that at the time the actions were taking place the people of the day attributed the deeds largely to the free will of man.

The French Revolution at one time, and, in fact, even yet, was thought by many good people to have been the work of a few bloodthirsty demons leading on a bloodthirsty mob. Nowadays we have the perspective of a century to aid our vision, and we can see that, taking things as they were,, the results were just about as they must have been. To-day we have Miss Tarbell painting Rockefeller as the arch enemy of society, a Danton, Marat and Robespierre rolled into one, as the man who first brought iniquity into business, as the man who is responsible for the whole corruption in our na-

tional life, and particularly the man who has revolutionized competition into monopoly, and, what is more to the point, Miss Tarbell undoubtedly reflects the opinion of thousands of her readers. Whereas, in reality, Rockefeller is merely the product of our competitive system, and if he had not been born, we would have had some one else who would have performed his task of consolidating the industries of the country. In a hundred years from to-day there will be sufficient perspective and enough loss of prejudice for even the Miss Tarbells to form a proper estimate of Rockefeller, who is merely a cell in our social organism, which, through a fault in the organism itself, is being over-fed. The result is that just now he has an undue and disagreeable prominence in the national economy, just as has an over-fed cell in a man's body which has become a wart on his nose. We don't blame the wart, why should we blame Rockefeller?

We know what a wart is, and we know how to remove it. The Socialists know that Rockefeller is merely a wart, and they know the simplest way to cure it is to absorb it.

"Let the Nation Absorb Rockefeller."

Rockefeller showed us how to force the competitive business man to mutate—jump—from competition to monopoly, at the very time when all the scientists, all the professors of political economy were gravely proving the impossibility of what Rockefeller was doing with ease. But it was no miracle, nor was Rockefeller either a god or a devil. The conditions of business had changed, and this not only allowed him to transform competition into monopoly, but actually forced him to do so. To Rockefeller a change was a matter of life or death, just as much as it is, when the puddle dries up, to the tadpole, which must develop lungs and breathe air as a toad, or die because his tadpole gills are no longer of use when there is no water. With Rockefeller there was no opportunity of half-way measures, no chance for half competition and half monopoly, no more than there was with the tadpole, when the puddle went dry, to partly use gills and partly lungs. It was mutate or die, and mutate instantly, too, for both.

Society must jump from Capitalism to Socialism in much the same manner. The capitalist will persist in building up the industrial plant to the highest degree of perfection, he will give employment to all up to the last, and then suddenly

he will find it does not pay him to build another factory or another railway. There will be a huge and insoluble unemployed problem. Then will come the crash, like a bolt from the blue. It will be mutate into Socialism for society or die, and it will be a question of "do it now." The tadpole had to get very busy changing into a toad, for he could not last very long without air, and it was, no lungs, no air, and man will have to get just as busy, for he cannot last very long without food, and it will be, no Socialism, no food.

As interesting reading along with Professor De Vries' great work, I would recommend a little book just published by C. H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago, written by William Boelsche, entitled "The Evolution of Man." In fact, for many it may be a better investment to buy it at fifty cents than to spend five dollars upon the De Vries book.

It must not be thought that an adherence to the mutation theory in either biology or sociology excludes a belief in progress by slow changes. Not at all; there is progress by slow stages and there is also progress by jumps.

Countless changes occur in plants and animal life, some imperceptibly small and some extraordinarily large. Those changes which better adapt the organism to live are filtered out by the sieve of Natural Selection, and so are perpetuated.

In plants and animals we simply know that such changes occur, but why they occur is a mystery. Why they continue after being made is easily explainable: they live because they are the fittest to live.

However, we can not only explain why certain changes in society persist, for natural selection quite accounts for it, but we can also explain why the changes occur, and also predict positively their appearance. Give a people a certain economic environment for a long enough time, and it will be sure to develop a certain political life, as certain as an apple tree is to bear apples when planted in the right soil and climate.

When Luther Burbank wishes to develop a new fruit he plants thousands of seeds, and out of the thousands of progeny he may find one plant he thinks worth preserving. He makes a bonfire of the rejected. If he does not find the plant he wishes he repeats the process next season and keeps it up until he at last gets what he wishes. This is artificial selection, that is, selection of the fittest according to what man

thinks best rather than selection by nature of what can best survive in competition with other plants.

Burbank now promises us a thornless, edible cactus which will allow man to use the deserts for his food supply. Now this spineless or thornless cactus could have only been developed by artificial selection, for a thornless cactus in the desert with hungry, grazing animals all about would hardly be able to demonstrate its being the fittest to survive.

Because a cactus without thorns is the fittest to eat is just the reason why nature decides it has the least chance of living and propagating its kind.

In to-day's competitive strife the man who is the fittest to live is not the soundest, sweetest and most beautiful fruit on the tree of humanity, but the one with the most thorns, the thickest skin and hardest heart.

However, just as Burbank has shown us that the most thorny cactus may develop into the least thorny one when the necessity for thorns has passed away, so we may look for man to drop his thorns, too, when the competition which makes them necessary passes away. In fact, Burbank himself has recently said that just as wonderful changes might be made in man as he is making in flowers, if only the children of man were as carefully reared and protected as are the flowers in his California nursery.

How wretchedly we are caring for our children of to-day may be judged by the following from a recent issue of the New York "Sun":

The health authorities under the direction of Dr. Herman Biggs have just completed a very important investigation into the health of some of the school children of this city, which has shown a prevalence of disease exceeding their expectations.

The figures compiled by the medical inspectors and now in Dr. Bigg's possession show that out of almost 14,000 children examined more than 6,000, or almost half, had something the matter with them.

While the health authorities have been gradually extending their work of looking after the health of school children, they have never gone so far as to make the general physical condition of a child part of the work of the Health Department. Until recent years all that the medical inspectors in the schools did was to examine all cases reported by the teacher as being possibly infections. This work in itself requires a lot of inspectors. Later, skin diseases and pediculosis, which was especially prevalent, were included.

This should demonstrate pretty thoroughly that our children should not fear a mutation into a different life from the present.

The mutation theory of evolution in biology seems undoubtedly the true theory, for by it all the lapses hitherto inexplicable in the "slow progress," "step by step" theory of Darwin are explained. Darwin is not overthrown by it, he is merely put on a foundation of rock. The theory certainly affords a stronger analogy for the comparison of social changes with biologic changes.

When the mutation theory is at last accepted it will remove one of the strongest objections to the theory of the early appearance of Socialism made by certain evolutionists who have been insisting that such a tremendous change as that from capitalism to Socialism could only be accomplished by the lapse of eons of years. Right now when this nation is in the heyday of industrial prosperity, with prices never so high, crops never so good, labor never in such demand, the day when all will be changed seems to me almost as near as to-morrow, the day when prices will be at the lowest ebb, and yet labor will gain nothing, for it will be unemployed and have no money to buy.

Let peace be made between Japan and Russia, and let no new war break out, and let no revolutionary inventions be made in industrial development, and the time when production will far exceed demand seems to me to be almost within the year. Let a huge unemployed army rise in the United States, let thousands upon thousands of our smaller capitalists and farmers become bankrupt, then will the lessons that the Tarbells, the Steffens, the Russells, the Phillips's, the Sinclairs, the Moffets and the Tom Lawsons are to-day teaching the public bring their logical result.

The public mind is being prepared, in a way almost miraculous, to receive the theories of the Socialist when the next industrial crisis—and at this hour I can hear its approaching rumble—appears.

Let the capitalist look well upon his present sun of capitalist prosperity, for when it next sinks it may sink forever and Socialism rise to light the world for all.

## IS SOCIALISM PRACTICAL?

**B**EFORE deciding whether Socialism is practical, we must first define Socialism:

*"Socialism means the government ownership of railways, factories, land and other instruments of production and the payment of wages upon the co-operative system instead of the competitive system."*

Shortly, instead of letting Vanderbilt own the railways and charge high freight and passenger rates, taking the profit to himself, Socialists say: Let the people own the railways and fix the rates on the basis of cost, instead of the Vanderbilt basis "of all the traffic will bear."

Now, nobody will say that it is unpracticable for our government to own and operate railways.

Why more unpracticable for us to operate the railways than to operate our post-office, or our lighthouses, or our city fire department, or our public schools?

Excepting England, most other nations already operate their own railway systems. Is our American government more incompetent than Italy, Germany, Russia, Japan?

If we now operate and own a railway in Panama, why can't we own and operate a railway in Missouri?

When we do operate our railways, can we not charge living and reasonable rates for freight and passengers instead of extortionate rates?

But it may be said that, even admitting the government can own and operate railways, it does not follow that it can own and operate a match factory, or a cigar factory, or a bakery.

I cannot see why. In fact, all three of the industries named are already operated by some government somewhere.

Russia makes matches, Austria makes cigars, Italian cities bake bread in public bakeries.

But, granting that public ownership is practical, it may be asked what good will public ownership accomplish?

Socialists want public ownership because it is a necessary prerequisite to the co-operative payment to the workers.

With Rockefeller & Co. owning the nation, how can we have a co-operative commonwealth?

To have co-operative distribution, we must have co-operative (government) ownership of the railways, the factories and other means of production.

Competition keeps us poor to-day.

One laborer competes against another laborer for a chance to work and consequently wages are always kept down to the point where they allow the laborer only the mere necessities of life.

Under competition increased production benefits only the capitalist, never the laborer.

In fact, the machine displaces the worker, deprives him of his employment, with the result that an increase of production often actually means less product for the worker.

Under Socialism—co-operation—all would benefit when production was increased.

To-day the United States is the richest country in the world; it has the power, not only to make all our own eighty million people free from want, but five hundred millions.

But instead of all of us having all we want, ten millions of our citizens are in abject poverty and forty millions more of us are in fear of poverty.

Socialism affords us a plan of using what we can produce.

Socialism would abolish poverty.

## DISTRIBUTION THE PROBLEM

**I**T is especially the province of this journal to point out that whereas we Americans as a nation have made in the past fifty years immense progress in the rapidity of our ability to produce wealth, yet we have made nothing like the same progress in our ability to distribute that wealth to the working class that so rapidly, by the aid of modern machinery, produces it.

The editor of this journal has also not neglected to point out that this failure of the working class to get what it produces is entirely owing to the fact that it does not own this modern machinery which enables it to produce wealth so rapidly.

The modern machinery referred to we have defined broadly as being our railways, our steamships, our oil refineries, our steel mills, our cotton and woolen mills, our flour mills, etc., etc. In other words what we mean when we say capital. And of course we include in this broad definition of capital our dwelling houses and the land upon which our houses and the railways, the mills and the factories stand.

These various forms of capital are today almost exclusively owned by certain corporations which, owing to their great size, are essentially monopolistic in their character, and hence are generally known and designated under the name of "Trusts."

If then the workers owned the trusts that would practically mean their owning the machinery of production.

The only practical way this ownership by the working-class can occur and exist is through the mediumship of the state, the government, the nation.

If the government or nation owned the trusts it would mean that each and every citizen would have an equal and joint ownership in all capital and an equal right to use it for his own benefit without being under the necessity of paying rent, profit or interest for such use to Astor, Rockefeller, Rothschild & Co.

Therefore we have adopted as the shibboleth of this journal the words, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts," as expressing

in the shortest manner possible what we are fighting for and why we journalistically exist.

We would further go on to say that the only way to establish this ownership is for all those who wish all capital to be collectively owned by the nation, to assist and vote for the Socialist Party, which is the only party which clearly and unqualifiedly demands such complete government ownership.

While we may concede that a partial ownership of capital by the state, such as municipal ownership of gas and water-works, street cars, etc., and the national ownership of railroads is somewhat better than no public ownership at all, yet we unhesitatingly declare that the advantages of such partial public ownership are so slight when compared with complete public ownership that no one who has read and fully understood the foregoing, and especially no one who calls himself a socialist, can justify himself in voting for a partial public ownership when he has an opportunity of voting for complete ownership through voting for the Socialist Party.

As long as any capital at all is not owned by the nation, then the capitalists owning that capital can demand tribute from the workers for the use of said capital and thus perpetuate the present regime of exploiters and exploited.

The emancipation of labor can only be accomplished when *all* capital is owned by labor. That this fundamental proposition is quite lost sight of and misunderstood by such advocates of municipal and national ownership as Mr. Hearst can be seen from the following striking and suggestive editorial taken from the *New York American* of June 7:

#### THE WONDERFUL STORY OF MODERN PROGRESS.

Somewhere in the body of some human being there is lying a germ that will produce a brain able to emancipate the whole of mankind from all kinds of slavery except that which comes wholly from superstition and ignorance.

It will be the brain of a chemist, not that of a warrior, a statesman or an artist.

Human slavery exists because a few control the necessities of human life that are indispensable to the multitude.

Invent a scheme by which all may secure the necessities of life, and money will no longer be able to control the terms on which we must labor for food, clothes and shelter.

If one by twenty days' pleasant work in the Spring and Fall could secure food, clothes and shelter for the year, it would be hard to

induce him to labor twelve hours a day in the Subway or fourteen hours daily in a sweatshop.

Is such a thing possible?

Certainly, and it is nearer consummation than most of us imagine.

A hundred thousand of the greatest men in the world are working along the lines of such a discovery, and the strides in advance they have made during the last twenty years have put behind them a greater space than remains in front of them.

Let us glance at a few that have come to the notice of the people through the daily press.

Production of butter or cheese quintupled by the selection of suitable cows.

Chinchona trees by selection forced to yield forty times the normal amount of quinine.

Wheat and corn forced by selection to triple the product of each ear.

Clover and legumes by inoculation with benign bacilli forced to gather from the air ten times the usual amount of nitrogen.

Fruit pests destroyed by other insects.

Germany, short of fuel, forces her soil to produce twice the common crop of potatoes that will secrete four times the usual amount of alcohol.

Meat and other foods saved from spoiling by the inventions of Pasteur.

Artificial germination of marine animals by Loeb.

Percentage of sugar in cane and beets multiplied fourfold.

Twelve years' needed growth of an edible nut reduced to eighteen months by Burbank, the greatest living man, who, after wasting a life on fruits and flowers, is beginning to devote his gigantic mind to lowering the cost of a food supply.

Greatest of all—the discovery that an atom is not an atom, but the smallest of atoms is made up of seven hundred electrons and an ion.

A few common elements compose all things.

We know how to make a beefsteak out of a barrowful of dirt and a few tiny seeds. When we can dispense with the aid of the cow and make the steak direct out of the sulphur, carbon, nitrogen, oxygen, phosphorous and hydrogen that are its chief elements, we will not have to work in sweatshops.

When we can make electricity from common hydrocarbons direct, we will not have to pay five cents for a ride in the Subway.

The secret is almost within our reach; a hundred or more of the chemists have it nearly within their grasp. It is not a folly, like the philosopher's stone, but a certainty to those who have faith.

What will there be left to do when food and shelter are practically free?

Plenty!

There is disease to conquer, vice to eradicate, pain to eliminate, and all evil to be put out of the world, and when that is done no doubt those who are living will find something to be looked after.

Mr. Hearst seems to think the reason poverty exists is owing to the fact that man does not produce enough. He looks to the emancipation of mankind by some heaven-born to be chemist who will show us how to make beef-steak direct from the original elements, the carbon and nitrogen, without thanks to any cow.

Mr. Hearst goes even further and says no statesman will have a hand in the emancipating of mankind.

Now this is exactly one of the points where we beg to differ from Mr. Hearst.

Already chemists and other scientific men have shown us how to easily produce enough to abolish poverty, but we have had no statesman who knows how, and at the same time has been able to get the ear of the workingman to tell him how to keep what he produces.

Mr. Hearst says, "Human slavery exists because a few control the necessaries of life." Yes, this is true, but he should have explained that the few have this control because they own the capital and land necessary to produce the necessities.

If Burbank invents a walnut tree that develops in eighteen months, as fast as an ordinary walnut tree does in ten years, then the owner of the land upon which the tree is planted, the walnut grower makes the gain, if there is any gain, and not the working-class which owns no walnut groves. We say if there is any gain, for we know that competition between the owners of walnut groves will soon be so keen that it will not be long before there will be over-production of walnuts in the long run of the increased walnut yield, and the only gainers will be the trusts.

The funniest and most absurd prediction Mr. Hearst makes is that the direct production from coal of electricity will reduce the five-cent rates on the New York Subway.

Mr. Hearst has printed dozens and dozens of editorials showing by the published statements of the company, that the cost per passenger is now only two cents each, and that the five-cent rate is the result of the private ownership of the subway by Mr. Belmont.

If direct production of electricity reduced the cost of carrying each passenger one cent, does Mr. Hearst think that Mr. Belmont would be more likely to reduce fares or put the cent into his pocket?

However, we do not wish to be too hard on Mr. Hearst for this lapse, for we know that it is an error of one of his young men. Mr. Hearst is now in Europe and cannot revise every editorial, and Mr. Brisbane has so much of his time taken up with the *Evening Journal* that he cannot look after the morning edition.

Mr. Hearst has so often before declared that municipal ownership was the remedy for extortion by Belmont that it would be unfair of us to take him up for what is evidently a mistake of a sub-editor. However, the main indictment against Mr. Hearst and the other municipal ownership people stands. Namely, that municipal ownership itself is at best but a reform measure, and does not touch the fringe of the problem of poverty.

Poverty exists owing to the capitalist class owning the machinery necessary for the production of the means of life, thus making the working-class their dependants, virtually their slaves.

Municipal ownership of street cars, even if the city should make transportation absolutely free, would not tend to abolish poverty any more than free transportation upon the elevators in an office sky-scraper tends to abolish poverty. Free street cars would mean higher rent in the suburbs, just as a free elevator means more rent in the top floors. The landlord skims the cream every time.

Municipal ownership of street cars will conduce to better services, cheaper fares, better wages and conditions of work for the employees and to the elimination of corruption of our aldermen by the street car lobby, and especially to the education of the general public in the control of an industrial function.

All this is to the good, but it is not the abolition of poverty, it is not Socialism, and while we recognize and admit the good of municipal ownership, yet we must at the same time point out the impossibility of anyone rightfully claiming to be a Socialist who votes for any reform such as municipal ownership at the expense of casting his ballot for the Socialist Party.

A Socialist should always vote for the Socialist Party.

This is the only way for him to make a positive and unequivocal declaration that he wishes to have Socialism instituted.

## WALLACE'S GREAT BOOK

**I** SUPPOSE many have gone through the same evolution of thought as myself. Born and raised in an orthodox family, which held firmly to the Mosaic account of creation and the anthropomorphic conception of a deity, it was natural that when I threw off such superstitions that I should tend to regard everything along the line of conventional religious belief as absurd and unworthy of reverence. I think this is the course that most Socialists have gone through. First we throw off conventional belief in religion, and then we throw off conventional belief in economics.

We first see the utterly unscientific basis of orthodox religions, and then we see the like unscientific basis of orthodox economic theories.

However, strange as it may seem, the more a man studies Socialism the more he finally comes to understand and sympathize with many orthodox religious ideas that in an early period of his evolution of thought he scorned. For instance, he finds men talking the Golden Rule and practising Cut Your Neighbor's Throat, and when he finds that the practice is necessary to preserve existence, while the theory means suicide, he says that this preaching a Golden Rule that can never be practised is the limit of absurdity. Later on he becomes a Socialist and finds that the theory would work all right if we only had a socialistic world to practice it in, and when he sees we should have such a world, and moreover that we must eventually have such a world, he commences to have more respect for the Golden Rule than he did when he regarded it as an impossibility either now or at any time in the future.

Before he understands Socialism he scoffs at thanking God for daily bread, when he doesn't get the bread, and he will blame God for not giving him bread. Later on he sees that it is man's fault and not God's that he goes hungry, and also he understands that he himself is one of the very men who

have been supporting a system which makes men go hungry when God has done his part in providing plenty for all.

And so on, from day to day, he gets to realize that after all there is a much better basis for certain religious theories than he had at one time thought possible, although he also knows that his reason for increasing respect for such theories does not in the least justify the blind believers in religious dogma who accept things upon faith rather than reason.

One of the chief tenets of most religions is that this planet Earth which we inherit is the centre of the universe, and that the sun revolves around it and that the moon and stars are simply created to light it up and make the heavens more beautiful for the edification and enjoyment of the greatest thing ever created, namely, Man. That it was all done for man, and that man is the image of God, and the next thing to divinity itself.

The early astronomical discoveries in the Middle Ages so upset conventional beliefs of this kind that astronomers such as Galileo had a most difficult time of it with the Church when they announced that the earth moved around the sun instead of vice versa. Time passed, and discovery after discovery was made, and instead of the earth being the centre of things, about which all revolved, it was found that it was simply a grain of sand in a universe of apparently infinite matter. That it was not to be compared in size with many of the planets in our own solar system, while in comparison with the sun it was less than a pea to an orange.

And then, when we found that the fixed stars were millions in number, and mostly all larger than our own sun, we naturally jumped at the conclusion that these other suns, so much larger than ours, must have systems of planets of their own, and that, therefore, there were millions and millions of planets like the earth all just as suitable for human life, and that, therefore, it was most likely life did exist upon them, for otherwise why should they have been created?

The next step in reasoning from the "most likely" was to the "without doubt," and from that to the "unquestionably" was a small step.

And all these steps were much the more easily taken by men like myself who—I confess it to my shame—were naturally disposed to adopt any theory which would still further

discredit the orthodox religious view that the earth was the centre of things and that man was the only thing worth while on the earth.

It has been so long since I have taken much interest in things religious, if I ever did take much interest, that when a book\* like Wallace's comes along and tends to upset all my old ideas upon the subject of "Other Worlds Than Ours" it is naturally of intense interest.

Dr. Wallace's conclusions are: (1) The stellar universe forms one collective whole, and, though of enormous extent, is yet finite, its extent being determinable. (2) The solar system is situated in the plane of the Milky Way, and not far removed from the centre of that plane. (3) The universe throughout consists of the same kind of matter, and is subject to the same physical and chemical laws. These are the first three conclusions he arrives at. There are three more in favor of which the author claims there are great probabilities. (4) The only planet in our solar system inhabited or inhabitable is our Earth. (5) The probabilities are almost as great against any other sun possessing inhabited planets. (6) The nearly central position of our Sun is probably a permanent one, and has been specially favorable—perhaps absolutely essential—to life-development on the Earth.

His first proposition, viz., that the universe is finite and not infinite, as is generally held, is of the greatest interest and importance. The theory of a finite universe is in line with Socialist philosophy, which regards the human race as an organism, and also with my own particular theory that the universe itself is an organism.

It is manifestly incongruous to think of a thing being an organism and at the same time as being infinite. If the stellar universe is one collective whole then it must be finite.

When a little child looks out on the Earth he at first thinks it infinite. He looks upon it as unorganized and unrelated.

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\* "Man's Place in the Universe: A Study of the results of Scientific Research in Relation to the Unity or Plurality of Worlds." By Alfred R. Wallace, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., etc. Cloth, 326 pp. Price, \$2.50 net. McClure, Phillips & Co.

Only with increasing age and understanding can he ever realize that it is finite and organized.

So when Rockefeller as a lad went into the oil business it seemed to him that there was infinite scope for the extension of the oil business. That the oil business would ever be so organized and extended until it was only limited by its taking in all the Earth was quite beyond the wildest of his speculations, and yet it has all occurred within his own lifetime, and it was he himself who was largely responsible for hastening the result. The logic of events was his best instructor in the philosophy of the oil business. Just as the oil business extended its conscious organization, so have other businesses extended theirs, until to-day it is only one of many businesses that are probably on the road to a worldwide sphere of operation. Now, it is apparent that Mr. Rockefeller can never have complete knowledge and control of the oil business until he has a world organization of the oil business. To know it he must know its limitations. Similarly we cannot understand the universe unless we know its limitations.

To me this Wallace theory of a finite universe must be true because it accords with my deepest philosophy of life.

If the universe is infinite and, therefore, unorganized, then there would be no motive—that is, no valid fundamental motive—for men to work for Socialism, or in fact to even desire to live. For of what use is Socialism if it is simply to make this world a better place for men to live and nothing more?

Upon such a theory of life we are simply intelligent cattle preparing a more comfortable stable for ourselves.

Suppose we do introduce Socialism and abolish poverty? This can be done easily enough, but why should we wish to do it? It's no answer to say that we do it to increase the stock of human happiness, for then I will ask why should anyone wish to increase human happiness? The reason one wishes to increase human happiness is fundamentally a selfish one; it is to increase his own happiness by becoming a cell in a healthier organization of human society than that which now exists. If your finger is crushed the cells in your injured finger are not more anxious to become well again than are the uninjured cells in your uninjured finger to have them made well. There is no single uninjured cell in your whole body that is not as much interested in having the injured

cells made whole as if it itself were injured. Now, why is this? Simply that the body is an organism and a very self-conscious organism. It knows that for the whole to be well, the parts must be well. There are some insects which are organized well enough physically, but whose nerve centres are so badly correlated that they have little or no consciousness of an injury to themselves. Some wasps, for instance, may be beheaded and the head will go on unconcernedly taking food with no body attached to feed. A body must not only be organized but also conscious of its organism to really live. As individual men we are simply cells in the greater organism, human society, and only as we feel this do we tend to realize the highest life. It is impossible for any single cell in an undeveloped organism simply by its own will to realize itself. It can only do so by the organism itself developing. I may wish to send a telegram from New York to Boston, but the mere wish is not enough to accomplish the act. Wires must be laid and the instruments made and men must be ready to co-operate in the work before the message can go. However, if I never had the wish to send any message and if no one else ever had or ever would have any wish to send telegrams from New York to Boston, there never would have been any telegraph wires laid. Therefore, to realize my desires I must first have the wish, and then have an organism that I can use to consummate my desires.

Man as a unit is nothing. It is only as he is useful to the whole that he lives. Only as he is useful is he happy.

Again, he cannot be of much use if the whole is badly organized. I may have a perfect foot, but if my leg is broken the foot is of little use and I am little use. I may be a perfect man, but if society is so badly organized that I am not fed then I am of no more use to society than if I did not exist, no more than would be the perfect foot to the body if the blood did not flow to feed the foot. The foot, to support the body, must first be supported by the body.

All this is axiomatic and has been said, and better said, many times before, but that the individual is merely a cell in human society is more quickly recognized than that he is merely a cell in a much greater organism, that of the universe itself. We are the result of evolutionary development in adapting ourselves to our environment. That we have

adapted ourselves to live on the land instead of the water is one of the commonplaces of evolution. It is obvious that we are land animals and that we need land to live upon.

That we have temporarily given up our title to land to a small class of people called landlords is beside the mark. We will take it back whenever we really want it.

However, that we must have land, I say is obvious, and it is likewise obvious that we must have air. And, more than that, as Professor Wallace remarks, we must to live have the small amount of carbonic acid gas that is in the air. If it were not there then plants could not live, and if there were no plants there would be no food for animals.

Wallace goes on pointing out one thing after another in our physical universe that is necessary to our existence that we ourselves hardly think of at all. For instance, such a small thing as the atmospheric dust he shows is absolutely necessary to life, for otherwise there would be no clouds, and without clouds we would be in all kinds of a muss, for the details of which I must refer the curious to the book itself. And not only is the atmospheric dust a good thing physically, but it is the dust that gives us the blue of our skies. And further it might be remarked that not only is the material universe necessary to us physically, but it also has an æsthetic and spiritual value of perhaps vital importance. Suppose you were fed properly, that you had all the physical necessities of life, but you were told that you and all humanity would forever be denied any contact whatsoever with a material universe? That you would never see the sea, nor mountains, nor birds, nor animals, nor flowers, nor stars, nor moon, nor sun; how would such a prospect strike you? You would be likely to feel that you might as well be dead as live such a life. Or suppose you successively suffered a painless amputation of the various members of your body. First you lose a hand, then a foot, then an ear, and so on until "you" finally are reduced to a trunkless head; would you consider life worth living?

Professor Wallace suggests that it is quite possible that the remotest star is just as necessary to our physical life as is the minute quantity of carbonic acid gas in our atmosphere. The only difference maybe being that in one case we know that one is a necessity and with the other we may yet have to

find it out. He puts the suggestion purely upon the physical basis, whereas I extend the possibility to the star not only being a physical but a spiritual necessity. It is possible that the spiritual and physical are the same.

It seems to me that the only sane hypothesis of life is that each individual life is dependent upon the universe for its existence, and that we have no right to suppose the slightest grain of matter could be lost from the remotest star without its having a profound effect upon all life, upon the physical basis as well as the spiritual basis of life. And that just as we cannot imagine any adequate life, either intellectual or spiritual, pertaining to the individual cells in our body except the body itself be alive, and alive spiritually as well as mentally and physically, so we really are just as wrong in thinking it possible for individual man to be really alive unless human society is also alive and conscious. And, moreover, just as man is conscious of being a part of society, and that society is conscious that each and every man is a part of it, so does the life of man increase.

As man becomes more and more conscious of the relation he bears to human society in particular and the universe in general he increases his capacity of life.

*The greatest capacity for life would exist in a man developed to the highest degree spiritually, mentally and physically, and living in a self-conscious society having the most perfect command of and knowledge of itself and of its own relation to the universe.*

And this, then, takes us back to the original premise, namely, that the universe must be finite if it is an organism, and it must be an organism, otherwise man would lose his motive to live.

Man lives in order to unite himself as a harmonious chord to a harmonious universe.

He lives that one day he may hear the morning stars sing, and that he may sing in unison with them. He lives that he may be one of the pipes in the organ of the universe, and he lives that he may play that organ. In the day to come man will feel himself as a part of a conscious universe, and the universe will feel that each man is a part of it, just as to-day the hand is now conscious of being a part of the body.

Socialism as a movement towards the harmonious organi-

zation of human society is, then, but one step toward the greatest of all ends: the harmonious organization of the universe.

Wallace is right in his theory that the universe is finite, for otherwise there would be no reason for man. However, altogether aside from any metaphysical predilections in favor of Wallace's theory that the universe is limited, I must hasten to say that his physical arguments in favor of that view seem to me to be unanswerable. He frankly confesses that not being an astronomer he has no right to speak with authority, and that therefore he must rely upon those who have authority to speak for him, and the names of practically all the great astronomers he ranges upon the side of a finite universe.

To think of an infinite universe is about as difficult as thinking of a snake with an endless tail. But I have dwelt so long upon the first proposition of Dr. Wallace that I have given myself little space for his other propositions.

His second proposition is somewhat analogous to his sixth, practically, and depends upon the acceptance of the first. If the Earth is near the centre of the universe, then we must first conceive of the universe as finite, for it is not possible to conceive a centre to infinity. Where there are no bounds, there can be no centre. The Earth is at the approximate centre of the universe in Wallace's theory, and he supports it with the dicta of most of the heavy-weights among the astronomers. In fact, Wallace throughout the book disarms the criticism that he is no astronomer by frankly admitting that he himself has no right to speak authoritatively upon astronomical subjects, and that, therefore, whatever he may state upon such subjects in corroboration of his statements he invariably quotes astronomers whose reputation gives them a right to be considered. However, notwithstanding all his care, the critics who disagree with his conclusions, and hardly any of them agree, have quite ignored his authorities for his astronomical statements, and have taken them as originating with Wallace himself.

Wallace's fourth proposition that the Earth is the only planet in our solar system that is inhabitable is easy of demonstration. This, in fact, is accepted as a fact by practically all astronomers with the exception of my friend Pro-

fessor Lowell, who clings tenaciously to his theory that Mars is inhabited. Its small size, it being but one-ninth the size of the Earth, means, however, that the atmosphere, if Mars has any at all, other than carbonic acid gas, must be so rare that the planet cannot retain its heat by night, and, therefore, its surface temperature, during the greater part of the twenty-four hours, is below the freezing point, and this, of course, is hardly favorable to life.

Wallace further points out by what a set of curious coincidences the Earth is habitable for man, and that none of these conditions exist on the other solar planets and are very unlikely to exist upon the planets, if any such exist, of any other solar system. All this is so contrary to the ideas of modern men of science that there has naturally been raised a wail of protest that is more pathetic than convincing.

I can say that I for one approached Wallace's book with a strong belief in the theory that there were very likely millions of worlds all about as suitable for man as is the Earth, and that it was more than likely that several millions of these worlds were inhabited not only by beings equal to man but probably very much higher in development, physically and mentally. Wallace has convinced me that I was wrong, and I know of nothing more stimulating to the intellect than to run across a book that upsets all your preconceived ideas. I am only too glad to urge all our readers not to fail to read the book before they make up their minds that Wallace is wrong. If they depend upon the criticisms, especially this criticism, they will get no idea of the strength of his argument.

Wallace is the most distinguished scientist of the age; he is the co-discoverer with Darwin of the theory of the origin of species, and it is only through his great modesty that he is not so well known in that connection as is Darwin.

He is an avowed Socialist, and one of the most delightful and lovable of men it has ever been my privilege to meet.

## JANE ADDAMS, ARTIST

WHILE in Chicago last month, I had the pleasure of meeting Miss Jane Addams and incidentally seeing her creation, Hull House. I am sure that if every one felt as I do, the great artists would have little time for work, for their lives would be one long, tiresome exhibition of themselves rather than their creations.

To me the artist is always so much greater than his work, that I never care for the one if I can experience the other.

However, fortunately for the artists, all men are not of my mind and hence they escape a perpetual race to be free from boredom, and are allowed time to exhibit themselves in other shapes than their flesh and blood.

One of the ways that Miss Addams has thus had time in which to exhibit her soul in material shape, is in the bricks and mortar of Hull House, and in the society she has gathered there to carry out her program.

In styling Miss Addams an artist, and a great one, too, I do not wish the unthinking to gather that I mean she paints pictures. When one says an artist, without explanation, this is usually what is thought to be meant. Of course it is a mistake.

An artist is one who precipitates ideal forms upon mankind. He may work on a canvas with paints, a painter; he may work on his body, an actor; he may simply work upon society, an agitator.

Miss Addams *may be* a worker in paints, she *is* a worker in mankind. It is the success with which the ideal is presented that constitutes the success of the artist, and the greater and grander the ideal, and the more successfully it is presented, the greater the artist.

The Socialist, having for his material to mould into his ideal the whole of human society, if not, indeed, the whole universe, certainly has the grandest ideal that it is possible for a human mind to conceive. However, he only becomes an artist when he presents his ideal in a material shape that

the world may see beauties which hitherto have existed hidden within his mind.

I may have a picture of a horse within my mind's eye quite as fine as any that Rosa Bonheur ever put upon canvas, but until I can precipitate in material shape my ideal of the horse upon canvas I am not an artist.

The personality of the artist is attractive on account of the reciprocity existing between the creator and the creature.

An artist cannot create a work of art without enriching his own soul as much, subjectively, as he has enriched the soul of the world objectively.

The world cannot reward the artist, for his reward comes, not only in the joy of creation, but in the contemplation of his own soul, which he sees shining in his work.

A work of art is a mirror reflecting the artist's soul to the world in general and to himself in particular.

The artist focalizes the ideals of a people. If a people have inharmonious social relations their ideals are shattered and there cannot be the great works of art produced that are seen as a resultant of more perfect social relations.

I have this morning's Toronto "World" in my hand and notice the following item:

Athens, Oct. 27.—The beautiful broken bronze statue of Mercury which was found at the bottom of the sea near the island of Anticythera, south of Cape Matapan, in the spring of 1901, has been pieced together by M. Andre, a French expert. The task has been performed with skill, and it is difficult to believe that the statue was reconstructed from numerous fragments.

It is rather more than life size, and is of the finest Greek workmanship. It is considered to rival the exquisite marble Mercury of Praxiteles, which was found at Mount Olympus in 1877 and which has hitherto been deemed the most beautiful statue in the world. Apart from its singular beauty it has a peculiar value as being the only extant example of an undoubted original bronze statue of the fourth century before Christ.

I wonder if it has never struck with wonder many people who are so proud of the material progress of the Twentieth Century that when we come to art we cannot chip out a single statue having the glory of one little pieced-together Mercury fished out of the sea in fragments, wherein it has lain for over two thousand years. Here we have the marble, the tools—pneumatic chisels if need be—the leisure, the

desire, and even the artists, but we cannot, with all our work, get results that were simply play for the Greeks. It is simply because our artists have no audience. They have no artistic society to stimulate them. When Praxiteles worked he felt the applause, the cultivated applause, of all the Greek nation saturated to its core with love for beauty. To-day a few of us think we enjoy beautiful things, and more of us pretend to enjoy them, but most of us never have a chance to realize that beauty exists to enjoy.

The Greek society was a healthy one and one in which all, except the slaves who were unconsidered, had a pleasurable part to play. The differences in individual fortunes were not such that the mass of society was continually at the verge of starvation while a few had so much wealth that they did not know what to do with it. They were continually at war with other nations and had come to feel the absolute necessity of being interested in and caring for each other's welfare if they wished to preserve their own welfare.

War is, in itself, inartistic, but it has been the main factor in the past of welding societies together, which was a necessary preliminary for them to produce Art.

However, I am a long time coming to my point regarding Miss Addams and Art. I certainly did not anticipate taking in Athens when I began to speak of Chicago.

Miss Addams is trying to form a nucleus for an Art Center in Chicago, and while from a certain point of view her task is an absolutely hopeless one, considering the hostility of the environment, yet there is a view of her work that perhaps may justify it.

Certainly we would hardly think of ever making hell any cooler by dropping snowballs into it. But if the Devil or his friends there ever happened to be struck by one of the snowballs, he might be brought into the way of thinking that it would be desirable to seek means of rendering the temperature cooler. On a hot day a man finds by accident, possibly, that waving a palm leaf makes him more comfortable. He invents the palm-leaf fan, later on he calls electricity to his aid and has the electric fan, and some day he will cool his house in summer as much as a matter of course as he now, Baer willing, heats it in winter.

Man must first have the wish for a thing before he can

get it. He will not wish it until he has reason to know its possession is both pleasurable and possible.

The Chicago proletariat would all want the beautiful life that Miss Addams presents to them in Hull House as a possibility, if they could all see it. The trouble is that after all there are but few that ever see it, and those that do see it have no practical plan presented to them for attaining it.

This plan of Hull House to-day to realize a better life for the poor is apparently largely dependent upon the re-establishment of primitive industries in Chicago, the making of pottery and the weaving of cloth by hand, and the sale of such hand-made goods to rich people who have a fancy for them and who can afford to pay for hand labor to make a thing that a machine will make for about one per cent. of the cost, and of a quality that will impress most people as of a superior utility value.

Now I do not wish to create the impression that a gifted woman like Miss Addams thinks such a work as being of any good except as leading to the desire for those social conditions which will enable all of us to make what we please for the joy of making. My only difference with her is as to whether the time, money and talent she is devoting to Hull House could not probably be used to a greater advantage in another way to attain the same end.

Our end is the same—the Kingdom of God on Earth—we differ as to the best means.

## AN INTERNATIONAL OFFICE SEEKER

New York, Sept. 12th, 1902.

H. Gaylord Wilshire, Esq.,  
125 East 23d Street, New York City.

Dear Comrade:—The undersigned were appointed as a committee to notify you that the Social Democratic Party Convention of the Tenth Congressional District of Manhattan, held on September 5th, 1902, at 60 Second Ave., New York City, unanimously nominated you as candidate for Congress of the Social Democratic Party in that district. The nomination was made in the interest of the Socialist cause which, we believe, will be furthered by your candidacy, and this we submit to your consideration as the chief inducement for your acceptance. There is no place in this country, and, therefore, in the world, where a Socialist gain or a Socialist victory can be of greater consequence to Socialism than in New York City, for New York City is incontestably the nervous centre of the United States. A blow struck at the capitalist system here will have the most telling effect. A Socialist victory in New York will thrill our friends the world over with joy and fill our foes with dismay. For a Socialist who can and will make a hard fight, such a victory in the Tenth District is undoubtedly possible.

There is no necessity to dwell long on the reasons why we have chosen you for our standard bearer. For many years you have fought for the cause fearlessly and ably, both with speech and pen. Your name needs no introduction. It has become synonymous with Socialism. All who know you, know you as a true comrade in the Socialist ranks and a Royal Socialist in the Socialist movement.

We urge you to accept the nomination offered to you, not as a favor, but in the interest of Socialism.

We remain fraternally yours,

HERMAN RICH, et al., Committee.

I think I must certainly be classed as the Champion International Peripatetic Office Seeker.

Here I am again running for office in New York City, for I, of course, accepted the above invitation. Nobody ever refuses any nomination for office except to the Vice-Presi-

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\* Socialist Party is the name of the political organization of the Socialists in the United States, but owing to technical reasons which existed at that time in New York State, the name Social Democratic Party was used instead of Socialist Party.

gency. Only six months ago I was worrying the Canadian public seeking their suffrages for Parliament. Two years ago I was running for Congress in California, and this was my second offense, as I did the same thing there twelve years ago. Ten years ago I ran for Attorney General of New York, and eight years ago I was standing as a Parliamentary candidate in Manchester, England.

Let him who can, challenge this record!

Of course, I always stood as a Socialist, and, needless to say, I was always successful, although never elected.

We Socialists don't run for office primarily to get elected. That is quite a secondary consideration. We go into politics for the educational advantages of a Socialist campaign. The elections give us an excuse to talk, and at such times we excite the interest of the people sufficiently for them to listen more readily to what we have to say. The mere power to act, even if never exercised, will always interest the possessor in considering a possible action, whereas if he were powerless he would be dead to your appeals.

There is only one day in the year when the American People have any power, and that is on Election Day. For all the use they ever make of it, they might just as well never have it; but you don't cut off a baby's legs because he don't use them the first month, and it would be equally as silly to say our right to vote is useless simply because we have not yet the sense to use it.

I am simply one of the nurses teaching the American Voting Baby how to use his Voting Legs. I am trying to induce him to struggle out of the Slough of Poverty, in which he is now mired, up to the Table Land of Universal Wealth and Happiness.

If we go far enough back in the development of man we will find that our ancestors had their beginning in the water. There was a time when there was no land, and, naturally, there were no land animals. When the waters receded and the land appeared, there was no wild rush of water animals to leave the water and live on dry land, no more than there is to-day. However, there was warfare going on between the different water animals, and at times some of them had to crawl out on the land to escape those enemies in the water who could not follow them there—

something like the flying fish nowadays, leaving the sea for a flight in the air to escape its foes. These first chaps never went on the land because they liked it better than the water. On the contrary I have no doubt but that they felt almost like the typical fish out of water. But it was dry land or death, and they took the lesser of the two evils.

We ourselves are to-day land animals, not because our remote ancestors deliberately decided that land was a pleasanter abode than water, but simply because they had no other choice if they wanted to be ancestors. Man is like the rest of all living creatures—he seldom moves unless he must. When the puddle dries up, the tadpole must take to the land and be a froggy or he will die in the mud and never live to “a-woooing go.”

However, all the frogs in the world might croak their lungs out in praise of land over water, but never a young tadpole will ever leave that water until the time comes.

While I confess all this, and admit that I am simply the Bullfrog on the Bank Singing to the Tadpole in the Pool, yet I say it is just as useless to argue with me as to the futility of such singing, as it is to argue with a bullfrog as to the futility of croaking. It's a stunt we both, froggy and I, like to do, quite irrespective of any apparent result, and anyway it is not useless.

Even if the tadpole will not leave the pool until its legs commence to sprout, no one can say how much influence the frog's song on the bank has not had to do with the hastening of that sprouting. The mind controls the body of frogs as well as of men.

It may likewise be said that the body controls the mind. If you cut off a tadpole's tail he will live all right, but he never becomes a frog. His legs never develop, nor does his mind. He lives and dies a tadpole.

It's the same way with a man. If you cut off the opportunities for his physical development you at the same time, and in almost a like degree, cut off his possibilities for intellectual development. It is most important that we in our education of our children, our little human tadpoles, give them a full chance of physical development, if we expect an intellectual development. And if we expect a spiritual and moral development we must have an intellectual development.

For the soul's sake we must let our legs have a chance to develop.

Here in New York we send our children to schools having illy ventilated and poorly lighted rooms, and worse than all, very often absolutely no playgrounds, and we look for a crop of souls!

If I had my way I would give every school-house a whole block for a playground, and devote two-thirds of the time now fruitlessly spent on the development of our children's minds to the development of their bodies. A child with a good physique may have a good brain and be a useful citizen. A child with no physique will be useless even if it has a good brain.

However, when I started this article, I had no idea of discoursing upon either evolution, psychology, mental science, education or physical culture.

I simply wished to say that I felt myself to be like the bullfrog on the bank calling on the little tadpoles in the pool to come out of the slime and enjoy the air and sunshine. I know they can't come out until they are ready to come, but before the tadpole comes out he must have the wish to come. I am trying to inspire my fellow Americans with the wish to get out of the Slime of the Marsh of Poverty. If I can show them the possibility of another life, a happier life, they will wish for such a life. They will struggle for it. They will vote for it. The Wish is Father to the Deed.

I know that the American Voting Tadpoles are now about ready to drop their competitive tails and put on their co-operative legs. They are physically and intellectually ready for such a change, and all that is needed is to show them that the Bank of Socialism is at hand for them to climb out upon, and that the climbing is easy. Of course, as the waters are dried up by the fierce blasts of monopoly, there is coming a time when these Voting Tadpoles will be forced to come out in the free air of Socialism, for if they wait too long there may be such a sudden drying up of the puddles that some of them will perish in the mud before they learn how to live in the air.

It is my mission to get them out of the pool and into the air, before the water goes down so far that many are mired and perish.

## MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP—ITS MEANING.

**M**UNICIPAL ownership is admittedly the political question of the hour, and the problem our politicians are now bothering their heads about is whether it is destined to be the question of the future, or will it, like the silver issue, burn fiercely for a while and then die out without a flicker left to remind us of its existence.

For years prior to 1896 the politicians of both parties were flirting with free silver. The good or bad of the free coinage of silver was not a question with them. Free silver was popular with many of the people, and as the advocacy of it seemed so remotely connected with any possibility of realization, those against silver did not take the advocacy of it seriously enough to deny their votes to its advocates.

Advocating free silver was all to the good for the politician until, at last, the nomination of Bryan upon the free-silver platform adopted by the Democratic party suddenly made silver a living issue. The politicians were then forced to reverse their positions, for a man could no longer fervidly declare himself for free silver and take the chance that the sincerity of his sentiments would never be put to the test. It became evident to all that unless the most strenuous work was done the Democrats would win and the country go upon a silver basis. However, the strenuous work was done, as we all know, most of the politicians eating their words wherein they had declared fealty to silver, and becoming earnest advocates of "honest money." It may be remembered that President McKinley himself, not so many years before, had cast his vote in Congress for free silver. But the campaign was not carried on upon what men had advocated before 1896, but upon what they advocated in 1896.

Municipal ownership as a political policy has a number of features not altogether different from free silver. Until recently it has been an issue so remote that the politicians felt no fear in advocating it. However, like the free-silver question, which was once looked upon as merely the dream-

ing of faddists, it has all at once become the active political issue of the day, but, unlike free silver, it has so much the stronger economic basis, that the hostility of the larger capitalists cannot defeat it by an array of statistics and appeals to sound common sense and "strenuous work," such as were found so effective in the Bryan campaign of 1896.

Now that the silver fever is dead and passed away, most of its advocates will usually admit that it was really an economic heresy, and an extremely fortunate thing for the country that a Mark Hanna was at hand with his generalship and his immense contributions from the Trusts in hand to show the nation the errors of sixteen to one and the necessity of defeating Bryan.

It is noteworthy that most of the old free-silver shouters are in line for municipal ownership. The explanation of the connection between free silver and municipal ownership is found in the fact that there is a tendency for a political party to form in this country as representative of the moderately well-to-do-people as against the very rich.

The free coinage of silver was an attempt of the poorer classes to put themselves more upon an economic equality with the richer classes, and the only reason it has been abandoned is that it was recognized to be a futile method, an attempting to raise oneself by one's bootstraps.

It was not an impossible task to show the American voter that as long as Mr. Rockefeller owned the oil refineries, and Mr. Vanderbilt owned the railways, and Mr. Belmont owned the street cars, and as long as the American voter himself owned practically nothing, no matter whether his wages were paid in silver or in gold, he was sure to be rapidly separated from his money whenever he bought oil or rode on a railway or street car.

Before 1896 there were many men who had a kind of a hazy idea that some sort of juggling with the medium of exchange would institute a millennium, wherein the common people would have all the comforts of life and some of the luxuries, while at the same time the rich people would not only have all they have to-day, but more too. The Republican party and Mr. Hanna forever dissipated all such crude ideas. The people generally now see that there is but one earth, and that if Rockefeller owns it, the other fellow can-

not own it, any more than the baby can have his cake and eat it too. However, while there is a pretty fair knowledge of this very elementary proposition, the impossibility of getting the earth away from Mr. Rockefeller by any commercial method is so palpable, and the possibility of taking it away from him by any political method appears so dangerous that the people are rather in despair as to getting a better share of wealth. Rockefeller certainly does not spend the half, or even a tenth, of his income; in fact, he cannot spend it, and no one could spend a hundred million a year, and as long as he is "saving" up so many millions a year, there is no hope of getting or of his losing his wealth. The old theory of the decentralization of wealth by waste and extravagance does not apply to such fortunes as Rockefeller's.

As for his losing it by investing in foolish ventures, that, too, is impossible. First, because with his income of a hundred millions a year he can afford to lose tens of millions annually and still have millions left to add to his capital. Secondly, the investment of his surplus is in the hands of his own staff of experts, who go about the matter so scientifically and mathematically—taking no chances and nothing for granted—that where a poorer man will find it cheaper to forego investigation and chance a loss, with Rockefeller, such is the magnitude of his investments, that he can always afford such a careful investigation of every proposed investment that a loss is practically impossible. And what is said regarding Rockefeller applies in only a slightly minor degree to many others of our larger capitalists. Then, again, many of the smaller capitalists invest their savings co-operatively, so to speak, in a trust company, which, making large investments, can afford to apply the Rockefeller method of scrutiny to its ventures, thus giving to the small capitalist something of the safety enjoyed by Mr. Rockefeller.

It is evident that by no commercial methods now prevailing will the people ever see Rockefeller & Co. lose their grip on the wealth of the country.

When a political method to effect a fairer distribution of wealth is suggested without any specific details, the ordinary citizen has a horrid vision of the country having fallen into the hands of a mob, and a holiday set when all the property of the rich will be divided up among the poor.

He not only knows that any such division would be futile, inasmuch as it would not be many years before Rockefeller or somebody worse would have all the money again, but he also objects to throwing his own wealth into the pile with no certainty of getting back in the grand division as much as he is now in possession of.

Thus, while there is certainly a general desire for a better distribution of wealth, still the method of obtaining it seems so impossible that the desire has not as yet come into the realm of practical politics. Free silver, as said before, had its run of popularity because of this underlying feeling of the people that something should be done to establish more of an economic equality.

Now, while it can be easily shown that municipal ownership is unquestionably a very important step toward an equalization of economic opportunity, it is doubtful if its popularity as a movement can be rightly ascribed to any definite knowledge on the part of its advocates to this effect.

In fact, a great many of them—such as Judge Dunne, of Chicago, and Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, would no doubt attempt to deny it, or, admitting it, would minimize it.

But that such is really the truth regarding municipal ownership can be seen by a moment's reflection.

Now, when we speak of a great capitalist like Rockefeller owning the earth, what do we really mean? We mean he owns some land, some railways, some oil refineries, some street-car lines, etc. Or, rather, we mean he has large amounts of stock in certain corporations which own such properties.

If the city of Chicago buys the street-car lines from Mr. Rockefeller, it certainly is self-evident that each and every citizen of Chicago has acquired by that operation a share with his fellow citizens in the ownership and management of a property where formerly he had neither ownership nor direction.

There will have unquestionably been a transfer of wealth and power from Rockefeller to himself, and, although the citizen may hardly realize the import of the transaction, there is little doubt but that Mr. Rockefeller understands it, and very thoroughly, too.

There has been no confiscation of the street-car line, for

Mr. Rockefeller will have been paid full value in money or bonds for his property, but the fact remains that the property itself has had a change of ownership from him to the public.

It might here be remarked *en passant* that the changing of the coinage from gold to silver would have accomplished no such change of ownership of property, and as it is this latent desire of the people to equalize the ownership of property that is, in my estimation, forming the basic impulse of the movement for public ownership, I therefore see for it a great and growing future success where the free-silver movement met with dismal failure. However, while this vague desire of the people for economic equality is the power behind the municipal ownership movement, still I would be the last to deny that there are certain superficial conditions connected with the private ownership of public utilities which have given municipal ownership its present importance.

In the first place, the bad service rendered by the private corporation has been a powerful stimulus to the desire for a change.

When Yerkes said, "The dividends are in the straps," he gave us the whole theory of private ownership of street-car lines. It is not to serve the public that the private corporation was formed, but to make dividends for the private stockholders. If one car can be used to carry a double load by the simple expedient of making half of the occupants stand up and hang on to straps, then why should money be wasted in buying more cars and paying wages to two conductors and two motormen instead of to one?

If people must have water, anyway, pure or impure, then why waste money upon a filtration plant, which may save lives from typhoid, but will never increase the profits of the private corporations owning the water works?

The water works were not built by the private company to furnish pure water, but to pay dividends.

Every organism must obey the fundamental law of its existence. The fundamental law of a private corporation is to develop profits, while the fundamental law of a public corporation is to develop life.

When the water works are privately owned profits come first, and when the works are publicly owned pure water and good health come first. And this law of the private corpora-

tion holds good even when the stockholders are of the greatest virtue and respectability.

For instance, take the following case of private ownership of water in Ithaca, New York, given by Samuel Hopkins Adams, in a recent number of *McClure's Magazine*:

For two years, in Ithaca, in 1903, the water had been so obviously unfit to drink that the water company, a private enterprise, was constantly in receipt of complaints from the local board of health and from private citizens. Its contract called for water free from disease-producing organisms; the State has required reasonable guardianship of its water-shed. Contract and law seem to have been matters of equal indifference to the corporation. As subsequent testimony showed—after the tragedy was over—the watershed which supplied the city was lined with pig-styes, manure piles, garbage heaps, cattle pens and outhouses, many of them discharging their contents, with only a few yards' flow, direct into Six-Mile Creek, or the streams that supplied it. Whosoever reads the evidence adduced at the investigation needs to have a strong stomach. For some years intestinal diseases and "enteric fever," also called "Ithaca fever"—another phase of the polite fiction that we have found in Cleveland—had been common. In the winter of 1902-1903 the water company was aroused to action and began work upon a dam preparatory to installing a filtration plant. It was just a trifle too late. Whether from a little group of shanties back of Six-Mile Creek, which had been throwing slops from the sick rooms of several typhoid patients into the stream emptying close to the intake, or from the Italians employed on the dam who established their sinks within a few yards of the bank—an illuminating instance of the kind of protection afforded by the water company—the fever appeared in epidemic form in the middle of January, 1903. By the time the disease had run its course, there were 1,380 known cases out of a population of 15,800; more than one to every dozen inhabitants. Happily, the fever was not of the most virulent type; only about eight per cent of the reported cases died. But even with that low rate the mortality reached the appalling ratio of nearly 725 per 100,000.

Early in this trouble Cornell University assumed a prominent part in the management of affairs. Fortunately, the

water of the campus, supplied by a separate system, was not contaminated, though it was far from clear; so that among those students who used the campus water exclusively there were no cases. Only a small part of the student body, however, lives on the college grounds. The rest are scattered among them. The disease early appeared among them. Therefore, it was only natural that President Schurman and the trustees of the university should have taken an active interest. Unhappily this took the form of minimizing the peril, a policy which may well have cost a number of lives. It is but fair to the university authorities to say that at this time they utterly failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation. While the health authorities were warning the public in terms which seemed to the university "sensational," there emanated from Cornell reassuring statements. The attitude of the institution was, frankly, that there was no great danger. It strove to allay the rising panic, "in the interests of the college," just as Cleveland, St. Louis and other cities have kept down their typhoid rates "for the good of the city"; but with this difference that the institution must be credited with insistence upon the utmost precautions.

In the latter part of February the State Board of Health looked into the situation at Ithaca, and its official head was closeted for some time with President Schurman. Immediately after this conference the following statement was given out in pamphlet form from the president's office:

"Dr. Daniel Lewis, the State Commissioner of Health, who is here to-day, after having studied the situation carefully from every side, makes the statement that the plans which are already in operation, and which are this day being extended by the city authorities, make it perfectly safe for anyone to return to Ithaca who so desires."

At this time there were 400 to 500 fever cases in the city; new cases were appearing in large numbers every day, and every weary and overworked physician in the place knew that never had the disease been less under control. Some misconception seems to have entered into the conference between Dr. Schurman and Dr. Lewis, for, as soon as the optimistic pamphlet appeared, the local board of health wired the State Commissioner, asking if he were willing to go on record as saying that students might safely return to town. Response

came promptly; he was not. Until certain measures should have been taken he would not regard it as safe. Thereupon the pamphlet was withdrawn from circulation and another substituted.

The Cornell Infirmary, to which many of the students were taken, was under lay management. There seems to have been little regard for professional opinion. One member of the medical faculty of Cornell resigned from the managing committee because "the opinions of a physician were not worthy of the consideration of the laymen of the committee." Another was rebuked in writing because he took a member of the New York Cornell medical faculty to the hospital, which seems, curiously enough, to be against the rules. At a time when all the obtainable aid was necessary, the medical faculty was, as far as possible, excluded from any direction of the infirmary. The result:

Percentage of deaths to cases among students treated at the Cornell Infirmary, 11.5; percentage of deaths to cases among students treated at the City Hospital, 6.7.

Conditions of overcrowding and the class of patients considered were the same. That nearly seventy-five per cent more cases were lost in the Cornell institution than in the City Hospital may fairly be regarded as the measure of difference between efficient and inefficient management. Finally, the death-rate of the infirmary was one and one-half per cent higher than that of outside non-hospital treatment. That is, putting it barely, it was somewhat better not to go to a hospital at all than to trust to the management of the well-meaning trustees of the university institution.

For six weeks the epidemic raged; then subsided, though its effects were felt far into the summer. The stricken town had time to consider. Investigation followed. As I have said, the testimony does not make pleasant reading. It proved, with iterated and heaped-up evidence, that the water company was either culpably ignorant or culpably negligent of the watershed which had been intrusted to its care. On my visit to Ithaca I asked several representative citizens what was done with the responsible managers of the company. They seemed surprised.

"Nothing," they said.

"Was no attempt made to call them to account?"

"Certainly not."

"Weren't they even indicted?"

"Indicted? Why, the very best people in town were in that water company.\* Our leading financiers, merchants, church members, etc." (The list is a familiar one; it's the same kind of list that one finds owning the disease-breeding tenements in Chicago, New York and Philadelphia.)

Punishment did follow the crime, however. But not the crime of poisoning the water, the crime of honestly attempting to let people know the truth of their peril. A member of the faculty of Cornell University printed in the local paper which he owned the facts of the typhoid epidemic. Warned that he was jeopardizing his university interest by this course, that the policy of the university "deprecated sensational reports tending to incite alarm," he replied that the policy of his paper was to tell the truth as it appeared. After the scourge had passed this man found himself *persona non grata* with the controlling interests of the institution. Owing to the unusual success of his department, he was in line for a full professorship. Now he learned that as long as he remained at the head of the department it would continue to be merely an assistant professor's department. He resigned.

One of the Ithaca physicians had for years been connected with Cornell University on the medical side. When Cornell began its policy of optimism at the height of the epidemic, this physician took the other side. Optimism seemed to him out of place under the circumstances. He supported the policy of the local health board. Despite warnings he continued to hold to his course. Toward the end of the year his friends learned that he need not expect a reappointment to the university staff. To save himself humiliation he resigned. Other cases might be cited where the outspoken were penalized socially, commercially and even politically.

Ithaca has learned its lesson now; witness its vote of 1,335 for municipal ownership. Cornell has its own filtration plant, which bears Carnegie's name, in agreeable variation to the long line of libraries.

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\* The secretary and treasurer of Cornell University was at that time a director of the water company; several of the university trustees had been directors up to within a short time, and their families were still financially interested in the company.

I give the case of Ithaca at length because it must at once be admitted, if a place with as high a standard of intelligence as that university city finds it impossible to get pure water with private ownership, how much more impossible must it be for our large cities with a much lower standard of intelligence?

The case of Ithaca is also illustrative of the demoralization of university life itself as the result of the private ownership of Cornell University. It is true that Cornell is not operated for the sake of profit, but it is true, on the other hand, that such was the fear of the diminution of prestige and income owing to the students leaving if they should gain knowledge of a bad water supply, that President Schurman was willing to suppress the information and fatally risk the lives of his students.

The public is not only dissatisfied with private ownership of public utilities, because of the bad service rendered, but it has another and a greater and deeper grievance—namely, the corruption of public officials by the private corporations.

It is notorious that practically all our larger American cities are each in the control of a boss who derives his political power from the private corporations which own the public utilities.

The boss often has the control of the machinery of not only one, but both of the great political parties. The mayor and the aldermen are his creatures. Dependent upon him for their places, the least infraction of his wish means the loss of their political heads. The boss deals directly with the gas company when it wishes to lay more mains or to do anything requiring political consent or action; a new franchise, for instance. The same is true of the electric light company, the street car companies, the telephone and other companies owning the public utilities. The boss directly or indirectly gets money from the corporations, and he has the power not only of appointment to the usual political offices of the city, but also to the many positions with corporations.

Boss Cox, for instance, can get his man a place upon the police force of Cincinnati, or a place as a street-car conductor, or a lineman with the telephone company, with equal facility.

The control of a man's job means very nearly the control of his life, and hence it is not surprising that the giving of

so small a commodity as one's vote to the boss in exchange for the job is a very ordinary and usual transaction with many thousands of our fellow American citizens.

The private corporations are under compulsion to play politics as much in order to prevent themselves being black-mailed as they are to gain illegal rights.

Buying the good graces of the boss is never, of course, entered upon the books of a corporation in such a manner that the uninitiated would know what the money went for. Legal expense is a broad, elastic term that can cover all such underground expense.

While the facts of corruption by our private corporations are not denied, the opponents of municipal ownership reply that if the public officials of to-day are so easily corrupted, what hope is there in putting still more power into their hands? They forget that the source of the corruption is in the private ownership of public utilities, and the more of these utilities that are municipalized, the more will the corrupting stream be narrowed. When one impure rivulet poisons a great river, and gives a city an epidemic of typhoid fever, it is no argument against purifying the other tributary rivulets, but is merely an argument for the purifying of the single impure rivulet, so when we find, notwithstanding the municipal ownership of certain utilities, that corruption still continues, our remedy is not to stop our work, but to still further pursue our purifying process.

For instance, C. E. Russell, in *Everybody's Magazine*, declares that the Beef Trust in Chicago to-day steals thousands of gallons from the city watermains without making any payment. It has bribed the city officials to wink at the stealing. This state of affairs certainly shows a state of corruption in Chicago waterworks, notwithstanding municipal ownership. But who does the corrupting?

Is it not owing to the private ownership of the other public utilities, such as the gasworks, the street cars, the telephones, and particularly the stock yards?

In many European cities every one of these public utilities is municipally owned, so to propose the municipal ownership of such utilities by our American cities is proposing no untried experiment. The argument regarding the saving to the individual as the result of public ownership, I will not

dwell upon further than to say that, universally wherever there is municipal ownership, the price of gas, of water, of telephones, of street-car transportation, etc., is lower than under private ownership, and the service is always better. But I must return to my original argument for prophesying that municipal ownership is sure to be the next great and successful political movement in the United States; namely, because it tends to effect a wider and more equitable distribution of the wealth of the country.

Man is a land animal, and land is his first requisite for existence. Next he must have the tools wherewith to work the land.

In primitive days, man's tools were primitive. He had a pine knot for his gasworks, he had a gourd for his waterworks, he had his donkey for his street car, he had his own knife and his own back yard for his stock yards.

These tools were his own, and he could use them without asking any man's or any trust's permission. Land was his for the walking to the westward a few miles. The American then was indeed a free man, who owed no man obeisance. But to-day, if he would use land, he must first ask permission of an Astor; if he would have light and heat, he must ask permission of a Rockefeller; if he would go from place to place, he must bend the knee to a Vanderbilt, and so on, and so on.

Man has always resented serfdom, his eternal struggle has been for liberty, and so to-day the struggle is still for liberty; for economic liberty; for liberty to use the earth, to use the necessary tools to produce wealth, without asking the leave of an owner.

Municipal ownership to the extent that it gives men the ownership of certain tools—to wit, waterworks, gasworks, street cars, telephones, etc.—frees man from bending the knee to any private owners thereof, and to that extent is an onward step to the complete emancipation of man from thralldom to man, from thralldom to poverty.

It is because it is such a forward step that it is bound to be made, for the course of man has ever been onward. But, after all, it must always be remembered that it is *but* a step to the goal and not the goal itself of complete economic freedom and of the abolition of poverty.

## VIRCHOW'S CELL THEORY

**T**HE Trust is at once a normal and an abnormal development accordingly as we may look upon it.

It is abnormal to the social system if we look upon it as a cancer eating out the heart of society, abstracting to itself wealth that should go to all.

It is normal if we look upon it as the natural evolution of a system of competition which gives to the greedy rather than the needy.

The Trust is the most perfect engine that greed has ever devised, and as we have been striving to develop the best machine to satisfy the greedy it is no wonder that we have finally invented an instrument that operates so automatically and with such intelligence that we are terrified at our Frankenstein and now seek its destruction.

However, it is perfectly natural for a man to be greedy when in an environment that threatens him with starvation if he does not grab. The most perfect-mannered man in the world becomes a hog if failure to be a hog means death.

Life is merely adaptation to environment. A cell in the body is bruised and bruised again; it demands more nutriment to restore its equilibrium. At first the result is a simple inflammation; then, as the bruising takes place again and again upon the inflamed spot, the inflammation finally becomes chronic. Let the spot be bruised again and it may become cancer. The original cell that started out merely to protect itself by taking a little extra blood while it was recovering from a slight temporary mishap has now become the militant and malignant cancer cell threatening the whole body. The friend has become a deadly foe.

Similarly Rockefeller started out as a simple business man trying to save a few dollars to protect himself against old age. He got the habit of saving money. At the same time he was surrounded by a sea of fiery, deadly competitors. He made deeper the channels which guided the protecting dollars to his savings bank. More and more money came

and at the same time more and more was the need of money to protect himself from powerful competitors. Finally came the Trust, and now money flows to him in a stream of a volume quite undreamt of even by Rockefeller, and he has neither the will nor the power to stop the flow.

Rockefeller was once a healthy cell of our industrial organism; that he has become an abnormal one is not Rockefeller's fault; it is owing to the unhealthy state of our industrial organism. To cure Rockefeller we must not apply the remedy to him individually, as would the Republicans and Democrats. We must apply it to society.

To cure a boil we do not have the best effect by treating the boil. We seek to build up a debilitated system of which the boil is the symptom. Rockefeller is an effect, not a cause. Prof. Virchow was the originator of the modern theory of disease. His views have been briefly stated by Prof. Legge as follows:

Until Virchow's time it seemed to have been thought that disease was caused by some foreign substance inimical to life, seating itself within the tissues of the body, and thence proceeding to conquer by degrees the whole organism. But Virchow showed that the process had been misinterpreted.

The diseased structures of the body, he affirmed, consisted of cells like the healthy or undiseased, and these cells must once have sprung, as do all cells, from others. And as those parent cells can have, in their turn, no other origin than the original cell out of which the whole structure develops, it follows that the cells of diseased tissues must have developed in the normal way from the cells of the healthy tissues, "driven," as Lord Lister has said in this connection, to abnormal development by injurious agencies.

Thus we see that the whole theory of disease is pushed further back, and that we must look for its origin, not in the diseased structure, but in the agency which caused the cells of the diseased structure to develop in an abnormal way.

Let us see, for example, how this explains the morbid process called inflammation. It was once held that this

in itself was a diseased condition of the part affected, and that the appropriate remedy was, as was said, to "reduce the inflammation by treating the local symptoms." But Virchow showed that the efficient cause must be an irritation of the local cells, which causes them, as does all irritation, to increase their own nutrition by subtracting from the blood and the neighboring tissue a greater supply than before of substance to be assimilated. Henceforward the congestion of blood in the inflamed part, and the consequent nervous and vascular disturbance, become a matter of very small importance for the cure. To find and remove the cause of the irritation of the cells is now the care of the pathologist, conscious as he must be that when this is done, all local symptoms may be trusted to cure themselves.

Just as it is the function of the scientific physician to seek the cause of inflammation when the trouble is with the individual man, so should it be the function of the scientific politician to seek the cause of disturbance in the social organism.

But it is not as hopeless as it might seem. The scientific man is not essentially different from the ordinary man. He has simply had his attention directed to certain phenomena and by giving them careful attention he has noticed and jotted down certain relations between these phenomena. The first relation noticed will probably be so very obvious that one of the simplest powers of observation could not help seeing it. For instance, in determining the scientific description of a bird you notice that it has two legs; now certainly this fact takes little powers of observation to ascertain. To discover that it belongs to an egg-laying species is but little more difficult. To discover that a bird's bones are much lighter than those of a non-flying animal of the same weight takes considerably more powers of observation, but still it does not indicate anything superhuman in the observer. The same remark applies to discovering that the temperature of a bird's blood is higher than that of a mammal. And so on from step to step the patient scientific investigator adds facts to facts about birds and finally makes out general laws for birds in their various characteristics which may seem to

require great ability on his part, but which really takes great patience rather more than great intellect.

A general view of the knowledge of a scientific man gives the impression to the ordinary man that no one except a genius could know so much. But the scientific man has no such exalted opinion of himself. He knows only too well the shortness and the number of steps by which he attained his eminence. He knows that it only took a plain, ordinary every-day man to advance these steps, one at a time, and that he, the great scientific man, is merely the ordinary man gifted with patience and having had his work directed in a certain direction.

To-day there is no incentive for a politician to have a scientific knowledge of economics. To-day knowledge not only does not give him his place, but too much knowledge may lose it for him, for it is often as dangerous to know too much as it was to Galileo in the middle ages.

When the church had charge of astronomy it was heresy punishable with death to disagree with Ptolemy that the sun went round the earth; therefore the astronomers of those days were not very particular to have another theory. There was no demand for science in the field of astronomy; faith alone was wanted.

To-day we are conducting our politics as we once conducted our astronomy, our chemistry, our medicine, on faith, not science. The results is our politicians know as much about the science of politics as did the old-time astrologers know of the science of astronomy.

## WHITE COLLARS AND A YELLOW PRESS

**T**O those not behind the scenes the editorial course of the Hearst papers seems absolutely without reason. One day they favor one thing and the next day the opposite. One day they advocate the destruction of the Trusts, and the next day the national ownership of the Trusts. All of which is very confusing. But when one remembers that in order to make a great paper successful it is necessary to have the backing of one of the great political parties, a light is thrown upon the mystery. Mr. Hearst is shrewd enough to know that the current of public opinion in this country is rapidly setting toward public ownership not only of municipal utilities but also of railways and Trusts. He also knows that there are millions of people in this country who favor this, without realizing that it is Socialistic, or that it tends toward Socialism. He would catch this class of ignorant readers for his newspapers, and he would have them believe that he is the chief and only exponent of such views. If he should let them know that the platform he stands on, in this particular, is practically the same as that of the Socialists, he fears not only the connection of his name with Socialism, but also that he would not get full credit for originating the views presented in his editorial columns.

The Socialist Party is a comparatively small one, and obscure as yet, and for Hearst to wind up his Socialist editorials with the advice that his readers should vote the Socialist ticket would undoubtedly alienate from him the support of a great many Democratic followers and would certainly be entirely inconsistent with his program of being the next Democratic nominee for President. It is, therefore, clear that Hearst is perfectly logical in his apparently illogical course of glorifying theoretical Socialism but damning Socialists, who propose to put it in practice.

The following editorial taken from the "New York Journal"

of September 18th, is a striking corroboration of the foregoing:

The Social Democratic Party in Germany is a powerful and splendid proof of German courage and independence.

In the face of government oppression, in the face of military oppression, in the face of aristocratic pretensions and snubs and sneers, in the face of clerical oppression—the Social Democrats of Germany have built themselves into the greatest political party in the land, three millions of earnest, unselfish, thinking men. This great body of the actual common people can be looked upon only with respect and reverence here in America, where all our sympathies must be with the class that fights imperialism.

The leading Social Democrats of Germany are great men and educated men. Herr Bebel, Herr von Vollmar and the other leaders are men of unselfish devotion, and at the same time of earnest thought and thorough education.

The future of Germany is in their hands. They will solve the military and all other German questions. In the meantime the army, pride of the Emperor's heart, is manufacturing Social Democrats every day, catching the peasant boy, awkward and ungainly, in his country village, kicking him and cuffing him simultaneously into a trained soldier and a Social Democrat who hates the laws that cuffed him.

We wish to-day to speak of the statement made by an American Socialist at the Germans' Socialistic Congress at Dresden.

This individual, alleged to represent the United States Socialists, declared that a Socialistic crisis would come first in America, that *the development of the trusts would bring about Socialism in this country.*

We cannot express for the American Socialist Party the same admiration as we feel for the Social Democrats of Germany.

The German Social Democrat is a serious, earnest man, protesting against imperialism, militarism, special privileges for the noble, special oppressions for the people.

What he asks for, any decent American citizen would ask for, if he lived in Germany.

The American Socialist is, with honorable exceptions, not to be classed with the Social Democrat of Germany.

He is a man who often expresses a social dissatisfaction based upon personal failure. He is very apt to be loud rather than profound. He is as a rule not an educated man, and his demands and urgings are based too often on ignorance.

The statement that the trusts in the United States will bring about Socialism in the United States is ignorant; it shows a lack of understanding of to-day's problems.

Socialism properly understood ought to mean the betterment of social conditions.

If Socialism be defined as the improvement of social conditions, then, of course, every good citizen is a Socialist. For every good citizen knows that social conditions ought to be better.

Admitting such a definition of Socialism, it may truthfully be said that the trusts will bring about Socialism; that is to say, better social conditions.

We believe that industry among human beings is destined to pass through three phases—the phases of competition, of organization, of emulation.

Civilization has spent thousands of years in the competitive system. Out of a hundred business men ninety-nine have failed—one hundred business enterprises have landed ninety-nine men with broken hearts, broken hopes, and one man with money in his pocket and a broken digestion.

Competition encouraged the merchant to sell adulterated goods, bogus goods, worthless goods. It encouraged him to pay his employees as little as he could in order to compete with others who hired employees, and to charge his customers as much as he could.

The competitive system is now dying a slow death.

Already the system of organization has arrived and the trusts represent this system.

It is crude and selfish, it takes for a few big organized pirates the enormous sums that used to be distributed among a great many little competitive pirates.

But organization, even under trust management, is a step in the right direction.

*The trust that is combining the nation's industries into a few companies paves the way certainly and surely for national ownership.*

When one man, or half a dozen men, shall own all the railroads of the United States there will be interference by the people sooner or later. When one man, or a few men, shall own all the steel mills, all the coal mines and all the oil wells, all the street-car lines—there will be interference by the people sooner or later.

When it is clearly proved that one man, or a few men, can run the business of a nation, that the much vaunted competition is not the life of trade but an indication of savagery, then the people will say to the one man, or the few men, "We, the people, will own the business of the people, and not you, an individual."

In pursuance of his policy of not mentioning the names of Socialists any more than is absolutely necessary, it will be noticed in the first place that Hearst alludes to the editor of this paper, who happened to be the American delegate at the convention referred to, as "this individual." In the cablegram from Germany, upon which the editorial was based, published in another column of the same issue, however, he was forced to allow the name Wilshire to appear.

He says that the American Socialists are not good enough to be classed with the Socialists of Germany. Whatever Mr. Hearst may say, it is certain that the German Socialists themselves accept us American Socialists as equals, as brothers, and are only too glad to seat us at their conventions and extend to us all the courtesies customary between members of the same party.

Pursuing his general policy of misrepresentation, Hearst naturally meets with the difficulty encountered by all imaginative writers, of making his stories agree at every point. It will be seen that the editorial starts out by saying "the statement that the trusts in the United States will bring about Socialism in the United States is ignorant, and shows lack of understanding of to-day's problems." This is followed, a little later on, by a statement of his own that "the Trust that is combining the nation's industries into a few companies, is paving the way certainly and surely for national ownership . . . . When one man or a few men shall own all the steel mills, all the coal mines, all the oil wells and all the street-car lines, there will be interference by the people sooner or later. When it is clearly proved that one

man, or a few men, can run the business of the nation . . . . then the people will say to the one man, or the few men, "We, the people, will own the business of the people, and not you, an individual."

The distinction, in Mr. Hearst's mind, between the two statements seems to be that one is made by a member of the Socialist Party and the other is not. When "this individual" says that the Trusts are paving the way for Socialism it is "ignorant," but when he makes the statement himself it is the quintessence of wisdom. For complete public ownership is simply Socialism.

Again, he says that the Socialists are men who have failed in life, and who neglect to wash their hands or wear clean collars. Granting this to be true it would not invalidate the arguments of the Socialists. A great many men in the world's history, who have not been noted for clean collars, have given to the world the profoundest truths. We do not judge of Truth by the source from which it comes. Truth speaks for herself. Mr. Hearst may congratulate himself that we have passed the stage where the truth of a man's statement is determined either by the whiteness of his collar or the yellowness of his journal.

## SHAW'S "SUPER-MAN"

**B**ERNARD SHAW has at last arrived. I speak metaphorically. Years ago, when I first visited London, it was in the beginnings of the socialist movement, and Shaw was then a young Irish newspaper man finding it difficult to make ends meet. However, it never daunted his spirits, and Shaw was then as he is now the bright particular wit in our London socialist set. We all recognized his brilliancy; in fact, Shaw himself recognized it and joined with us in a general regret that the public were so blind to it. Not that we cared so much about Shaw's personal loss in his failure to get recognition, but we felt that if he were recognized then he would be able to get so much the better audience to which he might expound our and his socialist views. I was not in great hopes, however, for I confess that I did not credit London and New York for the wit shown in at last giving Shaw recognition. His plays were really too clever, it seemed to me, for them to be adapted to a general audience; this quite apart from whether they are really good plays anyway from purely the dramatic standpoint.

However, as said, Shaw has arrived, not only with his plays, but with anything that he now may write.

That he is using his pinnacle to disseminate Socialism, although after his own particular method of disseminating it, is unnecessary to state.

Shaw and I were never altogether at one upon our Socialism, and I am not sure that either he or I are at one with any one in particular.

Shaw never would grasp the meaning of the economic development of the Trust in the United States. Way back in 1890, when I was lecturing in London, he took the stage against me one night and endeavored to show that I was all wrong in my statement of America being industrially in advance of Europe and that it was this superiority of America which had caused the Trust. Since then the American Invasion of Europe has convinced Shaw that I was right in my facts, but I doubt if he yet agrees with me in my conclusions.

Shaw started out with the rest of the Fabians as a utopian revolutionist. The Fabian society took its name from the Fabian motto to make ready slowly but surely, to be able to finally give a sudden and deadly stroke. The Fabians have done with revolutionaryism nowadays and no longer quote their motto, although they still stick to the name.

Last summer, when I was in London, I tried to explain to Shaw and other Fabians that the revolution which I was predicting in America was not going to come from any slow preparation by the Socialists and then finally a terrible blow, but that it was brewing within the industrial development of the country. That the nearness of a climax was not due to any determination of the people to throw off their yoke, but was going to be due owing to the absolute necessity of revolution in order to meet a great unemployed problem.

However, all my talk was vain. The English Fabian classifies all revolutions together. He insists that by revolution one must mean the sudden uprising of the working class, the barricading of streets, the upsetting of the government and the instituting of Socialism over night forcibly by the working class and all against the will of all the other classes in the community.

Such a programme no one is more willing than myself to admit is a silly, ridiculous one. None but the very young Socialists have any such ideas.

Socialism when it comes will come with the practical assent of the whole community, although this assent will be only given when it is self-evident to all that Socialism has become an absolute economic necessity.

This day according to my theory of economics is not so far off, and the Trust, in which Shaw sees nothing, is the sign that the day is not so far off.

However, whether Shaw or myself are right upon the question of the Trust, there is no question but that Shaw is doing some great literary work and incidentally is teaching the public a great many things that they should know.

Arnold Daly made a great success last winter in New York in the production of Shaw's "Candida." The discussion of the sociologic points raised by the play was of great value to all America.

Shaw has just written another new play, "Man and Super-

Man." (Published by Brentano's, New York, \$1.25.) It certainly is high-water mark for Shaw, and those of my readers who are wishing to see why it is that Shaw has set the literary world afire must read it. Even if Shaw does not understand the Trust Problem, he does understand the Life Problem, and that is the more important. Here is a brief extract giving a dialogue in hell which takes place between Don Juan and the Devil (both characters in "Man and Super-Man"):

**DON JUAN.** What you call bosh is the only thing men dare for. Later on, Liberty will not be catholic enough: men will die for human perfection, to which they will sacrifice all their liberties gladly.

**THE DEVIL.** Ah! they will never be at a loss for an excuse for killing one another.

**DON JUAN.** What of that? It is not death that matters, but the fear of death. It is not killing and dying that degrades us, but base living, and accepting the wages and profits and degradation. Better ten men dead than one live slave of his master. Men shall yet rise up, father against son and brother against brother, and kill one another for the great catholic idea of abolishing slavery.

**THE DEVIL.** Yes, when Liberty and Equality of you which prate shall have made free white Christians cheaper in the labor market than black heathen slaves sold by auction at the block.

**DON JUAN.** Never fear! the white laborer shall have his turn too. But I am not now defending the illusory forms of the great ideas take. I am giving you examples of the fact that this creature Man, who in his own selfish affairs is a coward to the backbone, will fight for an idea like a hero. He may be abject as a citizen; but he is dangerous as a fanatic. He can only be enslaved whilst he is spiritually weak enough to listen to reason. I tell you, gentlemen, if you can show a man a piece of what he calls God's work to do, and what he will later on call by many new names, you can make him entirely reckless of the consequences to himself personally.

What can be deeper than his lines that man can only be enslaved when listening to reason? It sounds straining for a paradox, but it's not; it's merely the bald truth.

Man does his noblest work when he apparently is to the world the most unreasonable fanatic. The reasonable man tries to save his own soul, the unreasoning man saves the soul of man and thus gains his own salvation.

I had but little opportunity to see much of Shaw last year. Only time for a lunch with him and Mrs. Shaw, a delightful acquisition he has made since the old days, at his apartments

on Adelphi Terrace. He is in much better health than formerly, owing, I am sure, to Mrs. Shaw's care in seeing that his carrots and beets are sufficiently boiled, for Shaw is still a hot vegetarian. Formerly when he accepted my invitation to dinner he would note, "No corpses, please."

I wish Shaw would come to this country and lecture. It matters not what his subject would be; he would be sure to talk Socialism, and his name would attract big audiences.

## WHAT MEN VOTE FOR

**T**HE great mass of voters, whether of the two old parties or of the independents or of the Socialist Party, cast their votes in the way that the voter thinks will be of greatest benefit to the country as a whole.

The strongest and most fundamental instinct of man is the instinct to act so as best to preserve the race. A man's instinct is to preserve the race, for his own preservation can only be accomplished by racial preservation. It is true that there are always a few who will leave the front and betray their fellow men in order to save themselves, but such men are the exception. From the earliest history of man all records show that the individual man has laid down his life that the greater man, the race or the nation might live.

The old rallying cry, For God, King and Country! was quite as perfect a rallying cry as if it had been scientifically concocted with complete knowledge of the history of the evolution of man. And the cry is just as good to-day in our sordid material struggle for wealth as it was in the days of Charlemagne.

Wars with cross-bows, with modern rifles or with the ballot are all fundamentally of the same nature.

We vote, as we fought, for God, King, Country. By God I mean the highest spiritual ideal we are capable of conceiving. By King I mean the material manifestation of this ideal in the shape of our candidates and our party. By our Country I mean the particular organization of society to which we happen to be individually attached and which we naturally think as the most important one for the race as a whole to be preserved.

"Our Country" is of course a very elastic term and means a very different thing to men of different nations, and it is not always mere birth or abode that determines a man's definition of his country.

Before the Revolutionary War in this country most men would have defined their own particular colony to be "Our Country" for them. Before the Civil War a citizen of Vir-

ginia would have probably called Virginia "Our Country" rather than the whole of the nation. He certainly would have considered the Southern States, taken as a whole, as a much more important organism to be held intact and to be fought for than the nation as a whole. His willingness to die for the South in the Civil War was pretty well shown by the Civil War. If we go back into the time when men wandered in nomadic tribes, we will find that then "Our Country" was simply the tribal organization, which was attached to no particular part of the earth. Men showed just as willing a nature to die for their tribe as any Virginian did for the sacred soil.

It seems funny to say that the man who votes for a Roosevelt or a Parker is impelled to do so by the same fundamental motive that impels a man to die for his country, and yet such is really the case.

To the man who has given the question of our economic and social conditions intelligent and careful attention and who knows that with the continuance of our competitive system the nation must remain in pain and poverty, it is folly to vote for either Parker or Roosevelt, for neither advocates a change of system. A vote for Parker or Roosevelt is for the perpetuation of poverty, and the only excuse for such a vote is ignorance. And this is the true explanation of most of the votes cast for the Republican and Democratic parties. It is not that the voters are aware of what those parties stand for and that they wish things to remain as they are, although knowing they could be changed for the better. Not at all. The Republican is just as sincere in his idea that by voting for Roosevelt he is doing what is best for the country as is the Socialist who votes for Debs. The only difference between them is one of knowledge.

A good many Socialists have an erroneous theory that all Republicans and Democrats are aware the present competitive system robs the producers and vote for its continuance because they think that they themselves are participants in the swag. As a matter of fact I doubt if there is a single individual in either the Republican or Democratic Party, not even Rockefeller or Morgan, who understands the necessary exploitation of the producers through the natural workings of the competitive system.

Workingmen by the thousands are going to vote for Roosevelt who have practically the same economic views as those held by Rockefeller and Morgan. They no more realize that they are living under a peculiar system of industry than a codfish realizes it lives in water. They think the present order is a permanent one for all time to come. That it is the natural and perpetual order of industry. Therefore their only aim is to so arrange business that the capitalist may be prosperous in order that he may employ workingmen at high wages and short hours.

It is the aim of the politicians to convince the voters that their particular man, Parker or Roosevelt, as the case may be, is the man who will best conduct the country that the capitalist will make the most money. The capitalist will be swayed by such arguments because he wishes to make money, and the workingman because he wishes the capitalist to make the money that he may get better wages.

It is the mission of the Socialist to make plain to people, whether they be capitalists or workingmen, exactly what the competitive system means. That the workingman should be and is more receptive than the capitalist to the socialist philosophy goes without saying; but that the capitalist, once intellectually convinced of the iniquity of the competitive system and the superiority and practicability of Socialism, is sure to be averse to a change is an assumption entirely without warrant.

It is difficult to make a workingman understand the possibility and desirability of change, but nobody would think of attributing his slowness to understand to his thought that he is a beneficiary of the present system and therefore unwilling to understand. It is plainly mere rank stupidity. With the capitalist this may be true and then his unwillingness enhances his stupidity, but the truth usually remains that he does not understand and therefore opposes rather than that he opposes understandingly.

That it is impossible to make a capitalist a Socialist is false both from experience and from theory.

Let us all then make it our business to show all men, whether they be rich or poor, the injustice of the present competitive system and the justice of Socialism.

Let us show that under Socialism all men will be benefited

beyond words. That not only will the workingman receive his just dues, his full product, but that he will live in a world where all men will be friends one to the other and where the fear of want will be abolished from the land. Let the rich man understand that although he will lose the opportunity of appropriating to himself the earnings of others, yet he will be immeasurably happier in a world where men are no longer watching for a chance to rob each other and where the result of a successful robbery gives no pleasure to the robber.

Let us convince the voter that it is up to him to decide with his ballot whether poverty shall continue or not and then the question of the strenuousness of a Roosevelt melts into obscurity before the question of Justice to **Man**.

## A FINANCIAL CATAclySM INEVITABLE

**A**LL POLITICAL questions to-day resolve themselves into the solution of the problem of how a man can get a just equivalent for his labor. I doubt if a single one, upon analysis, cannot be reduced to this simple proposition.

The problem of the production of commodities sufficient for the wants of men upon this planet has been completely solved. We no longer talk about the growth of population exceeding productivity. We recognize fully that the only Problem to-day has to solve is that of distribution. It would seem to any reasonable man that the mere pointing out of the fact that our competitive wage system, by limiting the laborer to a wage demanded by his unemployed fellow-laborer, necessarily restricts his powers of consumption to the mere minimum of existence. While this is apparently a self-evident fact, yet it is one that is being constantly overlooked, and the overlooking of it will be found to be at the base of all our errors in the science of political economy. There was a time when all the professors of political economy said that any theory which involved the admission that there could be such a thing as general overproduction was, upon the face of it, absurd; that it was impossible and absurd to conceive that the earth should produce so much food and clothing that the people could not get enough. They said that the explanation of an apparent condition of overproduction was that it was purely local. If the Canadians, for instance, were producing more wheat than they wanted, and the Cubans were growing more bananas than they wanted, matters would adjust themselves as soon as a knowledge of actual conditions was in possession of both Canadians and Cubans. As soon as this knowledge should prevail, an exchange would be made and the whole problem would be solved. Of course it is true enough that even under our competitive system there are conditions where there is overproduction of a certain commodity in a certain place, and that the proper commercial knowledge

of this condition would so facilitate the distribution of the local over-production that it would be relieved, and normal conditions would be re-established. But looking at the world as a whole, and realizing that the competitive wage system exists throughout the civilized part of it, it cannot be lost sight of for a moment that it is easily possible to have general "overproduction" simply because we have a system of distribution which prevents any large distribution of the products of labor to those who produce, viz., the workers. It will at once be urged that if this competitive system limits the laborers' consumption so that overproduction must ensue, how is it that we do not have overproduction continuously, and why have we not been compelled long ago to abandon our competitive system? The reason is simply that overproduction arises from the use of machinery, and as we have been using machinery, that is, steam engines, electricity, etc., for only fifty years, we could not have the problem before that time, and since then we have been utilizing the surplus above and beyond what the laborers produce in the production of more and more machinery. If this process of the transformation of the surplus into new machinery could continue forever there would never be any permanently insoluble unemployed problem. There might be temporary crises and there might be local states of overproduction, but finally the capitalists would discover where machinery was most needed, and would so direct labor that it would function at that point and so alleviate any local unemployed problems. But the capitalist to-day has a universal eye that takes in a world-wide view, Railroads in China, oil refineries in Russia, cotton mills in India, he furnishes them all, quite indifferent as to nationality. When a system of underground electric railroads is needed in London and the British capitalist cannot see that it will be a profitable undertaking, then an American sees it and builds the railroad. The capitalist is a man to whom patriotism is not even a last refuge; he never considers it at all. Whatever country needs his money gets it, the only condition being that he is guaranteed safety and a return of dividends.

However, in whatever country he invests his money, it will be found upon ultimate analysis that he is building this machinery in order to feed and clothe the working class and the farmers. Not that he has any philanthropic ideas regarding

such a procedure, but because these constitute the only body of consumers that is of sufficient importance to be considered. It is true that capital may be invested in building a steel mill in Pittsburg, and it may appear that because the steel rail is sold to the Vanderbilts for their railways, this is an undertaking which cannot be classed as giving food and clothing to the working class; but it must be remembered that Vanderbilt only buys steel rails for use upon railroads which are largely to be used to carry wheat and pork and cloth for distribution to the aforesaid workers. So, whatever way we may look we will always discover that although the commodity itself turned out by the capitalist cannot be consumed directly by the workers, still it is only one or two removes back where it will be found to be simply a means of giving some commodity for the workingman's direct consumption, that is, his food, his clothing, or his house. Hence our whole system of industry is an inverted pyramid, its apex being the consumptive ability of the worker. *This ability to consume being strictly limited by the competitive system the pyramid can only remain where it is by means of the continued production of labor-saving machinery.* For example, we build a steel rail mill, and find out that by building a larger and better one, we can save labor. We dismantle the first mill and build a second and better one; and when this is finished we may again go through a similar process and even build a third still better. We started out fifty years ago and built an Erie Canal which carried water four feet in depth and a canal boat of 75 tons. Then we enlarged it so that it carried seven feet of water in depth and a canal boat of 250 tons, and now we are getting ready to make our Erie Canal twelve feet deep and able to carry boats of a thousand tons. Of course it is possible that in ten or fifteen years, we may decide to enlarge again and have boats of 2,000 tons.

Now all this construction of new iron mills and of new canals, etc., means the opening of so many new channels for the distribution of the surplus products made by labor, and if, as said, this could be continued indefinitely and upon a large enough scale there would never be any question about the continuance of prosperity and laborers having constant employment. Of course this would be simply building canals and mills in order to give ourselves employment. It would be very

much like the way the men upon a man-of-war are kept contented by making them holystone the decks of the ship; but there are a good many people who imagine that this is the highest and best we can get.

However, as the machinery is simply built to furnish goods to the laborers, and as the laborers' capacity to consume is limited by their wages to a mere minimum of existence, it is evident the day will finally come when we have too much machinery. The Trust is the significant sign that that day is at hand, for the reason that the Trust exists is the recognition of a state of overproduction. The basic reason of the existence of the Trust lies in the recognition by the capitalist class that our industrial machinery has attained a stage of practical completion.

That continued expansion is as necessary as it is impossible for the perpetuation of the existing commercial system is well known and admitted by all competent writers upon the subject. For instance, there was recently a very striking article in the *New York Sun*, which is so able that I have decided to incorporate it bodily herewith:

#### WE NEED LARGER FOREIGN MARKETS.

The market value of the manufactured products of the United States for 1902 was, approximately, \$15,000,000,000. This is the product of more than half a million establishments, whose total capitalization exceeds \$10,000,000,000, and in which some seven million of our people find employment. This truly enormous business becomes only the more imposing when one realizes how large a percentage of it is of recent development. Within a quarter of a century the number of our factories has doubled, their capitalization has quadrupled, the number of their employees has increased nearly three times, and the value of their output has grown from the \$5,500,000,000 of 1880 to the \$15,000,000,000 of 1902.

In connection with such a statement there arises, naturally, a question of the disposition of so enormous a quantity of merchandise. Where does it go? Who uses it? It is probable that the off-hand judgment of many would declare that much of the increase was due to the increase in our export trade. Yet the fact is that we export only about 3 per cent. of it. Of the American manufactured wares of 1902, 97 per cent. in value was consumed in the best market which the United States has—the domestic. It went to a trade with which the American manufacturer is familiar—to customers whose wants, habits and tastes he understands. It was sold under commercial laws and financial conditions with which he is fully acquainted. The American manufacturer knows his home trade, knows how to get it, and caters to it. He studies the re-

quirements of his market, and that market is at all times quickly and easily reached. Credit systems, banking and transportation facilities make his domestic trade a simple process in comparison with export trade. For these reasons American energy is bent toward securing and holding American trade against both domestic and foreign competition.

But there is another side to this trade question which is growing beyond general realization. Within a quarter of a century the output of manufactured products has increased 200 per cent. Actual producing capacity has probably increased much beyond that, inasmuch as few establishments are run continually to the full extent of their producing power. But the number of domestic consumers has increased only a little more than 50 per cent. within the same period. Two influences appear. One is that we now manufacture at home many of those articles which twenty-five years ago we imported. The other is that the consuming capacity of our population has increased more rapidly than has the number of consumers. Standards of living are higher and individual requirements are greater than they were a quarter of a century ago. Individual wants increase with the ability of the individual to gratify them, and national prosperity has transformed much that was a luxury of the last generation into an ordinary comfort or a seeming necessity for the present generation. Yet, even with these important influences, the fact stands that consuming power has not kept pace with the vast increase in producing power, and American manufacturers are coming into more and more direct confrontation with an ever-increasing surplus of manufactured wares beyond the requirements of the home market.

There are two lines of possible determination of the question, and only two. One is limitation of output, the other an extension of markets.

We look at our export trade in manufactured goods and see its increase from \$100,000,000 in 1880 to \$150,000,000 in 1890, and then its tremendous leap to more than \$400,000,000 in 1902. The dazzle of these figures blinds us to their real significance. Diverted by a striking incident, we lose sight of the main issue. That issue does not lie in the mere fact that there has been a very gratifying increase. It rests in the question of the great probability of serious reaction upon domestic interests if that export trade be not indefinitely extended within the near future.

Already careful students of the situation are asking each other how long we can continue to absorb at home a percentage of our products which will avert glutted markets and depreciated prices. Let there be assumed a continuance of our present prosperity, of big crops and busy mills and well paid labor. There must be an even greater prosperity and even bigger crops, with a profitable market for them, if the ever-increasing mills are to find a domestic market for their ever-increasing production. Closely interwoven as our industries are, a cessation of activity in any one of our leading lines reacts upon other lines. The cry of "overproduction" or of "underproduction," call it which you will, is quickly raised, and

commercial uncertainty paves the way to commercial stagnation. A market clogged with the products of our factories compels the stoppage of production, limits the general consuming power, enforces general economy in the household, and opens the door to hard times.

It has pleased various writers and public officials to regale us with exuberant tales of the "American invasion" of this, that and the other market. As yet our exports of manufactured goods fill only a very small hole in the world's markets, and our increased exports are not due so much to our inroads upon the trade of our competitors as they are to our participation in a general increase of world business. That our export trade in manufactured goods has grown is as gratifying as it is undeniable. But there are these three facts which remain for the thoughtful consideration of our commercial and financial classes:

1. That we now export only 3 per cent. of the products of our shops, mills and factories.

2. That we now secure only about 10 per cent. of the world's import trade in manufactured goods.

3. That our market is not keeping pace with our increasing facilities for production.

Stagnation in American factories is now only less pregnant with menace to American interests than is failure in our crops.

It will be noticed that the Sun never considers that the only way to get a greater domestic market is to increase the wages of what it terms "well-paid labor." The ignoring of this palpable solution is characteristic of all such attempts to solve the current industrial problem. Of course to increase the wages to any considerable degree under a competitive system is practically impossible. The trades unions are doing a great deal, but their efforts apply to only a small proportion of the wage-earning class, and even when they do get what they demand, the total increase is so small that it cuts no appreciable figure in reducing the surplus that is being produced above and beyond what their wages allow them to buy.

The solution of the problem can only be found in the co-operative wage system, and this system can only be introduced by the establishment of public ownership of the means of production.

The inevitable solution of the next economic crisis is to be found in the motto of this Magazine: *"Let the Nation Own the Trusts."*

## MONEY UNDER SOCIALISM.

**M**ONEY should rightly be merely a tool to facilitate exchange. Suppose I am a conductor on a passenger train, the time I give to the community on this work should be recompensed by the community giving me the time of another man, or parts of the time of a number of men equal to the time I have put in on the train. I have created no product that is of value to me, but I have performed work of value to society. That is, if I work ten hours on the railroad train, I should, in equity, be able to command the product of ten hours of labor from other men.

Suppose I have worked ten hours on the train and I want some sugar, some cloth, some potatoes. The railway company gives me a \$5.00 gold piece for my time, and with this money I buy the sugar, cloth and potatoes wanted.

The gold in the \$5 required a certain amount of labor in its production, and the general, but quite erroneous assumption is that the labor time involved in getting the gold out of the ground and refining it, is about equivalent to the labor time involved in producing the sugar, cloth and potatoes which I get for the gold piece, or the time I worked on the train, viz., ten hours.

In other words, it is assumed that the gold piece merely enables me to get a fair equivalent in goods that I want, calculating the value by the labor of others, in exchange for the time I spend as conductor upon the passenger train.

If this exchange of labor for labor were really made, as is assumed, then there would be no complaint made about the equity of our present competitive system; but as a matter of fact, the exchange is not made in that manner at all. It is assumed that if instead of my working ten hours on the railway, I spent ten hours working in a gold mine, that the time so spent would on an average produce about \$5.00 worth of gold, which I would get.

As a matter of fact, if I should leave the railway train and go to the gold diggings, I would find that all the good gold

mines were owned by private individuals, and that I would not be free to dig where I wanted. Besides, even if there were good ground open, I would require a great outlay of capital in the way of tunnels, hoisting machines, smelters, railways to carry the ore, etc., etc., before I would be able to use the ground. To work on rich ground with proper tools I must hire myself out to a mining company.

However, I might be able to go to work on ground which was not taken up and which could be used without machinery, and the result of my labor there would probably be about the same amount per day as if I had taken wages and worked for one of the mining companies.

In many of the mining camps of California there are thousands of men working on their own hook, with no more capital than a pick and a pan, upon the poorer ground and tailings already once worked, and the average amount they get out per day is about what they would get if they hired out for wages. If they worked for one of the big companies, naturally, they might produce from three to fifty times as much as if they worked individually, but the large production would do them no good, as it would go to the mining company owning the mines. Wages are just the same, whether the mine pays big profits or pays no profits at all.

So it is true that the individual miner, with no machinery, on poor land, working on his own hook in the production of gold, gets about what his wages would have been if he had worked for a mining company, yet it is not true by any means that the average production per day per capita of the whole mining camp fixes his daily wages. The average production of the entire camp per capita per day may be \$50.00, yet the average daily wage be only \$5.00 per day. The owner of the mines absorbs the \$45 difference.

However, the individual miner working on his own hook not only does not get a fair deal in the payment for his labor, but he also gets robbed when he exchanges his gold for articles he wishes.

With his \$5.00 in gold he buys so much cloth, sugar and potatoes. Upon every one of those articles he pays a monopoly profit, owing to the railway charges for freight. He must reimburse the producers for all the tribute that they have paid to the railways for the carriage of the goods. The

railway has robbed the wool grower in excessive charge upon the wool it carried from the farmer to the manufacturer. It has robbed the manufacturer when it carried the cloth from him to the retail dealer, and it again has robbed the retail dealer when he shipped his goods to the miner. The poor miner must pay back to the various producers all these amounts, otherwise he cannot get his cloth.

If there has been any machinery manufactured by a Trust used in the production of any of the articles he buys, of course an excessive charge has been made for it, and he must reimburse the retailer in the mining camp who sells the goods. He must reimburse the farmer for the excessive price the farmer has paid for the use of the mowing machine made by the Agricultural Machine Trust. Indirectly it pays tribute to the Steel Trust, which has held up the railway when it bought its steel rails; the railway, in turn, must hold up the farmer in order to pay for those dearly bought rails, and then the farmer must hold up the dealers that buy the potatoes, in order for him to get even.

The Sugar Trust puts up its price far beyond the labor cost of manufacturing sugar, and when the miner gives up his gold for sugar, he must pay an extra price that the Sugar Trust may pay its dividends on watered stock.

Hence we say that the miner is not only robbed in the beginning by being forced to take only \$5.00 worth of gold when he may have produced \$50.00 worth, but he is robbed again when he spends his \$5.00, inasmuch as he has to pay tribute to every Trust in the country.

He must also pay tribute to the various landlords. Not only does he pay the landlord for the ground upon which the potatoes are raised, but he pays the rent of the commission agent's store in the great city, and he pays the rent of the commission agent's house; he also pays a monopoly price for not only his own gas, but he pays for the gas used by all the people who are engaged in selling and producing his cloth.

However, the amount of gold the miner gets as wages determines what the conductor gets as his wages. If the conductor were not satisfied with his payment and felt he could get fairer treatment by going to the mines, he would immediately leave the train and go to the mines; but when

he knows the miner is robbed just as much as he is, he stays where he is on his railway train.

So that, under our present system, the daily wage, while nominally giving to the wage-earner the equivalent to what he produces, does nothing of the sort, and therefore, under Socialism, we must find some better method of payment if we expect to establish equity.

Socialists say that when a man works he should get the equivalent of his work either in goods of his own production or of other people's production at his option.

## CLASS VS. CLASS: RESULTANT

SOMETIMES people under the impulse of the moment enroll themselves as Socialists, but when later on, after attending some Socialist meeting and hearing a speaker declare the absolute necessity of one's accepting the "class struggle" as prerequisite to being labeled as a good, sound Socialist, and hearing class struggle at the same time defined upon very strict lines, come to the conclusion that they are not really Socialists after all.

They may have accepted the necessity of the abolition of the competitive system and the introduction of the co-operative system based upon the public ownership of the means of production, and they have thought that this was enough to constitute them as sound Socialists, but when they find that not only must they accept Socialism, but that they must agree that it shall be brought about in one particular way and no other, viz., by the working class organizing and forcibly taking possession of the earth in spite of the active and continued opposition of the capitalist class, they may recoil.

Then they find heaped upon them the scorn of the "orthodox" Socialist and are told that they do not understand Socialism as laid down by Marx.

Now what is the Marxian position? Let me give a statement of it, with which I myself entirely agree, taken from a recent editorial in *Justice*, the official organ of the English Socialists.

Briefly stated, the Marxian proposition amounts to this: All wealth is the result of labor applied to natural objects. It is as impossible to differentiate between the proportion of wealth due to natural objects and that due to labor as it is to say how much of a child belongs to the father and how much to the mother. Labor is the father and earth the mother of all wealth. Capital is that part of the product which is set aside for reproductive purposes. In itself it is part of the product of labor. The total product, therefore, is due to labor and belongs to labor. In private hands, however, capital becomes not only a means of reproduction, an accessory to labor, but also a means for exploiting labor. All wealth, therefore, which goes to others than the workers, is so much robbery of labor. It is in antagonism to this theory of labor

that modern Socialism takes its stand. It insists upon the class antagonism necessarily arising from the exploitation and robbery of labor through the class ownership of the means of production, and aims at the extinction of this class struggle by the emancipation of the proletariat and the abolition of the class ownership of the means of production.

One who cannot see the necessity of a class struggle preceding the institution of Socialism has a very poor idea of the Marxian position, and in fact he must be going through the world of to-day with closed eyes and ears.

It is not necessary that a man be a Socialist, however, that he see the class feeling existing between the rich and the poor. But while it may be regarded as extremely improbable, yet it is not absolutely impossible that what with the palpable injustice of the present system appealing to the higher natures of the rich and at the same time the evolution of economic conditions convincing them that the present system must soon give way of its own weight and that meanwhile pending the giving way it may be a time of great danger and hardship to both rich and poor, a very considerable proportion of the rich themselves will join with the working class and assist actively in the bringing about of Socialism. It is my own belief that such may occur and yet I am a believer in the "class struggle."

I am not Utopian enough to believe that any considerable body of the rich will ever advocate Socialism until it is evident to them that the ship of capitalism is about to founder and that it is time for all sensible rats to desert the ship. But simply because I believe that many capitalists have the brains of rats and quite a number have the hearts of ordinary men, I have had it thrown at me that I was relying upon the rich to hand us Socialism upon a silver platter. This is absurd. We will get nothing except that which must from the inexorable course of evolutionary progress be given us.

We must get our exact due; no more, no less.

Socialism is something that will essentially be of benefit to the whole human race, and inasmuch as the individual only lives by and through the racial life it is fundamentally instinctive with him to sacrifice his individual life for the sake of the racial life.

This racial instinct for the individual to sacrifice himself for the whole is equally strong within all of us as far as class

distinctions are concerned. It may vary in individuals, but I doubt if any particular variance can be found according to class. This instinct manifests itself in many ways; going to war "to save the Union" was a very popular way to display it about forty years ago. Certainly no one would say that either in the South or the North was the eagerness to enlist determined by the fact a man was in the working class or the capitalist class. A child falls off a ferryboat; a man plunges in to save it. The chances are the plunger is a poor man, but the chances are such simply because there are many more poor than rich and not because a rich man is not about as likely to risk his life to save the child as a poor man.

Hence simply as far as racial instinct is concerned, a rich man may be as likely to advocate Socialism as a poor man, and the fact that certain rich men do advocate Socialism is in evidence.

But Socialism like war not only affects the race as a whole, but the individuals in particular.

The individual may be more influenced by the effect on himself or his class in particular than by the effect upon the race in general. If he is a working man, he has, as Marx declared, nothing but his chains to lose and a world to gain. The only excuse an American working man can have for not being a Socialist is a defective intellect. If he is a rich man, he may hastily conclude that it is better to let things remain undisturbed, bad as they are for most people, as long as they are fairly good for him. He is not forced to do disagreeable work; he has all the good things of life that he wants. His racial consciousness is not so pronounced as to make him feel that he cannot enjoy his life without having all other men enjoy it. Thus it may be and usually is that the rich man opposes socialistic legislation inasmuch as it tends to diminish his present-day pleasures.

However, in this same rich, selfish man the racial instinct exists even though it may lie dormant. We have often had examples of rich men pursuing their end of money-getting in a most relentless way and then bequeathing their wealth for the general good.

There is no man but that would do good for the race if he felt the doing of it would not result in evil to himself individually, and there are many men who will do good for the

race even if it mean death to themselves individually. Between these extremes lies all human nature.

I may not willingly give up my bag of gold, but if I find myself in danger of drowning from its weighing me down, it does not mean I have suddenly become of a more generous nature when I then willingly give it up.

I believe the industrial evolution has proceeded so far that a crisis is about at hand that will practically make all of us see the absolute necessity of most heroic measures being taken to meet it. I think a huge unemployed problem of unexampled proportions is about to develop. It would be here now were it not that certain unanticipated events having raised the price of wheat and cotton so high that our farmers are in position to buy goods of our manufacturers for home consumption to such an extent that overproduction is being unexpectedly relieved. However, all this is but temporary. The day of joy for the cotton and wheat growers will not last forever.

When this crisis occurs, it will not take any study of Marx for the people to understand that something must be done to relieve the situation.

Millions of unemployed men mean millions of dollars lost to the capitalists.

There will be a national demand for national action, much as there was a national demand for the President to intervene at the time of the great coal strike.

This will not be particularly a class demand, it will be a demand from the whole nation, because the whole nation will be affected. The demand for the settlement of the coal strike was not a working-class demand, it was a national demand. It was particularly a demand from the general public, who were being put to such inconvenience by the stoppage of the coal supply.

When the demand for national action becomes pressing enough, then if the President does not appoint a National Committee there will be a Committee formed somehow and some way. The National Demand must have an organ to express that demand, and not only to express it, but to carry out its wishes.

This demand in the early stages of the crisis will be very indefinite. It will be merely a demand that "something" be

done, something, anything to relieve the crisis. It will be a demand of such an indefinite character and there will be so little revolutionary in it that the most conservative people will join in the cry for it. It may be nothing more than a general plan for the Nation to give work at nominal pay to the unemployed. It will be such a mild demand that even the most religious and charitable people will join in the movement. However, as the first attempts to brush back the sea of revolution with the broom of charity will be seen to be ineffectual, more decided measures will be agreed upon as being necessary. I say "agreed" upon, for my picture of the future is a NATIONAL COMMITTEE hastily called together by the nation and having a mandate to settle the crisis. If mild remedies do not avail, then severer and severer ones must be used until at last the heroic dose of Socialism will be administered as the only possible remedy adequate to save the nation's life.

At the beginning of things Socialism will not be generally thought of. It will only be the inexorable logic of events piling upon themselves with terrifying rapidity that will finally bring the conservative members of the Revolutionary National Committee to see the necessity of Socialism. And even when they do "see it" they will probably only regard it as a temporary remedy and think that conditions will after awhile simmer down so that we may go back to the old times of competition and private ownership.

It will be necessary to give bread to the workers in New York City. Wheat in Minnesota must be requisitioned, elevators must be operated to transfer the wheat from boats to cars, Vanderbilt's railways must be taken and operated by the Government as if in war time to bring the wheat from the West to the Atlantic. This will be at the final stage of the crisis, when trying to feed the people with the machinery of production under private guidance has proved a failure. The Government is forced to take over the machinery. This taking over will most probably be looked upon, as said, as quite as much a mere temporary affair, such as was the taking over of a railway in the Civil War. But there will never recur a time when the steps can be retraced and private ownership restored. This to me is the likely course of the revolutionary process by which we will be landed into Socialism.

I think we will never have Socialism until the working class become conscious of being a class and a disinherited class, and until as the result of this class consciousness they struggle as a class for the institution of a society in which they will be equal participators with all at the festal board of humanity.

But I do not think the working class will become class-conscious until material conditions, in the course of economic evolution, have prepared the ground for this consciousness to manifest itself. The chicken's brain is not developed until after its body is developed and until it is physically ready to emerge from its shell and live a new life. But the very economic conditions which develop the class consciousness of the poor also develop the class consciousness of the rich. When the poor realize that the present competitive system means death to society, the rich will also realize it, and they too will see the necessity of surrendering to the inevitable.

It is true that inasmuch as the poor are in the vast numerical majority it may be argued that even if the rich do not peaceably surrender they can be forced to do so by the superior power of the poor. True enough, but that the rich should enter into a palpably hopeless struggle against both the Will of Man and the Will of God is too insane an idea to be entertained.

I say the Will of God, and by that I mean the economic development of industry, for after all when we say God's Law or God's Will we simply mean a progress of events which is so in the nature of things that no one who recognizes the reason of the progression will attempt to interfere with it. There are not many Canutes who nowadays try to force back the tide with a broom.

We Socialists, who hold to the materialistic conception of history, would have to admit of having a ridiculously low conception of the intelligence of the rich if we would deny the possibility of the rich recognizing the break down of the present system when the evidences of it were so palpable that an idiot could not fail to see them.

As materialists we must concede that both a rich man and a poor man must at a certain final stage of the progress of evolutionary development of society see the inevitability of the wreck of our competitive ship of state.

A land lubber may not see any cause for worry when he

hears a distant sound and yet the captain may know that the sound is of breakers upon a reef and that the ship cannot possibly escape. The lubber may not see danger this moment, but it only requires a near enough approach to the reef and a loud enough roar of the breakers to make him see danger just as clearly as the captain.

The lubber may be in the steerage or in the first cabin, but whatever his status, when the ship is near the rocks, he will know that it must be wrecked.

If in the steerage, it may be that the food and lodging he is getting are such that he would be looking forward to the termination of his voyage with more impatience than if he were in the cabin. He might therefore see the shore quicker because he would be wishing for the voyage end more intently, but even so it's only a question of hours when the man in the cabin will see the shore, be it reef or dock, quite as plainly as the steerage passenger.

This metaphor is not exact; no metaphor is. Perhaps, if I had used the word galley-slave instead of steerage passenger, it would have been nearer the mark, but even that would not be quite exact.

The ship of state is not being propelled onward by forces with which the passengers have nothing to do. Its movement is the resultant of the action of class upon class. It becomes socially conscious as the resultant of such interaction. Socialism will result when we become *socially* conscious of its desirability and its necessity.

This *social* consciousness is the resultant of the *class* consciousness of the poor working upon and against the *class* consciousness of the rich.

It is absurd to deny that class consciousness will not develop with either rich or poor, and it is absurd to deny that the two classes will not as classes oppose each other, but it is also absurd to say that there will be no resultant as the effect of the meeting of these two opposing forces.

The resultant is the social consciousness that will make us realize the necessity of Socialism.

Those young beginners in Socialism who deny the necessity of the class struggle and class consciousness, however, are no more unscientific than those older heads who would have us believe that it is merely the class consciousness of the working

class that is to guide society in its final movement to Socialism.

We must finally depend upon the *social* consciousness, but to-day it is too early to rely upon that force. We must first have each class conscious of its position and have a definite struggle between these two classes before we can look for any effective social consciousness.

Meanwhile the position of the Socialist must necessarily be upon the side of the working class, even though he may look forward to a future where there will be no classes and no class struggles.

The class struggle is a necessity to develop that class consciousness which is the prelude to the social consciousness which will lead society to welcome the change to Socialism.

## EFFECT OF THE EARTHQUAKE ON SOCIALISM

**T**HE earthquake in California by the destruction of some hundreds of millions of dollars of property will help enormously toward continuing "prosperity" in this country. What the present competitive system needs above all things else is a "market." The earthquake will force California to be the largest and best buyer in the world for the next two years. The rebuilding of her fallen cities will stimulate business not only throughout the United States, but indeed throughout the world. California will not only have the hundreds of millions of insurance money to spend, but she will borrow millions in addition. There will be no shortage of money. I have been saying that unless we had a great war that a profound period of depression was sure to appear within two years in this country as the result of an inevitable over-production. I now retract my prophesy. I did not count on an earthquake. I now wish to extend the time; the California earthquake should put off the crisis at least one year longer. In the meanwhile there should be a great boom in the stocks of all kinds of railways and industrial corporations and real estate. Even land values in San Francisco will finally rise far beyond values just before the earthquake.

There is now some twaddle about San Francisco not being rebuilt, because people, it is said, will be afraid to live there hereafter.

The man that talks this way must have a theory that men live in certain particular places because they are health resorts. Men must live where they do to get a living.

San Francisco is the natural port of the Pacific Ocean, she has the best harbor in the world, with such advantages it will always pay men to trade there, and therefore there will always be men to be found where there is good pay.

It will not be six months before we will sing the praises of.

the courageous men who, as if by magic, made San Francisco spring from its ashes.

If danger would keep men away from their occupations there would be few men working in our white lead factories, our coal mines, our tunnel work under rivers.

Does the fact that every year tens of thousands of men are killed and injured prevent our railways from hiring all the men they want?

San Francisco might have an earthquake every month and yet there would be no difficulty in hiring all the men one might want there.

The aid extended from all parts of the world to the stricken people in California shows how strong is the instinct of the brotherhood of humanity which lies latent in the breast of all of us. It also showed us that the brotherhood does not stop at national boundary lines, as Roosevelt by his negation of foreign aid for California would have it do.

Without that instinct the world indeed would be a chaos. On the other hand, the necessity of martial law to prevent looting of the ruins by thieves shows that the competitive system has so deeply demoralized men that they will take advantage of their brother men even in such a state of universal calamity.

The earthquake has at once shown us the best and the worst in us.

The world lost far more in the death in Paris of Professor Curie, the man who with his wife discovered radium, than it lost in all the burnt buildings of San Francisco.

## THE FALLACY OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

**A**S an interested spectator I attended a convention called last month at Louisville, Ky., to effect a union of all reform parties with the Populist party. The so-called Public Ownership party, however, was the only party besides the Populist party that sent official representation. There were about 75 delegates in all, and they adopted the name of Allied People's Party as their future cognomen, with a platform which had little in it beyond a demand for Public Ownership of Public Utilities and for the Initiative and Referendum. The convention adjourned on April 5, and that night an open meeting was held in the convention hall at which I had the honor of being the principal speaker. I was very glad of the opportunity afforded me to explain to the Populist delegates the difference between the Socialist theory of politics and that of the Populists, and I am confident that my remarks will bear considerable fruition.

The Populists are to-day ripe for Socialism, and in fact all of them are rather hurt if you question their Socialism. However, as a matter of fact, I think very few of them have any political ideal other than the present competitive system, tempered with Public Ownership and controlled by the Initiative and Referendum.

Now, let me say at once that I, too, am in favor of the Initiative and Referendum and of Public Ownership. I advocated on the stump and in the press both these important measures five years before the Populist party was born, and I to-day would be the first to agree that of all *reform* measures these are probably the most important. I would not say that if I thought either one of them could be gained at once by dropping the Socialist program and concentrating upon them I would not feel justified in joining in such a policy. It is not that I am impatient for the whole program or that I decry the importance of these measures that I refuse to bother with them, but it is because I think the best way to get the part is to demand the whole, if it is not

indeed easier to get the whole than any of its parts. In the first place, in order to get the people to move you must give them a reason for moving.

The mere fact that a man has arms is no reason why he will work unless he finds some reason for the working. I use my arms to get my dinner, and if there is no dinner in prospect my arms will not be used. It is so with the Initiative and Referendum. I must first have something to get by political power before I will want political power. Then if I find that the present representative system does not afford me the machinery to get what I want, and I think that Direct Legislation will enable me to accomplish my desires, I will work for the Initiative and Referendum. But in order to get me to work for it you must first show me what I am to get by having such a political reform.

Now, every Socialist sees a great ideal in Socialism, and therefore he takes a great interest in any political measure that promises him an easier method than he now has of gaining his ideal. Hence we see in certain European countries, notably Belgium at present, that the Socialists are at the forefront in demanding universal suffrage.

In this country we have universal suffrage, but the people are such fools that they do not know how to use such a complicated weapon, and so Socialists favor giving them a more simple way of expressing their views at the polls; and therefore they are in full sympathy with the demand for Direct Legislation. It has been a cardinal plank in their political platforms for twenty years or more. Now, the ideal that the Populists are holding up to the people to be gained by Direct Legislation is that of Public Ownership of Monopolies. The question to be decided is whether such an ideal in any way can be held to be a better vote-getter than that of Socialism. Granting that both Public Ownership and Socialism are equal in their practicability, and that one could be put in operation, if the people willed it, as soon as the other, there is absolutely no comparison between the two programs simply as ideals. Socialism is heaven. Public Ownership, at best, is a third-rate boarding house. However, the Populist would answer that Public Ownership has the advantage of being more easily understood and that it is something the people are ready to adopt right now, whereas

Socialism is now looked upon by most people, at best, as only a beautiful dream and quite outside the realm of practical politics. That the tremendous majorities given last month in Chicago for Public Ownership is conclusive evidence that the people are ready right now for such a program. Now, facts are stubborn things, and if the vote expressed by the Referendum in Chicago is indicative of the sentiment throughout the United States, and I admit it is to a certain extent, and if a political party can be built upon such a sentiment, then certainly the Public Ownership policy is a good political policy for the new Allied People's party to adopt. However, I doubt if any political party can be built upon a policy of Public ownership. I believe that both Democrats and Republicans will adopt such a program in its entirety if they see that they must do so in order to win. The vote in Chicago was not a party vote, and I do not think there has yet ever developed a division between the old parties on the question of Public Ownership. No sooner will the sentiment of Public Ownership become powerful enough than every candidate of every party will declare in its favor. He will do this to insure his election, and even though he may not intend at the time of his declaration to carry out his pledge, yet with the growth of sentiment upon the subject there can be no fear of the will of the people not being carried into effect. The movement toward Public Ownership coincides with the interests of such a large proportion of the population and runs counter to so few that I cannot see the possibility of any party being formed to oppose it. It would seem if no party will take ground against Public Ownership, that then it would follow that there is no necessity to form a party to carry it into effect, simply because the existing parties will carry it forward to preserve their existence.

Moreover, the sentiment for Public Ownership, with the exception as far as it relates to railroads and telegraphs, is very likely to be of a local nature. Chicago demands Public Ownership, not so much because she has any great idea of the benefits of such ownership, but because she has had a very full experience of the iniquity of private ownership. Many cities have not had the advantage of such able and courageous instructors in political economics as has Chicago

with her boodle aldermen. And even where a city has had considerable attention paid to her education in this regard, like my native city of Cincinnati, for instance, it does not seem to follow that any great amount of benefit always results. I was in Cincinnati last month at the time the election returns from Chicago came in, and was informed by people, who seemed competent to judge, that there was no such sentiment in Cincinnati as was shown in Chicago for Public Ownership. Now, Cincinnati has been for years notoriously under the domination of the Gas Co., the Street Railway Co. and the Telephone Co., who have a beautiful combination to rob her of all she may possess, yet she has not even yet made up her mind to have a change. Then there are many cities that either do not have such a particularly bad service from their private corporations that there has been any sentiment aroused, and what occurs in Chicago or Cincinnati has no direct interest to them. Then, again, it might be that Chicago would be successful in her demand for the municipal ownership of her public utilities. The moment this occurred she would fall out of line from those fighting for Public Ownership, as she, having gained her own ends, would have nothing to fight for; and no matter how much she might be interested from the altruistic standpoint, in, say, Cincinnati, since she could not vote in the Cincinnati elections, such feelings would not carry much political weight. It also must be remembered that more than half the population of the country live on farms and in small villages, where there is not now, nor ever can be, any purely municipal problems to be solved, hence as the Populist party is born of the farmers, it cannot look for farmers' support upon a municipal public ownership platform.

There then remains the consideration of a platform being successful with the people that depends upon a demand for public ownership of railways and telegraphs and natural monopolies. That the sentiment in this direction is growing very fast cannot be denied, but that it will crystallize into a party platform and be opposed by other party platforms I very much doubt. There are vast numbers of people who are so indirectly affected by the railway tariffs that it will probably be very difficult to arouse their support. For instance, a city laborer will be a very difficult man to con-

vince that government ownership of railways would help him as much as a ton of coal in the cellar sent around by "Bath-House Tim," the president of Tammany Club No. 6. What the laborer is interested in is not the farmer nor the merchant, but himself. He wants first and foremost a job, and after he has a reasonable assurance of the job he then commences to think of a little better wages. Beyond this idea the average laborer seldom rises, and nobody can blame him who remembers that self-preservation is the first law of nature.

Let us, for the moment, consider the ideal presented by a complete system of public ownership of "monopolies," both municipal and national. And by "monopolies" I mean not *all* the means of production and distribution, but a selected few, such as the gas and water supplies, etc., of cities, the railroads of the country and possibly a few of the trusts. We already know from the experience of other cities and countries that Public Ownership, while having many advantages over private ownership, is no solution of the labor problem. I remember well that the one sight that impressed itself upon me in Glasgow was the number of miserable women seen in the wet streets puddling about with bare feet, and usually with bare heads. This is something I have never seen in Paris or London or New York. Now, such a picture is not a reassuring one of the benefit to labor flowing from municipal ownership. It must be remembered that Glasgow owns all her public utilities, including the street-car lines. To-day we are hearing of a threatened social revolution in Belgium, yet Belgium is *par excellence* the country of Public Ownership. Not only are the municipal utilities owned by the cities, but the State owns the railways and telegraphs, and yet Belgium is no Utopia.

Public Ownership upon the lines laid down as above simply means a certain probable benefit to those workmen who happen to be employed in the utilities taken over by the public, and a further benefit to the public that is served by the said utilities. However, this last benefit may be of but very temporary duration as far as the economy of the service is concerned. In the first place, it is not at all certain that the economy will be very great if wages of employees are raised and hours shortened, and even if it is marked,

then it is almost a certainty that the price received by the shippers will in most cases recede by competition to a point where all that was gained by a lowering of freight rates will be lost.

As far as the trusts go they now charge all the traffic will bear for their goods, and those that are not nationalized will naturally gain for themselves any advantage in the lowering of freight rates; but I do not see where either their employees or the consumer will come in. The farmer shipping wheat would, of course, gain by a lowered freight rate, as the price of wheat is not fixed by competition limited to this country, but is fixed in the world market. Hence, anything he may gain in economy of transportation or production he will get. But the wheat farmer is not the typical farmer. If he were, then certainly the farmers would be fools not to favor nationalizing railways. If the Public Ownership policy were carried into effect it would simply mean that those holders of the private wealth not nationalized would get all the profits that now go to the whole body of the holders of private wealth.

If the Vanderbilt railways were nationalized, then Vanderbilt would buy up the flour mills and get his profits out of them instead of out of the railways.

It must always be remembered that under the competitive wage system the whole of the product, above and beyond what must be given as wages to the laborers in order that they can buy enough to keep themselves alive, falls to the capitalist class, under the various names of rent, interest and profits. Public Ownership can do nothing but effect a different method of division among the capitalists. The laborers must remain where they are as long as the competitive wage system prevails. To-day we see the beef trust raising its prices to unheard-of rates. What does this mean? Does it mean that the workman will eat less meat? Not necessarily; he may think that he must have what he has been accustomed to, and that if he must pay more, then he will either strike for higher wages to allow a continuance of his usual rations of beef or he will cut off on some other portion of his expenditure, say his sugar or his coal oil. But whatever he does, it means that for the time being, until some other trust puts up its price, the Beef Trust will

be just so much ahead on account of its raise of price if the workman eats as much meat as he did before. Now, suppose the Sugar Trust pumps up its price. Again, the workman may either strike for more wages or he may eat less sugar, or he may eat the same amount and cut down his bread allowance. If he eat the same amount, then the Sugar Trust gains so much and some other trust loses so much. It's a very pretty game this now being played by the Trusts, one against the other, each seeing how high he can put prices and each knowing that the higher he puts his price to the workman, then the less there is for the other fellows.

Now, if we had municipal ownership of street cars and Tom Johnson's 3-cent-fare program, it would simply mean that there would be a swoop of the capitalists down upon that two cents the workingman saved, each trying to carry off the whole of it. The workman would not hold it long enough to get it warm before the landlord would tell him that, owing to the great demand for houses incident to the lower street-car fares he was very sorry to inform him that land values and rents had gone up, and that, therefore, hereafter he must expect to pay an advanced rent for his house. The landlord might also tell him that it would not be felt because the saving on car fare that he and his family would make every month would offset the increase in rent. Then, if there were anything left, the Beef Trust might find it out and put up the price of his beef, and so on right down along the line until the two cents would simply be a misty memory.

However, the main indictment I have against a political program limiting itself to Public Ownership is the one I dwelt mostly upon in my speech before the Allied Party Convention. It is that it takes no note of the tendency of our industrial development to shortly present to this country for solution a great unemployed problem. The trusts mean that the creation of new machinery, which has so long given employment to labor, is now about to come to an end simply because there is no new machinery to create. Public Ownership is absolutely no solution of this problem, inasmuch as the reason of the unemployed exists in the competitive wage system which the Public Ownership people do not seem to have the faintest idea of abolishing. There

is but one way of abolishing the competitive wage system, and that is by the substitution of the co-operative wage system, otherwise Socialism.

The argument that Socialism is impracticable, while Public Ownership is practicable, is just the reverse of the truth. In the first place, as said, it is Public Ownership that is impracticable, because it will fail to answer the most important of all the political questions of the future, namely, that of the unemployed problem. In the next place, even if we had no unemployed problem, the Nationalization of Industry, if put into effect upon any considerable scale, would create such a revolutionary change in our industrial and financial affairs that it would surely be a precursor of a revolutionary social movement.

Suppose we accomplish the first impossibility and get the trustowned U. S. Congress to either grant us the Initiative and Referendum, by which we could get Public Ownership ourselves, or grant it to us direct.

To me it seems absurd that either of these events could take place. The trusts may make some concessions to public opinion, but they will hardly commit suicide.

However, suppose Congress does Nationalize the Trusts and the Railroads. Of course, in any partial nationalizing process manifestly we must pay the owners for their property. They must be paid, for confiscation would mean revolution right then and there. Hence, there would be placed in their hands an enormous sum of floating capital in the shape of cash or bonds, and those owners would have the rest of the world at their mercy.

It would mean that when Mr. Rockefeller sold his Standard Oil Trust, and Mr. Morgan his Steel Trust, and Mr. Vanderbilt his Railway Trust to Uncle Sam, that those three gentlemen would have in their hands funds enough to give them the control of the whole of the remaining industries in the United States that had not been nationalized. Those three men could—and not only could but undoubtedly would—expropriate every last one of the smaller capitalists whose business had not been sufficiently trustified to make the Public Ownership people think that it was necessary to nationalize them.

Hence I declare that Public Ownership is a poor platform

politically because it fails to hold up any great ideal to arouse the enthusiasm of the people. It is a poor platform economically, because it would fail to answer the unemployed problem, and moreover, it could not possibly be put in operation without causing a social revolution. It is a poor platform ethically because it recognizes the right of a class, and a class no better because somewhat smaller than the present capitalist class, to live off the fruits of the toil of another class.

## COFFEE, CURRANTS AND ORANGES

**A**S a very tangible evidence of the inability of society to distribute the wealth that is produced under our present competitive system, it is interesting to note the overproduction of three great staple products, viz.: coffee in Brazil, currants in Greece, and oranges in California.

Ordinary agricultural products, such as wheat or corn, which are planted from year to year, can be restricted in production when the price falls too low by the simple process of refraining from planting. But with a crop like oranges, growing in orchards requiring great expense in the planting and culture for years before maturity, it is self-evident that one or two years of low prices will not incite the growers to lose all the money invested by abandoning their orchards. The same applies to the coffee plantations and currant vineyards. It is to be remembered that an orchard neglected goes to ruin. Hence when overproduction ensues in crops of this nature the planter is face to face with a very serious problem. He must go to the expense of taking care of his orchard and he has a crop forced on his hands which he cannot dispose of.

From the following item, taken from the *New York Commercial* of recent date, it will be seen the conditions in Brazil are so desperate that the Government is proposing to destroy one-fifth of the crop:

The forty-fifth annual report of the Chamber of Commerce for the official year 1902-3 was made public yesterday. The proceedings of the Chamber for the year ending April 30, 1903, together with the roll of members, officers and committees, constitution and by-laws, comprise the first part of the volume. The second part contains trade reviews and statistical statements of trade and finance.

The report says: "The coffee markets of the world have been overshadowed by the enormous yield of the Brazilian crop, which has been of increasing rather than of diminishing proportions, and has afforded very little opportunity for the development of bullish features. The crop of 1901-1902 was more than the whole world's yearly consumption, and this was followed by a crop that very nearly equaled it in size, while the present prospect is that the crop due July 1 will exceed all its predecessors, the estimates foreshadowing a production of 16,000,000 bags.

"This enormous expansion is the result of the plan of agricultural development adopted several years ago, and which resulted in converting a large acreage of wild land into coffee plantations. The new trees, which require three years to mature, have gradually swelled the proportions of the crop, until now planters are just as anxious to restrict the yield, and various plans have been discussed, but the only one that has in any way materialized is the tax in kind levied in the State of San Paulo, which is to go in operation July 1; under the provisions of this law planters will be required to hand over to the Government 20 per cent. of their shipments.

"Thus, if an order for 1,000 bags is received, the planter will be required to send to the Government agent 200 bags to be destroyed, that is, burned up. It is said that this measure cannot be practically carried out, and that it will fail, especially as it is to be enforced in only one of the five coffee-growing States. During the month of August a New York syndicate, that had a large speculative interest in the market, endeavored to advance prices by manipulation, but although they were aided by a temporary drought and a light frost, they relinquished the contract."

In Greece, where there is an overproduction of currants—it may be said the currants of commerce are not currants in the American sense of the word, but are a small grape, grown upon a vine like any other grape—the Government is also arranging to have part of the crop destroyed and passing strict laws against the further extension of planting. In California the orange growers are not sufficiently organized as yet to have part of the oranges destroyed in order to be able to sell the remainder at a living profit, but there is no question but this is what must be done ultimately. The price of the surplus determines the price of the whole. If the surplus sells at a loss, the whole crop sells at a loss. If, for instance, there are a million boxes of oranges for sale, and there is a demand for only 900,000, then the extra hundred thousand must be slaughtered at any price, and the price upon this hundred thousand will make the price for the whole million. It is evident, therefore, there being a market for 900,000, that it is better to destroy the 100,000 and get a living price for the remaining 900,000 than to try and sell the whole million at a loss. The total returns to the growers for the 900,000 boxes at a high price, will be much better than for the million boxes at a low price.

The problem the California growers have to solve, however, is how shall the growers of the 100,000 boxes which would be destroyed, be compensated. To-day this would

necessitate a close organization of the growers, and in fact such a compact organization that it is very problematical whether it can yet be formed. The growers have not had enough discipline yet.

Of course all this discussion about destroying the fruits of the earth when so many people need them, would seem absurd if it be not always remembered that we are living under an absurd system. Here we have the earth so prolific that we are actually threatened with starvation unless we destroy some of the food which we have produced. When we abolish our competitive system and introduce a co-operative system of distribution, we will never raise more than we need, because production will be systematically planned; and if at any time we find that more labor is directed toward the production of a certain commodity than is needed, it will mean either a reduction in the hours of labor or the transfer of labor to some other industry. To-day our competitive wage system so limits the effective demand of the people that it is folly for us to expect consumption to keep up with production.

## FEUDALISM VERSUS CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA

**T**HE time is ripe for Capitalism in Russia to displace feudalism. Her industry is now far enough advanced to absolutely require Capitalism for further development, but hardly far enough advanced to require Socialism.

Feudalism was good enough for society when there were no machinery, no railroads, no factories; but with the growth of capital as the result of the invention and use of the steam engine and labor saving devices, Capitalism has developed, and naturally capitalists. The capitalistic class in Russia is a comparatively new class of men. The old ruling class, the nobility, the land-owning class, are now sneering and looking down upon them. Finally, however, when the value of capital becomes more weighty than the value of land, the capitalists of Russia will dominate the land owners, and capitalism supplant feudalism just as it has done in the rest of Europe.

However, that the Russian government does not foresee nor understand all this, is certain. For instance, such a little event as the following chronicled recently in the press is suggestive:

The Communal Court at Widzewo has ordered the Messrs. Coates, thread manufacturers, to pay their 800 employees for the time they have lost since December 30, when the factory was closed, until to-day.

The Court held that the plea offered by the manufacturers for closing their factory, that there was a scarcity of coal, was insufficient reason for shutting down their works, as coal was obtainable at high prices.

It seems to that feudalistic court of Widzewo that Coates & Co. ought to run their factory whether they make money or not, merely to keep their men employed and to avoid any disturbance to society. The mere fact that coal is high in price argues nothing to the court. The bankruptcy of capitalists like Coates & Co. is of no moment to it compared with the bankruptcy of the feudal system. In the feudal ré-

gime there was no such thing as people starving as long as there was food. Starvation then came from famine and under-production. To-day starvation comes from people being out of work merely because capitalists cannot make profits out of hiring them. Such a condition is quite incapable of being explained to one who entertains the feudal notion of things as does the Russian Government.

When the capitalist class supplants the land-owning class as the controlling force in politics, then there will be no more such absurdity as ordering the capitalist to run his mill when he cannot run it without losing money. In other words, the capitalist government will understand what is possible in the capitalist business, whereas the present feudal government of the Czar does not understand it. However, the mere understanding by a capitalist government of the impossibility of employing labor at any and all times under the capitalist system, does not go very far toward feeding the unemployed laborer. When he, too, understands this impossibility, he will be the first in demanding the abolition of the capitalist system itself and the inauguration of the Socialist system. This is what is now happening in America and is the logical sequence of events in Russia.

It might be cited that the interference of President Roosevelt between the strikers and the coal operators was only the same as that the Czar exercised in his interference with the strikers and the Coates Co. The essential difference, however, is in the fact that in one case the Czar ordered the capitalists to give work, whereas Roosevelt merely suggested that it be done.

Roosevelt has no power to do anything beyond mere suggestion. The assumption that the President is the head of the nation is quite absurd. The time when our political officers controlled things has passed coincident with the appearance of our Captains of Industry. They are the men who are now our real political leaders.

To-day the man that can give valid orders that workmen shall or shall not go to work in America, as does the Czar in Russia, is not Roosevelt, he is the capitalist, the man who owns the machinery of production. He is the only one who is in position to make his order effective. For instance, Mr. Roosevelt *suggested* that the operators arbitrate, whereas Mr. Corey,

the President of the Steel Trust, autocratically ordered the coal operators to arbitrate with the miners, saying that if they did not do so, he would break his coal contract.

“The Steel Trust must have coal, and you must pay your workmen sufficient wages to get it. We pay you enough for your coal, and we will not allow you to cut us off of coal and make us shut down our steel mills, in order that you can gouge a little more profit out of your workingmen.”

This order from Corey to Baer was imperative and had its immediate effect whereas the suggestion from Roosevelt was received with considerable irritation by many of the coal operators who said the President had no right to interfere. It was none of his business; but when Corey, the president of the Billion Dollar Steel Trust, spoke, there was not a single coal operator that dared peep.

## AN EASY WAY TO WEALTH, WISH FOR IT

**T**HERE are very few satisfied in this world, whether they be rich or poor, although most of the poor think if they were only rich, they would have no trouble in finding the joy of life.

Inasmuch, as is well known, 1 per cent. of the population of the United States own more property than the whole of the remaining 99 per cent., it is a one hundred to one shot that the one who is reading this article will belong to the 99 per cent. class, and it is to him that I address myself.

You are dissatisfied, and if you are not, you ought to be dissatisfied because you are not rich, and now I am going to show you why you are poor, and how to get rich easily. This is not any programme, such as is usually presented, of saving your money and investing it in a deferred dividend policy in Papa McCurdy's New York Mutual Life Insurance Co.

You probably are either getting wages or a salary of some sort. I say this because most of the people who are poor in this country belong to the wage-earning class. You are, of course, a reader of the newspapers, and love to hear about the enormous material prosperity of this country. For instance, I quote the following from the morning "*Tribune*" of October 5th:

### "AN ERA OF PROSPERITY."

"There are signs on every hand these days of overflowing national prosperity. The United States is to harvest this year the biggest corn crop it has ever grown and the biggest wheat crop in its history, with one exception. Our exports and imports will break all records. Immigration is reaching a new high-water mark. Our iron and steel output will be the largest ever known, and we shall touch a new high level in coal production. It was announced the other day that postal receipts for 1904-05 had exceeded those for 1903-04 by \$10,000,000. The Post Office Department's money-order business showed a gain for the year of 20 per cent.—an unerring evidence of widely diffused prosperity. Now come

Dun's and Bradstreet's reports on commercial failures in the United States for the first nine months of 1905 to testify to steadily improving trade conditions."

There is no questioning these statements. That the nation is certainly getting richer is unquestionable, but the question is not about the nation, but about you, little you, are you getting richer? The statistics issued by the United States Commissioner of Labor show that during the last year wages have been practically at a standstill, although the cost of living has materially advanced. Hence, if you are the average man of the wage-earning class, you are not as well off as you were last year, notwithstanding the increasing prosperity of the country. No one takes less wages than he can get, or pays more for his beefsteak and his potatoes than he must. The condition which forces you to take a low wage is that you know the job will be filled by some other man unless you accept what is offered, and the condition which makes you pay more for your food is that you go hungry unless you pay the price asked.

What I am trying to get at is that you have no choice in the matter at all. You have to accept conditions as they are, and what applies to you applies to all other members of the working class. The reason wages are low is merely because there are plenty of men who are willing to accept low wages, and if one refuses to take what is offered, he finds the place filled by some one else who will take what is offered.

It is competition against the unemployed man that makes wages low, and unless you can remedy this competition, it is obvious there is no way of your becoming better off, no matter how prosperous the country may become.

In other words, what must be done is to get rid of the "unemployed" man. That is the problem. What do you mean by an unemployed man? You do not think of a man who is of a leisure class and who does not work because he has an independent income, as being of the class designated by the word "unemployed." Mr. Vanderbilt's son or Mr. Rockefeller's son may be quite "unemployed," and yet you do not feel any competition from them. The unemployed man you fear is the man who has no income unless he is at work. There can be no doubt that if a man is hungry and wishes food, he will not stay long in that condition, if he can work and get something to feed himself. A savage in the woods will catch a fish

or shoot a deer, and thus satisfy his hunger. But the modern civilized man cannot go out and catch fish or shoot deer whenever he happens to be hungry. He must get food the way everyone else does; that is, by earning money. The only way he has of getting money is to sell his labor to someone who will buy it, and with the wages which are paid him in exchange for his labor he will buy the food he wishes. However, it often happens that it is not so easy to find a man who wishes to hire him. Some political economists have endeavored to prove that somewhere in the world there is always an employer ready to hire the unemployed man if one only knew where to find the employer. They make it appear that the reason there is difficulty in getting employment is solely on account of lack of knowledge of where work is in demand. This is quite a mistake. The employer himself can only give employment when he can sell what is produced, and as the working class are the principal consumers, since they constitute the greater part of the community, and as their powers of buying are restricted by the competitive wage system, it is not difficult to see that the employer himself has not an unlimited market for his goods, and, therefore, cannot furnish unlimited employment.

The earth is so very productive when man's labor is applied to it with modern machinery that it is very easy to produce more to eat and more to wear, that is, more of the plain necessities, than man needs or wants, and especially is it easy to produce more than he can buy, when we remember that his powers of buying are so limited by the Competitive Wage System. Therefore, it is clear that the employers are not in control of the situation, but can only hire men under certain conditions, viz.: That they can sell what is produced. Therefore, it is seen that the Competitive System not only prevents you from getting a decent wage when you are employed, but it also makes it often difficult for you to get any wages at all, owing to the fact that the employer cannot sell what is produced, and, therefore, cannot hire you to work. It is evident, therefore, if you wish to abolish poverty, the first thing to do is to consider a method of abolishing the Competitive System. However, the Competitive System does give us a method of distributing what is produced—although a very poor one—and, therefore, if you abolish it, you must be ready to sub-

stitute some other system to do the distributing. The Socialists propose that we substitute the Co-operative System for the Competitive System. This merely means that, instead of paying men upon the basis of how little their labor can be bought for, that they be paid upon the basis of what they actually produce. To-day the more a man produces, the more difficult it may be for him to get any wages at all, because the market may be flooded with goods, perhaps the very goods that he himself has produced, and, therefore, he cannot sell his labor, owing to there being no demand for his labor. Under the Co-operative System, the more he produces, the more he gets, because goods will be produced for consumption and not for profit.

To-day if you are working in a shoe factory and there is an over-production of shoes, it does not mean that *you* get more shoes than you know what to do with.

It means you lose your job. It means there are more shoes produced than can be sold, and, therefore, you do not get any shoes at all, for, naturally, you do not get money to buy shoes when you are out of work. If we had Socialism and there was over-production of goods, the hours of labor would be reduced to make consumption equal demand.

One essential point in connection with the Co-operative System which I have omitted to state, and which is a necessary part for a success of its operations, is the Public Ownership of the Means of Production. You have heard a great deal recently of Public Ownership. No doubt it has puzzled many people to understand how it is that Public Ownership is to be of any benefit to the working man, and especially to the unemployed man. One reason of this lack of ability to understand the advantage of Public Ownership is that it usually is not clearly explained. We to-day have Public Ownership of the Post Office, and yet that does not mean that a man can get employed at the Post Office at good wages merely because he is out of a job and the Post Office belongs to the Government. But if we had the Co-operative System co-joined with Public Ownership it would mean that any one wanting food or clothing, or any other form of wealth, would be at liberty to demand work from the community, and would be sure of not only getting work, but also of getting the full value of the work he might perform. He would be sure of this because it

would be simply utilizing for his own benefit the machinery of production, of which he himself would be one of the joint owners. Just exactly as the savage went out with his bow and arrow and shot the deer for his dinner. The bow and arrow were his "means of production," and the earth upon which the deer fed was also his without the asking of any permission from any landlord. However, although the savage had a complete ownership of his means of production, viz., his bow and arrow, yet he could only gain a most meagre living by the most strenuous work, because a bow and arrow are very poor tools of production compared with the modern machinery of to-day.

To-day the workingman, by his knowledge of labor-saving machinery, of steam and electricity, can produce a hundred times as much as the man in the days of savagery and the bow and arrow, but the trouble is that, with this increased production, he has lost the ownership of the means of production.

The tools of production to-day are the railroad, the grain elevator, the Steel Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Oil Trust, and various other great combinations of capital. The workingman cannot use machinery without first getting the permission of a capitalist owner, and getting that permission means being hired by the capitalists when they find that they can buy his labor and sell the product at a profit. Even though a railroad or a shoe factory were given to the individual workingman, absolutely free of cost, he would find it useless to him if he had to work it independently, inasmuch as the machinery of to-day requires collective management upon a large scale. If the workingman wishes to be able to use the modern tools of production, it is evident that not only must he own them in order to be free to use them, but also that he must organize with other workingmen upon a large scale in order to be able to use them. Capitalism has not only developed the tools, but has also developed the organization of workingmen to operate the tools; but it has not developed a system to equitably distribute what is produced. The only system which can properly and equitably distribute is, as has been heretofore stated, the Co-operative System. In order that the workingman may not only be able to operate the modern tools of production co-operatively, but to have the free use of these tools,

he must be the owner of the tools, and he must be organized with his fellow workingmen.

To go back to the illustration of the savage. Suppose there were two savages, and that the bow was so large that it required both men to bend it, and that the ownership of the bow vested in one of the men. It is obvious that the other man would not only have to get the permission of the owner of the bow, but, before he could use it, he would also have to get his help to bend it. Therefore, if he wished to be on the safe side regarding his supply of food, he would form a combination with the other savage, so that they would own the bow in partnership, and would agree to work it jointly and co-operatively and divide whatever game might be killed by it.

Similarly to-day, in order for the workingman to be sure of getting his food and clothing and other goods that he wishes, he must own the machinery of production, and must be organized to operate the machinery on the co-operative plan.

The only feasible way for such machinery as railroads and other great modern tools of production to be owned publicly is through the medium of government ownership. Public ownership is not such a difficult proposition to work out practically as it might seem to one who takes up the idea for the first time. Public ownership of the means of production is already in practical operation in a limited way in this country, as well as in foreign countries. We have the government ownership of the Post Office, and municipal ownership of gas and water works, and a few other such utilities. In Europe many cities own and operate their own street cars and telephone lines; some cities run public bakeries, and, in fact, there is hardly any single operation which is not carried on in one way or another in some part of the world by the government. There is little difficulty in showing that there is no machinery which cannot be operated by the government. The difficulty is to convince the people of the advantage in the government taking over the ownership and management of the public utilities, and it is indeed a very difficult task to show that there is any good in government ownership in itself. For instance, the English Government owns the telegraph system, whereas in this country it is in private hands, and yet the mere fact of public ownership in England of the telegraph system has not made

poverty any less prevalent there than it is in this country, where there is private ownership of the telegraph system. The point that is continually being missed is that it is not merely government ownership in itself that is to solve the problem of poverty; it is the Co-operative System that is to do it, and public ownership is the necessary basis for the Co-operative System. In other words, public ownership is distinctly a means and not an end. It is clear that as long as Mr. Rockefeller and other capitalists continue in the ownership of railroads and the great trusts of this country, there can be no co-operative system. They as owners, could refuse to allow the workmen to use these necessary means of production, and that would end the dream of co-operative distribution, for, without the machinery, there would be nothing produced to distribute.

I promised in the beginning of this article to show you how to get rich without any great exertion, and it seems to me that if you have followed my argument you will see that I have fulfilled my promise.

Labor and capital in this country can obviously produce much more food and clothing and other ordinary *necessities* of life than the public can ever consume. I say obviously, because, a hundred years ago, before we had much of any machinery, everyone in the country had a fair living, and as with the use of present machinery labor is at least twenty times as effective as it was before we had the machinery, it may be safely said that it will require only one-twentieth the work per capita required to produce the same quantities per capita of goods a hundred years ago.

The wealth of the country is here at the disposal of the voters, and, as the working class constitute the vast majority of the voters, it is merely a question of them realizing how to vote in order for them to inaugurate the Socialist System. Let them support the only party which demands the public ownership of the means of production and the co-operative system of distribution. This party is the Socialist Party. As long as we have our Competitive System, we must necessarily have the unemployed man. To get rid of the unemployed man we must place the ownership of the tools of production of the country in his hands and let him produce for himself what he wishes. With modern machinery this can only be done through collec-

tive action of the people, viz.: public ownership and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

It seems to me that I have given a very straight statement of how we may abolish poverty, how we may acquire wealth with practically no exertion. We simply have to wish for the earth in order to get it, and there is but one way to wish effectively for it; that is to vote for the Socialist Party.

Let the Nation Own the Resources of the Earth, the land, the machinery, the water power, the coal mines; let us make these natural powers work for us and produce the wealth that we all wish, and let us distribute that wealth co-operatively to ourselves.

## THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF A RUSSIAN SOCIAL REVOLUTION

**T**HE seizure of the Potemkin, the Russian battleship, by mutineers, and the cruising of it for ten days on the Black Sea, under the red flag of revolution, and its final surrender to Roumania, was somewhat more dramatic than significant.

The sailors did not revolt because of any abstract love of liberty and humanity, but because they were fed on rotten food, the result of their captain having grafted on the food contract.

The terrible economic conditions in Russia, combined with the supreme political power being in the hands of a weak, imbecile Czar, have naturally developed a large number of people with strong leanings to Socialism. Hence, when the mutiny on account of bad food occurred, the revolt not unnaturally partook of the appearance of a revolution. That the mutineers were scientific Socialists, bent upon organizing a social revolution in Russia, with a deliberately planned mutiny, is impossible.

As we have said before, we do not think a social revolution possible in Russia within the next twenty years, no matter how bad conditions may be. That the Czar may be deposed and in fact the whole Romanoff family driven from Russia, we admit is extremely likely. There may be even a considerable measure of nationalization of the land of the aristocracy, but this is as far as Socialism can go now in Russia. The establishment of a limited monarchy, let alone establishing a republic, seems to us almost impossible.

When peace is declared with Japan, and the army returns from Manchuria, no doubt Linevitch, or some other general, will make himself a dictator. There will be a general house-cleaning of the corrupt bureaucracy, and a man like De Witte will be put at the head of a general industrial reorganization, and, after a long period of turmoil, Russia will proceed upon

its inevitable course of economic evolution under the present competitive system of private property until she has developed sufficiently to make the taking over of the machinery of production not only practicable and desirable, but absolutely necessary.

Socialism is impossible in Russia at present except on one condition. The only thing that could possibly make Russia to-day a Socialist nation would be a social revolution in Western Europe, which, of course, may occur any day, since the economic conditions are already sufficiently ripened and the whole proletariat is impregnated with the Socialist ideal.

The following from the *Review of Reviews* throws light upon the question of a peasant revolt in Russia:

"A careful study of the entire peasant agrarian movement in Russia appears in the *Russkiya Vyedomosti*, by Dr. Maksimovich, a condensation of which is made by the monthly *Obrazovanié*. We summarize the version of the latter.

"The general features of the agrarian disorders have been practically the same all over the country, we are informed.

"The peasants usually informed the landlord in advance as to their proposed visit to his estate. In some cases a committee of peasants came and inspected the place and then announced that the peasants would come on a certain day. At the appointed time a stack of straw was set on fire, a bonfire built, or merely a large bundle of straw tied to a long pole and ignited, and at this signal a crowd of peasants gathered with their wagons. In some cases there were from five hundred to seven hundred of the latter. In one case (at Romanovka) the signal was given by sounding the fire alarm. The assembled peasants advanced on the estate, discharged guns at their approach, broke the locks of the granaries, loaded the grain on their wagons, and departed. The presence of the estate owner, or of the manager, did not at all embarrass them. They permitted him to witness the proceedings, and made no attempt to drive him off the place, yet they offered no explanations to him. They pillaged mainly the grain stores; other farm products were taken by them only in rare instances. Hence, they seldom disturbed any of the other farm buildings. In Prilyepy, the peasants carried off the grains, but did not molest the sugar refinery; in Petrovsk, they did likewise without disturbing the whiskey distillery.

They made no attempt, as a rule, to enter the dwellings. They demanded no money, with perhaps one exception. No violence was attempted, although in Vitich the local constable received a slight wound. As a rule, the peasants behaved with moderation. The same attitude was observed toward the government liquor stores. The peasants came there at night, previous to the descent on some estate, and demanded that the store be opened. After drinking whiskey, always in great quantities, they paid for it and departed. No violence was attempted against schools and hospitals, so that in a number of cases the estate-owners sought refuge in schoolhouses. The pillage was participated in by entire villages—men, women and youths. Among those arrested for robbery and confined in the prison at Syevak there is a blind beggar. His fellow-villagers had supplied him with a horse and wagon and helped him to load it with grain. In some cases only a part of the peasants in the village engaged in the pillaging of some estate, but later the remaining peasants, tempted by the example of their fellow-villagers, made a similar descent on some other estate. There was no systematic apportionment of estates among the different villagers, who at times came from distant places. It is stated that single peasants were compelled to join these pillaging expeditions under threat of violence, yet it is difficult to determine whether this was really so.

“As stated above, the peasants endeavored, on the whole, not to exceed certain limits, though they were not always successful in this. At times, under the stress of excitement, or under the influence of liquor, moderation was thrown to the winds and riot ran its course unchecked. In Glamazdin, the peasants not only pillaged the granaries, but set fire to the dwellings, outbuildings and distillery. The same fate overtook the distillery at Khinel, and the sugar refinery at Mikhailovsk. The riot at Khinel assumed a terrifying character. The mob, mad with drink, destroyed everything in their reach. The effect of these disorders on the estate-owners may be easily imagined. No one dreamed of resistance. With the arrival of larger bodies of troops the disorder ceased, but many disquieting rumors still persist. The peasants are said to have openly declared that they would not permit any spring operations on estate lands, and it is also stated that

they are trying to secure money in advance on work to be performed later in the season, boasting, meanwhile, that they would make no attempt to do that work.

"The causes of the disorders, both general and local, are quite complex, and are difficult to determine in all cases. One of them, indirectly is the war. The mobilization in the district of Dmitriev caused marked discontent among the peasants. Moreover, there are many wounded there returned from the Far East, who are in a miserable condition and desperate over their fate. Finally, something should be attributed to the belief prevailing among the peasantry that but few soldiers now remain in European Russia, for 'they are all in the Far East.'

#### WHY THESE MOVEMENTS FAIL.

"One of the questions that must have occurred to every one who has given any thought to these peasant movements is why we do not see more far-reaching consequences from them. Mr. Wolf Dohm, writing in the *Hilfe* (Berlin), points out that the occurrences in one place have ceased being news before reaching the next one.

"This became strikingly manifest during the disorders in Gomel. The property where I was stationed at that time is situated about one hundred kilometers from the town, a steamer running daily up the river, and the steamboat office is thirty kilometers from the estate. Yet the news about the massacre reached us first after a period of three to four weeks. Who is going to care any more about it after such a long time? People shake their heads, comment and criticize, but for prompt action the urgent necessity of the moment is gone. The impulse dies before it has been awakened. It is necessary to keep in memory the fact that 80 per cent of the whole population in Russia is scattered over the vast plains in little villages protected by the popes (priests). If there is revolution in Paris, it is revolution in France. Not so in Russia. The cries of the flogged and massacred people in the cities are not heard on the immense plains.

"The Russian peasant, the writer declares, is pious, patriotic, and devoted to the Czar. When the fall comes and the harvest has been gathered in, the functionaries of the government arrive and rob him of the toilsome profit of his work.

During the winter he suffers, consequently, great need. Yet the peasant is patient and hungers through the winter with his cattle. In the spring, weakened by the long fasting, it often happens that the cattle fall to the ground and die on the green meadow. The peasant suffers thus because he is by no means able to see the connection.

"And how can he? In this century of public-school education anybody would realize that the government is the cause of the evil. The Russian peasant thinks different. No, he says, the Czar and the government are not guilty. Guilty are the tax officers, because they steal; guilty are the judges, because they are bribed; guilty are, above all, the landlords, because they have much land, much corn, and many horses. If we only had more land, it would be different; but why do we not possess more land? The country is great, but it is divided since many years. Our children must go to the factories or emigrate to Siberia or the West. Land is too small, harvest is too small, and if I did not work in the woods during the winter I could not support my family. And why is this? Did not Czar Alexander give us the land, and did he not take it from the landlords? Why does not Czar Nicholas do the same? Whence does the landlord get the land? Land belongs naturally to man, and not to landlords. Does my field belong to me? No, it is county property. But why does the landlord own his land?

"Thus reasons the Russian peasant. When he is hungry, or when the military commission levies all men able to work and nobody is left to cultivate the land, he does not raise the cry of the intelligent laborers for a constitution, but calls for—bread. The peasant goes now to the property of the landlord and demands corn. If it happens to be no holiday and the peasant is sober, he is satisfied if he gets it and returns home. Furthermore, much will depend on how the new military commission will go to work. If they only take a few out of every village, the writer claims, everything will remain quiet. If they take many, the peasant will say, and we hear it already, if the government takes our men, we will take corn from the landlords, for how shall our wives and our children live?

"Here is indeed the key to the great Russian problem. So long as the government has nothing to fear from the peasantry,

it can without conscience continue the foul play of promises of improvements. This is the truth, and it is serious for many that are ready to sacrifice life and liberty for their country. On the vast plains sleeps the future of Russia—but where is the man to awaken it?"

This fully corroborates the position WILSHIRE's has taken.

The peasants cannot successfully revolt because Russia is not sufficiently industrially organized and educated to be nationally conscious. It is a jelly fish.

## A WORLD TRUST

Boston, Sept. 23.—A dispatch to the *Transcript* from Pittsburg says that two Pittsburg men, President James A. Chambers and Vice-President M. K. McMullin of the American Window Glass Co., are at the head of the effort to form a world's trust in window glass. A dispatch from Brussels says they have a four months' option in which to purchase all the salable glass factories in Belgium. When Messrs. Chambers and McMullin went abroad, it was with a view to making an agreement to curtail production and maintain prices at a profitable point. It is expected that they will return to Belgium in December.

The negotiations with independents, co-operatives and workers in America last spring were notably successful. A short fire has been secured, as the plants will not resume operations till November 1. All surplus stocks can be absorbed, and prices maintained at the present high level. Last year the window-glass business in America was aided by the Belgian strike.

I take the above from the *Evening Post*. It is always a matter of wonderment to me that the editor of that staid old paper can give such an item of news indicating a new and remarkable development of industry and then not give even a line of comment in his editorial column.

However, it is easy enough of explanation. He has nothing to say. The *Evening Post* for many years was the leading exponent of the *laissez faire* theory of political economy. Give us free trade and an honest administration and the social problem is solved, it said. When the trusts first appeared no paper was louder than it in denunciation of what it called the "brigands of commerce." Up to that time I myself had been more or less an admirer of the *Post*. I still persisted in the delusion that it was at least honest in its wrong theories. I wrote a number of letters to it in 1884-85 on the subject of trusts showing the injustice of blaming the capitalists for doing what the inexorable laws of trade forced them to do.

I was not a Socialist then, but had sense enough anyway to see the absolute necessity of the trust to the capitalist. The *Post* refused to publish any of my letters, much to my

astonishment, as I had thought until then that any one writing to them upon such an important subject as the trust would be sure of publication.

I have learned more about the art of modern journalism since then. The newspaper of to-day never, except as a matter of necessity, tells the truth unless the truth happens to correspond with what it thinks its readers like. At that time the *Post* thought its readers wanted the trusts denounced as inexcusable nuisances. To have me come along and offer a reasonable excuse for their formation and existence made it out silly to call for the abolition of the trust. As it could not answer me, it took the shortest way out of the difficulty by suppressing my letters.

I am the only editor who always stands by and publishes anybody's letter on any side of the political question.

However, I must withdraw part of my criticism of the silence of the *Post*. It at last delivered itself a week after the news of the International Glass combination and after I had written the foregoing. This is from its editorial of October 1:

The rapidity with which the Trust question has been coming to the front in Mexico has been plain from the progress recently made in railway consolidation in that country and the total reorganization of the country's industry upon the basis of the "community-of-interests" principle. The "small producer" is, as usual, putting in his complaint, and his request for relief. Mine-owners urge that the American Smelting and Refining Company, which has absorbed most of the mines and nearly all of the smelters in Mexico, is now closing some of the best mines in the Sierra Mojada region, in its effort to control the output and the price of ores. It is now stated that President Diaz is considering the advisability of putting a check upon the growth of trusts by officially prohibiting them. President Diaz may learn a useful lesson from the experience of the United States Congress, which prohibited Trusts by the Sherman Law with such effect that by 1900, according to Senator Hanna, "there was not a Trust in the United States." As it appears to be American capitalists that are causing trouble in Mexico, it may be that the Trusts have been driven to that country from the United States. It will be interesting to see where they will go when they have been driven out of Mexico by President Diaz.

Further dispatches attest the progress that is being made by American capital in competition with foreign. Recent announcements have given good ground for the belief that Americans may prove dangerous, not merely as sellers in European markets, but also as competitive producers on foreign soil. The most note-

worthy development of the sort was seen in the recent purchase of the English firm of Ogden's, Limited, by the American Tobacco Company—a step which has aroused serious apprehension not merely among English tobacco manufacturers, but generally throughout the whole field of British industry. Further progress in the direction of American control of foreign industry has now been made by the Glass Trust's acquisition of the Belgian glass factories at Charleroi. While the Trust has not succeeded in obtaining the entire ownership of the factories, it has acquired a large, if not controlling, interest. The Trust, with its enlarged scope, will now, it is thought, be able to govern the market and control wages. Taken in connection with other transfers of American capital to foreign fields of investment, these two encroachments must be regarded as highly significant. They indicate where the headship of industry is likely to be found in the future. They will be a source of disappointment to those who have laid stress on the difficulty of forming international combinations of capital. They will, however, bring new problems to the attention of governments, and may raise the practical question whether the governments themselves are stronger than the Trusts.

The *Post* is not unamusing when it wonders where the dear little trust birds will roost when Hanna shoos them out of this country and Diaz shoos them from Mexico.

It is still more amusing, although quite unconscious of it, however, in its plaintive query whether the trusts are stronger than the governments or not. The trusts some day may shoo the governments away and roost in the coop themselves, the *Post* evidently thinks.

Let me tell you, Dear *Post*, that the trusts moved in long ago and the governments are simply their tenants at will.

You don't believe it? Well, you did not believe me when I predicted ten years ago that American capital would be so superabundant in this country that it would be forced to invest in Europe.

## LEFT AT THE EVENING POST

With a suddenness that must be startling to those who note only the surface of events, Socialism has become a factor in our moral, political and industrial life. The Socialist vote for President last fall attracted a good deal of attention—more, perhaps, than in itself it deserved—but it was in no way a measure of the importance of the Socialist movement. And year by year, as science compels consolidations and co-operations on a scale impossible in the past, the collectivist proposals formulated by the German Jew, Karl Marx, out of the theorizings of the great French economists of the eighteenth century, are bound to receive more and more attention.

Whatever one believes about it, he must inform himself. For, while Mark Hanna's prediction that Socialism would be the storm center of the next great political battle in this country seemed exaggerated when he made it a few years ago, his farsightedness is already vindicated. To fight for Socialism, you must understand it; to fight against Socialism, you must understand it.

When I read the above in the *Saturday Evening Post*, I, naturally, came to the conclusion that Mr. Lorimer, the editor, meant what he said. I thought he was anxious that his readers should learn what Socialism really means.

He certainly says so plainly enough. He advises them that, whether they are for or against Socialism, it is necessary they should be properly informed about it. Mr. Lorimer did not attempt to tell them what it is, and thereby he rose still higher in my estimation, for it is a wise man who knows what he doesn't know.

Regarding Mr. Lorimer's editorial as an invitation to spread the doctrine of Socialism before the eyes of his readers I prepared a modest little advertisement of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE for the *Post*, and requested its insertion at the usual rates. It read about as follows:

**SOCIALISM!** Read it up! Ten cents for a whole year.

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, New York.

To my surprise the advertisement was refused. I say to my surprise because the same advertisement was readily taken by other magazines such as *The Outlook*, *The Independent*, *Success*, *Public Opinion*, *The Literary Digest*, etc.

I inquired for the reason of the turndown, offering to change the wording, but the *Post* replied that they "did not like the theme," which meant there was no loophole for Wilshire to enter.

Of course, all this is merely a surprising exhibition of business stupidity by people who are, usually, considered very up-to-date, yet who are so out of touch with the movement of the times that they do not know that the word "Socialism" is no longer a bogey to scare away readers and advertisers.

For instance items like this taken from the *New York Evening Post* are getting too common for us Socialists to quote:

The word Socialism pointed at any scheme ten years ago, would knock the scheme into a cocked hat. Now the word Socialism doesn't scare 'em. No one jumps when a scheme to buy the street railways of Chicago is proposed and voted on and carried. No one doubts but that municipal ownership of street railroads, gas, water, lights and power will be as prevalent in America twenty years from now as any political custom.—*Emporia Gazette* (Rep.).

The *Post* did not reject the advertisement because it is opposed to Socialism, for the *Post* is not opposed to anything that does not affect its pocketbook. It simply classes the word, or theme as it calls it, Socialism as it would class Hypnotism, or Matrimony, or Astrology, or Clairvoyancy, and other such words which are used in connection with certain advertisements which the publishing world dubs as "bad copy."

By this is meant copy that tends to lower the tone of the publication, and causes the withdrawal of higher-class advertisers, such as automobile manufacturers, etc.

But the *Post* is learning things, for I have in hand this moment its edition of May 13th. Its leading editorial is upon the Chicago election, and it is significant of the trend of the public opinion to see the *Post* speak so favorably of "municipal ownership." The cat has jumped and the *Post* at last knows which way to run. It says: "Voters of all cities everywhere are all in sympathy with Chicago. The people must reclaim their streets." It will some day say they must reclaim not only their streets but all their wealth.

It's only a step from municipal ownership to national ownership, and from national ownership to Socialism is only another step.

I have hopes that after we have Socialism the *Post* may let me use the word Socialism in its sacred columns. Who knows?

## THE STRIKERS AND THE MEAT TRUST

**T**HE strike of the Meat Trust workers and the consequential alarming and almost prohibitive rise in the price of meat throughout the country is a very clear illustration of the danger into which the trusts are dragging the country. When a few men can prohibit the nation from eating meat, and a few others can prohibit us from eating bread, we are not far off from a much more effective despotism than Nero ever conceived.

That the workers on strike have a most just cause is admitted by any impartial observer. The following, by Joseph Wanhope, is written by one who is perfectly familiar with the dreadful conditions of the trade in Chicago:

It is a strike against a reduction of wages, involving a cent per hour, but so narrow is the margin on which these hunger-tortured wretches exist, that the difference of a cent probably means life or death to them. At any rate, it was the last straw. They are now out, and the contest between empty stomachs and the capitalists' dollar is on.

Few people have any idea of the indescribable wretchedness in which these Chicago workers live. Right under the walls of the district, where perhaps more food is stored than on any other spot of a similar size on earth, the children of the unskilled workers precariously employed in the monster packing houses, may be seen standing at the gates begging for the scraps of food that might be left in the dinner-palls of the better-paid workmen. The district in which these unfortunates live is known in Chicago parlance as "back of the dump," a spot several acres in extent covered with the reeking garbage of the great city, and mixing its fetid odors with the ever-present stock-yard stench. Unpaved streets, with unfathomable mud-holes, dilapidated and unsanitary hovels, cheap saloons and gorgeous churches, most of the latter subsidized by the packers, abound. Politically, the district belongs to one Carey, a saloon-keeping alderman, who is hand in glove with the packers, the clergy and the thugs of the neighborhood, and whose political agents, locally known as "Carey's Indians," serve to keep the "boss" in power as agent

for the packers, and terrorize any intruders who would poach on his political domain.

In this dreary and hideous district, the light of Socialism has never yet penetrated. Years of work and effort by the local comrades have failed to secure a foothold there. And the inhabitants of this region, starved in body, stunted in mind, a combination of slavery, brutality, and ignorance, in about equal proportions, have at last rebelled, and are now ready to give what battle they can to their pious exploiters.

The outcome will be interesting, though there is little doubt but that these wretched people will be crushed back in sullen despair into their hideous dens, after an exhibition of "lawlessness" that will afford the capitalists all the excuse they need for "taking vigorous measures for their repression," and for the maintenance of "law and order."

But that they have rebelled at all is a hopeful sign. It may give the Socialists the long-desired opportunity to teach the only way out of the festering mass of misery and want that exists under the shadow of a mighty food reservoir, of which it is boasted that the armies of Europe must first make application before they can march, and which sends provisions by the millions of pounds to the uttermost ends of the earth. Whatever the intellectual capacity of these suffering people may be, there is no doubt, however, that the Chicago stock-yards furnishes an indictment against the damnable system of capitalism that cannot be paralleled elsewhere on the face of the earth.

But fundamentally, the question of whether the strikers are right or wrong is of minor import to the question of whether the nation as a whole should or should not control the supply of such a vital necessity as beef.

Under private ownership the assumption is that the production of goods is of interest only to the workers engaged in such production, and of their employers.

It is assumed that what with competition between the workers for work, and competition between the employers for workers, that things will automatically adjust themselves to the end that the general public will get its coal and beef and other things it may want and will buy. But when we have competition eliminated between the workers by a Trade Union, and when we have competition eliminated between the employers by a Trust, I would like to ask where does the dear public get off.

The evolution of our industrial system necessitates both Trusts and Trade Unions, but does the reiteration of this theory to a public shivering without coal and hungry with-

out meat reconcile it to the predicament in which it finds itself?

There is but one sure way for the dear public to warm itself and feed itself, and that is to teach itself to take care of itself. Paddle its own canoe, so to speak. Let the Public Own the Coal Trust and the Beef Trust. Let the Nation Own All the Trusts.

## THE TEN HOUR DECISION

THE Supreme Court of the United States, by a vote of 5 to 4, has decided that the New York State law, limiting the work-day to ten hours for bakers, is unconstitutional. The general ground taken by the majority of the court is that such a law, by preventing a man working as long as he chooses, is not only a curtailment of his liberty, but is an infringement upon his property rights. The court assumes that a man's body is his own private property, to do with it as he may please, and that any denial of his right to use it for over ten hours a day is virtually an infringement upon the divine right of private property.

The court scouted the idea that the bill was intended to protect either the health of the bakers or of the bread-eating public.

Justice Harlan, in voicing the dissenting minority, pleaded that the bill was unquestionably a "health bill," and therefore being within the police power of the State, the federal government had not the right to intervene.

It may here be stated that eight-hour laws in Kansas and Utah, limiting the time for miners, have been declared by the United States Supreme Court valid, on the ground that more than eight hours' work *underground* is unhealthy, and therefore the States had the right to pass such laws.

It would appear then that any law limiting the workday must, to be valid, show that it protects the health of the workers; the leisure or pleasure is unimportant.

This is a pretty fine distinction. I have no doubt but that if good Justice Peckham, of the Honorable Supreme Court of the United States, should be compelled to make his living by kneading bread in the ordinary and average hot, bad-smelling, underground, dusty bakery in New York City he would revise his opinion about ten hours of such work not being

too long for one's health, and come to the conclusion that ten minutes would be more than enough for his health.

However, from the socialist standpoint the view taken by the majority of the Supreme Court is sound; that is, it is sound constitutionally.

Unquestionably, the makers of our constitution never thought of any such future of this country, as is seen to-day, where the lack of ownership of property would make the mass of the people dependent upon a small class of owners of property.

In those days the only property of any account was land, and land could be had on the western frontier for the asking. If a man did not like the wages prescribed by his employer, he could break in his own farm on the public domain and become his own boss.

Under such conditions, and our forefathers thought they would be permanent, it would have been unquestionably a very direct infringement upon a man's liberty to pass a law preventing him working as long as he pleased.

But those primitive conditions are not the conditions of to-day, although the Supreme Court assumes them to be, and it is probably bound to make such an assumption.

To-day not only does a small minority own all the land, but it owns all the tools necessary to work the land and bring the product to market.

Hence, even if a man did have the free access to the land, which formerly was the opportunity of all, he would still be in economic servitude to the capitalists who own the necessary machinery to work the land.

In our grandfathers' days the "necessary machinery" meant an axe, a hoe, and a log-cabin, all of which were easy of individual production and ownership. To-day "necessary machinery" means a combined reaper and harvester, made by a one-hundred-million-dollar trust, a one-hundred-million-dollar railway to haul the wheat to market, a million-dollar elevator to unload it, and a million-dollar mill to grind it into flour, and finally a hundred-million-dollar trust to bake it into biscuits for all America.

It is self-evident that there are not, and cannot be, enough million-dollar "trusts" to allow every man to own his own "trust." In fact, the essential idea of a "trust" is not so

much organization of property as it is organization of men. It is as absurd to think of every man owning his own trust, no matter how much wealth there may be, as it is to think of every private soldier being a general of the army.

But if you don't own your own trust, you must, when you wish to gain your living, go to some one who does own a trust, and beg for permission to use it; in other words, you must beg him for a job.

It may be that you will approach the Biscuit Trust. It will reply and say that all its employees work eleven hours a day, and that it can only give you work on condition of your working the regulation number of hours.

You are hungry, and no other trust will offer anything better, so you accept the conditions and work the eleven hours per day. Perhaps, after you have worked for a few years eleven hours per day, you and your fellow bakers organize and send up a delegation to the State capitol, and after years of work they persuade the legislature to pass a law limiting the workday for bakers to ten hours per day.

Suppose after your great legislative victory the court sets aside your law because it infringes upon *your* right to work for eleven hours a day?

And yet, if you have followed up all the foregoing, you may see why the decision of the court is strictly "constitutional." Now, what are you going to do about it? It's stupid to say you will change the membership of the Supreme Court. The judges are there for life, and few die and none resigns; and, anyway, they have only said that black is black, and you should not demand that they say black is white, merely because you don't want to work eleven hours a day.

May be you will think of amending the constitution? After you look into the matter and see what a gigantic task that would be, I think you will give up the idea. It would be about as difficult to amend the constitution of the United States, in such a way as to make a ten-hour bill constitutional, as it would be for Rockefeller to get a pass into heaven from the Reverend Washington Gladden.

But you say you must find some way out. Here you are a citizen of the richest country under the sun. You can produce more wealth in a minute with your modern machinery than your grandfather could, one hundred years ago, in an

hour, and yet your Supreme Court says no matter how fast you can produce with your labor-saving inventions, you must work eleven hours a day anyway.

If there is any labor to be saved, it is evidently not to be your labor, not if the court knows itself. One hundred years ago your grandfather worked eleven hours a day; to-day you produce sixty times as much and you must also work eleven hours a day. In one hundred years the progress of invention may quadruple your present product, but you must still buckle down to that inexorable eleven-hour workday.

May be in another hundred years your grandson will produce a thousand times as much as you produce to-day, but nevertheless his nose, too, must touch the grindstone for eleven hours a day, and Rockefeller's grandson will be worth ten billion dollars.

Of course, you know that the increased product does not mean increased pay for you. You are paid according to how cheap the trust can get some other fellow to take your place. How much you produce has nothing to do with your pay.

If you are a baker and an automatic kneading machine is installed, increasing the product ten times, allowing the trust to discharge nine out of its ten bakers, do you think the lucky tenth man, who is kept, will regard it as an opportune time to ask for more pay? Not when he thinks of those nine men just let out, every one of whom wants to get back at any wage that will feed him.

You may well despair if you look upon existing conditions of trust ownership as permanent. But did you ever think of the possibility of a change from private ownership to public ownership?

## WALL STREET JOURNAL TURNS MORALIST

I BELIEVE in playing a game fair or not at all. If you enter into a contest, certain rules of play have been agreed upon beforehand, and you find yourself getting beaten, if you have any sand, you will stick by your agreement and take your medicine. You must either do that or play the baby act and ask for a modification of the rules to fit your special case.

If you want to play, stick to the rules.

If you do not want to play then say so, ask for a new deal and a new set of rules.

Now we Americans a long time ago entered upon a game of competition in money-making. We fixed upon certain rules at the beginning of the game, and now we have no right to whine about Rockefeller and Morgan beating us at our own game and with our own rules, and at the same time insist upon going on with the game.

The general rule of the game was competition to a finish; let the best man win; the fellow who could quote the lowest price should have the market. Let bankruptcy engulf the high-price man.

I, myself, am perfectly consistent in my attitude. Let others be the same.

I say that Rockefeller and Morgan and Gates and Hill and that gang, with their immense bank accounts, can get away with the rest of us poor small fry in this competitive game, and that I for one have had enough of it. I am licked, I confess it; and I have sense enough to throw up the sponge.

I call for a new deal and new rules.

I want the earth made subject to a redivision and I wish new rules made that will forever prevent its ownership being again alienated from the common ownership of the people.

I say that when the government owns the capital of this country just as it owns our national parks and our post office, that then will be established an everlasting equality of all

wealth; and never until this is done will men be content, for before that time justice will not be done.

Now if we should try and think up some one person who is satisfied with the existing order of things and upon whose lips is the cry: "Let well enough alone, Stand pat," we would most likely have thought that we should find him in the editor of the *Wall Street Journal*.

But if we did, then we have another thing coming, for this is the cry-baby talk I find in this morning's (Dec. 16) editorial:

### BUSINESS AND THE LAW.

We observe that several papers which have reprinted and commented upon the little anecdote printed in this column some time ago, dealing with two factories and the method by which a capitalist proposed to acquire the prosperous factory, have apparently misunderstood the general drift of our remarks thereupon. We printed the story mainly to point out that the law permitted the doing of a great many things in the way of business, which were, in a moral sense, nothing better than highway robbery. We did not, as one or two of our more ingenious, if hasty, commentators assumed, at all venture to justify such acts.

To speak plainly, we see no essential difference between the taking of a competitor's business away from him by extreme competition, that is, by competition not warranted on any other motive, and the forcible abstraction of portable property from one man by another man stronger than himself. We do not regard it as morally defensible, for example, for a man to establish himself alongside someone else and proceed to take away the business of that someone else, using for that purpose the brute force of money spent in selling at a loss, any more than we should regard it as morally defensible for him to accomplish the same purpose by brute force of arms. The purpose is immoral. It involves the taking away of that which belongs to someone else by other than fair competition. Of course, such a process is as common as can be in the business world, and is perfectly legal. The Standard Oil Company was charged with this kind of thing at practically all stages of its existence. Apparently no Standard Oil representative has ever felt it necessary to deny the charge.

The fact of the matter is that the conventions of the business world, expressed in the law, have simply replaced the exercise of mere brute force, leaving the article of the decalogue against stealing expressed only so far as the stealing is accomplished by actual physical force or by absolute fraud. Beyond this the moral law finds no expression in the law of business.

Now, I have often read such tommy-rot before, but usually in such periodicals as the *Christian Herald* or the *Salva-*

*tion Army War Cry.* To find it in the *Wall Street Journal* is too funny for words.

The *Journal* believes in competition all right, as long as you do not compete in order to take away the other fellows' business by selling below cost. He wants a fight, but insists on no broken heads. Pray, what right has the *Journal* to tell me how I am to spend my money and how I am to fix my selling price? And anyway how is he to determine what my "cost" price is? I may be selling at a price which renders me a profit, but which would mean a loss to my competitor. I may have a superior process, I may own the sources of supply, I may own my own property while he must pay rent, I may have a much bigger plant; and so simply because I have more money and can afford to sell for less, my selling for less of necessity captures my competitor's business.

Now, why do I have a bigger capital? Why, in fact, do I have any capital at all? Do I own capital for the purpose of fulfilling the moral law?

Not at all. I own capital to make money with and for that purpose only.

It is true that it is not so very many years ago when men were wont to think of the moral law and the business law as much the same thing. It is a comparatively modern view, this of the *Wall Street Journal's*, that a man owning the superior capital and taking away another man's capital is *morally* in the same class as a highwayman, but financially eligible to be a member of young Mr. Rockefeller's Bible class.

If we are to have private capital and competition, then let us have it and play the game according to rule. Let the big man devour the little man; he has a right to his prey. It's too late altogether for the *Wall Street Journal*, speaking for the smaller capitalists who are being driven to cover by the superior capital of Rockefeller, to cry "quarter." There is no quarter. It is war to the knife and the knife to the hilt. I cry not for quarter. There can be no quarter under capitalism and competition. I demand justice, and justice can come only with Socialism.

## THE INEXORABLE TRUST

**T**HE EVENING POST of New York is one of the journals to whom a considerable number of people look for guidance in their political and economic creeds. It sets itself up as an oracle upon all theories of political economy, and especially does it think itself "IT" when such subjects as the tariff, free silver and trusts are concerned. I am bound to say that its views are usually stated vigorously and to the point, and that it is not always wrong. However, upon the real vital question of the hour—the trusts—it hides itself in a cloud of words so that no man can tell what it proposes as a remedy other than it thinks the disease is not so very bad and that the best thing is to forego doctoring and let it wear itself out. Now, this is not a bad program, provided the patient doesn't die before the disease wears out, but upon such a contingency the *Post* utters no warning.

As to the Trust wearing itself out with old age I would like to call the attention of the *Post* to the following item taken from its columns of a recent issue:

The "irrepressible conflict," as one dealer termed it, which is taking place between the International Salt Company and the independent producers, has resulted not only in forcing the price far below the cost of production, with a consequent overproduction of about 100 per cent., but in convincing the independents that they cannot engage in a campaign of the survival of the fittest unless they organize themselves. There is just now a great deal of talk among them of conferring with the International Company for the purpose of making some sort of deal as to prices. But, as it was pointed out by a leading manufacturer in this city, there is little hope of success even after a so-called organization of independents. When he was asked why, he replied:

"For the very simple reason that some one in the organization is always ready to cut the price to get more than his share of the tonnage. That is history. It is a fact that there have been times when, at meetings of salt men to decide upon prices, some have not even waited for the meeting to close before going out to telegraph their houses to cut the prices just agreed upon.

"The International Company is the aggressor in the campaign, and there is little doubt in my mind that it is at the bottom of this week's reduction of price, salt having declined to \$1.50

per ton at the works, a drop of about 30 cents. One advantage the International has over the independents is that it supplies certain trades with mined salt, as well as producing evaporated salt, and it controls all the mines in operation in New York State. Also, it has large interests in the salt regions of Michigan, Kansas, and Texas, where the independents do not enter.

"The Michigan salt, however, is of inferior grade, and while it may be unloaded upon the East in such a way as to demoralize prices, it can do so only for a brief time, owing to its quality, or lack of it. The Michigan, Kansas and Texas stations can supply the Central West, and the International establishments at Watkins Glen, Ithaca and Warsaw, New York, are sufficiently great to supply the Eastern seaboard and the Middle States. As for the independents, their large evaporating plants at Akron, Wadsworth and Cleveland, Ohio, and Watkins, Leroy and Perry, New York, place them in a position to supply the entire Eastern trade and that of the Middle States.

"So the situation is this: There are two factors capable of supplying the trade east of the Mississippi, and each is doing what it can to supply it. The consequence is an overproduction of about 100 per cent. and a very natural drop in the price. What remains to be seen now is how long the independents can stand the pace. With its profits on mined salt the International can probably pay the interest on its bonds, and it would seem, therefore, that this company is in a position to fight the fight on these lines if it takes all winter. The independents cannot hope to accomplish anything unless they get together and that very close and very earnestly.

The International Salt Company, which has offices at No. 170 Broadway, is incorporated under New Jersey laws with a capital stock of \$30,000,000. It has acquired the securities of the National Salt Company and its constituent concerns, and of the Retsof Mining Company, miners of rock salt. It also controls the International Salt Company of Illinois.

Without dwelling upon the ridiculous logic of the *Post*, which has it that the low price of salt has resulted in a consequent over-production instead of the very reverse being true, I would like the *Post* to point out how it is possible for there not to be finally born a Salt Trust which will put an end to what it calls the "irrepressible conflict."

It must be remembered that the capitalists engaged in the salt business are engaged therein, not for the purpose of giving the dear public salt, as our political economists would have us believe, but for the purpose of making money. If it happens that they can make more money by not making salt than they can by the making of it, then it won't take them long to shut down their salt mines.

There is more salt being produced than the public can buy, even when the salt is sold at less than cost.

Some people would have us believe that there is never an over-production of a commodity when the selling price is not placed too much above cost. They seem to think the public buy upon the plan of only paying a fair profit and that when the price is fixed at this figure the public will buy unlimited quantities, in fact just as much as is produced.

Of course this is all rubbish. The public buy as little as they can get along with. I want just so much salt on my potatoes, and if salt were ten cents a ton I would not use a pinch more because it was cheap.

However, there is a capacity in our salt mines to give us more salt in a week than we can use in a week. The salt was put there in those mines to last man on this earth for the next million years; if so we can naturally mine more of it out in a week than we can use up in a week.

However, the salt manufacturers are not concerned with the next million years, they can only make money by mining salt right now in the year of our Lord 1905, and mine salt they intend to do if every man jack of them goes bankrupt, unless they can come to an agreement which will result in their making just as much money by refraining from mining salt as they could if they mined it. The *Post* may say, "Very well, let the Kilkenny salt cats compete themselves to death; the community is the gainer, and the sooner such fools are off the earth the better." But it must be remembered that it's only the little salt fools that are competed off the earth. The big International Salt Company, which is the aggressor in the struggle now going on, wishes just this result. When the fight is over it will be the sole survivor, and salt will be a commodity the mining of which will be a monopoly resting entirely in its hands.

Is not this an absolutely necessary result of the continuance of the existing struggle, I would ask the omniscient *Post*?

If it is the inevitable finality, I would like to ask the *Post* what, then, is its solution of the Trust Problem? Let the Trust wear itself out? That is absurd, for the Trust is the result of entirely natural conditions and no more can wear itself out than ice can melt when the thermometer remains below zero.

## GOOD OLD ROCKEFELLER

ONE of the most fortunate occurrences that could happen for Socialism is that the man who has most profited by the existing competitive system is one who so strictly conforms to the conventional ideas of religion and morality. If Mr. Rockefeller were noted for his profligacy or his violation of the ordinary business rules of life we might be able to blame the individual rather than the system, but as a matter of fact even the most searching scrutiny into his methods, which is being given by Miss Tarbell in *McClure's Magazine*, discloses no such moral or legal delinquency of which so many other of our great capitalists are guilty. Miss Tarbell's story of Rockefeller which is continued in last month's *McClure's*, is simply a long recital of the attempt of the various refiners and producers of oil to keep up an independent existence. She says that up to 1887 Mr. Rockefeller had confined his attention to refining of oil and had not gone into the production of the raw material. In that year, for the first time, he was compelled to purchase oil bearing lands, inasmuch as the oil producers were forming a monopoly which threatened to cut him off from his supply of crude oil. Oil had always been at such a very low price, owing to overproduction, there was no reason for Rockefeller producing himself. There were complaints as to the low price of oil and Rockefeller was blamed for this condition. He replied when asked by an investigating committee, "the dear people, if they had produced less oil than they require, we would have given their full price; no combination in the world could have prevented that if they had produced less oil than the world requires." That this is true can be seen by the fact that the yearly production of crude oil had risen from five and a half million barrels to thirty million barrels and in 1883 thirty-five million barrels were above ground in stock. Mr. Rockefeller could not be blamed for this great surplus of oil being produced, inasmuch as he had nothing to do with production. It is true

that he did limit the distribution to a certain extent by putting up the price of his refined oil, but even if he had sold at absolute cost there would have been over-production anyway. The lowering of the price a few cents a gallon would have undoubtedly stimulated somewhat the demand for oil, but not nearly enough to have absorbed the total production. The earth has in its oil fields a great deal more oil than people can burn up this year, but the oil producers do not seem to think so. It is absurd to think that all you have to do is to reduce the price enough to use up at once the earth's store for the ages. Not only can the earth yield a great deal more than the people can possibly burn, but our competitive system prevents people from having means enough to buy what they want, so that there are two very good reasons, either of which is quite sufficient to account for overproduction. Mr. Rockefeller has been absolutely relentless in his determination to prevent and exterminate competition in the oil business, but that he has done anything that any ordinary business man would not do to beat a competitor in a similar case is not very clear. The great difference between Mr. Rockefeller and most men is that he has had the courage and ability to resort to such measures. It has been alleged that Mr. Rockefeller was instrumental in having certain opposing refiners in Rochester blown up in order to get rid of them, but Miss Tarbell has sifted the evidence pretty closely and comes to the conclusion that there is no ground for this charge. However, it is admitted that WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is rather a prejudiced witness in favor of Mr. Rockefeller, inasmuch as we are endeavoring to show that the fault exists not in the individual but in the system. We are of the opinion that the day is not so very far distant when *McClure's Magazine* will also come to the same opinion. Their brilliant contributor Lincoln Steffens does not hesitate to declare that the source of corruption does not exist in the innate wickedness of man, but in the innate wickedness of the competitive system under which man labors.

## WILSHIRE'S EXILE TO END

**T**HIS Magazine is printed in Canada and edited in New York. This anomaly, however, is going to end, as we have just received the gracious permission of His Imperial Highness, President Roosevelt, conveyed through his Third Assistant Postmaster General, Mr. Madden, that he has decided, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, to allow me to print in New York. It's very good of the Strenuous One to allow a Socialist devil like Wilshire to ink his editorial sheets in the same city where he thinks his thinks. That the approaching November election has had anything to do with this awakening of the conscience of His Strenuosity is, of course, not to be mentioned. The President had to have time to consider, that's all. With the press of indigent Republicans seeking the job of caring for the Post Office of Podunk, how could he, with all his Strenuosity, look into a matter so trifling as that of Suppression of the Press, and particularly the Socialist Press?

I will not weary the air with telling of my woes at length, but some of our readers are unfamiliar with the tale. Let the others be patient while I groan.

In December, 1900, I began to publish this magazine—or rather its weekly predecessor, *The Challenge*—in Los Angeles. Things soon began to boom, and I decided New York was a better field from which to enlighten the Dear Public. I moved my printing office from Los Angeles and issued my first number in New York in September, 1901. I had secured my second class publishers' rate in California, and took it for granted that I would have no trouble in getting a transfer from the Los Angeles Post Office to the New York Post Office. I think this would have happened, but unfortunately the very week my application for a transfer went in the assassination of President McKinley occurred. This may have been simply a coincidence, but if so it was a very remarkable one. The Post Office refused me a transfer. At the time there was a hue and cry all over the nation that the

assassination was the result of the pernicious teaching of the doctrines of Socialism and Anarchism, and that all papers advocating such doctrines should be suppressed. At that time a good many people did not distinguish between Socialism and Anarchism, and it looked to me as if the Post Office thought it would be a good opportunity to injure the cause of Socialism by suppressing this, a Socialist magazine. However, they have always denied this. They claim that the paper was not suppressed on account of its socialistic views, but because of its Wilshire views. Its views were so Wilshiresque that the magazine in their eyes was simply an advertising circular for the spread of Wilshire ideas, and as such had no right to newspaper postal rates but must pay "advertising circular" rates. When I say "suppressed" I wish to explain the word. The paper was not suppressed, but its rate of postage was raised from one cent per pound to eight cents per pound. This is really equivalent to suppression, inasmuch as the postage cost at the 8-cent rate was practically prohibitory.

I tried to have the decision reversed, but all effort was unavailing. I appealed to the President. He refused to either see me or take up my case in any manner. My letters to him complaining of Mr. Madden's act were turned over to Mr. Madden himself to answer. This was probably as insulting a way of denying a citizen the right of petition as even strenuousness could devise. I went to the United States Courts, but obtaining justice that way is too long-winded a procedure for a monthly magazine. My case is yet pending, having never even come to trial. After exhausting every device I could think of, I finally appealed to the Post Master General of Canada. I asked him if he would give me second class entry there. He promptly decided that WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE was eligible to entry, even after I carefully explained to him that Mr. Madden had decided it was merely an advertising circular to advertise Wilshire's ideas. However, the Canadian law requires that a periodical taking advantage of second class entry at the Canadian Post Office be printed in Canada. I must right here explain that the postal reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States makes each country the judge of its own classifications and what postage shall be charged. I hid myself to

Canada and issued my first number there in January, 1902, and have been printing there ever since. My editorial and publishing offices remain in New York. My printing and mailing are done in Toronto.

I might mention that just prior to my going to Canada a certain Mr. Harrison J. Barrett, an attorney of Baltimore—a nephew of Judge Tyner, the recently deposed Attorney General of the Post Office—offered to take up my case and obtain me my entry in New York for the modest fee of \$5,000. Mr. Barrett has since been disbarred for connection with the Post Office frauds. I declined to be bled. So for the past two years and more I have had the unique distinction of thinking in New York and printing my thoughts in Canada.

All the time I have been trying to get back, but hitherto unavailingly. But at last I found the right path. It was a happy inspiration. I had called the matter to the attention of all the Congressmen, but never a one budged to help me upon the general grounds of freedom of the press. That was simply a question of principle, and who bothers about principles these days? Consequently I tried business. A certain printer in New York, not knowing of my enforced exile, came to me and solicited the job of printing the magazine. I said I would be glad to consider his bid if he could arrange that the New York Post Office would allow me second class entry. Mr. Printer writes to Senator Tom Platt of New York. He complains of the gross injustice done to the printing trade of New York in forcing me to give out work to Canada which should be kept at home. Could Senator Platt not rectify such an outrage?

"Well, I guess I can," says the Senator. "What am I here for except to look after my constituents and see that they can have every opportunity to make a living?"

Well, that's all. In short order I had a most polite letter from Mr. Madden saying that anything he could do for me to help me get back in New York would be done instantaneously. As a preliminary he granted me the right of "foreign entry." This means he has decided that the magazine is all right as now printed in a "foreign" country—Canada—and is a tacit admission from him that if it is printed in New York that I will have entry there.

So good-bye, dear Canada. I have many pleasant recollections of you. You have treated me much better than my own country ever did. I shall never forget how you sheltered me, a poor exile. I would stay with you longer, but it's too troublesome, this sending manuscript to and fro between New York and Toronto. I may have to print my next number in Toronto, but after that I shall remain in New York unless Mr. Madden decides that I have again become too Gay for New York, and then I may come back. Leave your latch-string out, Dear Lady of the Snows.

## BRYAN WILL DISCUSS SOCIALISM

WHEN we say that Bryan will discuss Socialism we must hasten to qualify, and add without delay that there is a saving clause to this announcement, for the discussion is to be in "due time." He probably means that he will discuss Socialism when Socialism is due. We gather this information from a Sandusky, Ohio, paper. Thomas H. Cowens, a prominent and wealthy Sandusky young man and an ardent Socialist who takes great interest in questions of the day, recently wrote to Bryan, asking him whether it was true that he refused to debate with Gaylord Wilshire. Bryan replied:

I will say that it is true that I refused to debate with Mr. Wilshire, as I have refused to debate with a great many others.

Answering your other questions, I beg to say that the question of Socialism will be discussed in due time, but I do not accept the theory that the trust is an *economic evolution*.

Mr. Bryan enclosed a cartoon from his paper, the *Commoner*, which he says is an illustration of the "manner in which the water is being squeezed out of the trusts," and adds that "this would indicate that they are anything but natural or legitimate."

In the above Mr. Bryan at last admits he refused to debate with Mr. Wilshire. This is the first time we ever knew he would even admit having received the challenge. Yes, we agree it is wearisome debating with every obscure crank who comes trotting down the pike, wishing to gain notoriety by a debate with a great man. We heartily sympathize with Mr. Bryan's disinclination to accept such challenges. But Mr. Wilshire's challenge was not exactly of the ordinary variety. There was money to be paid to Mr. Bryan for wearying himself, if talking can be said to weary W. J. Mr. Wilshire offered Mr. Bryan \$10,000 for a short, but painful, two hours of Mr. Bryan's time. A large cash deposit was put up with Mr. Bryan's friend, Editor W. R. Hearst, as a guarantee of

good faith upon Mr. Wilshire's part, so there could be no doubt that the money would be forthcoming if Mr. Bryan would accept the challenge. Mr. Bryan simply paid no attention whatsoever to the challenge though it was made in such a way that he could accept the money either in his capacity as a speaker or as a lawyer.

However, when it appears that even at this belated hour Mr. Bryan does not yet accept the theory that Trusts are a result of economic evolution, and as evidence of the soundness of his views we see that he refers to the falling value of Trust stocks upon the stock exchange it is not difficult for us to determine why Mr. Bryan refuses ten thousand dollars to debate the Trust Problem. He knows nothing about Trusts, he knows nothing about "economic evolution," and knowing enough to know that he doesn't know, he is wise enough to do all he can to keep the public dark as to his ignorance. It is worth a good deal more than ten thousand dollars to Mr. Bryan to prevent the world knowing how much he doesn't know. A debate would lift the cover off his brain and let us see what a yawning vacuum exists there. It's both money and fame to him to prevent a call that will show what a bluff he makes in pretending he has gray matter to burn. The squeezing of water out of Trust stocks means nothing at all. When the Steel Trust or the Oil Trust or the Sugar Trust disintegrates and resolves itself into its component parts, and these parts once again compete with each other, then will we admit that the Trusts are not the result of economic evolution. In the meanwhile we maintain that the Steel Trust is just as much a monopoly to-day, with its shares selling at \$10, as it was a monopoly last summer, when its shares sold at \$40.

It is the dividends that determine stock values, and it is the centralization of industry that determines monopoly.

## AMERICA SUFFOCATING WITH WEALTH

**T**HE particular mission that this magazine has taken upon itself is to show the people of the United States that their capacity to produce has so far outrun their capacity to consume under the limitations of the existing wage system that there is necessarily piling up a huge mass of unconsumed products which will soon cause a cry of "over-production." This will be followed by a tremendous fall in prices, accompanied by a terrible unemployed problem.

"We cannot employ men to make unsalable goods," will say the employers.

We present all the facts in the world to support our contention, but the most ominous fact of all that we present is the blindness of the American Public in failing to see the significance of these facts. And when we say the American Public we wish it to be understood that we include every class, and those of every belief, economic and social as well as religious.

It might be thought by some that inasmuch as we are proposing Socialism as the remedy for this impending calamity, that all Socialists, or at any rate a great part of them, share with us our belief in the imminence of the collapse of our existing industrial and financial structure.

This we reluctantly confess is not the case. The vast majority of the Socialists, as far as we can ascertain, no more believe in the imminence of any unprecedented industrial crisis than do the general public. The Socialist theory, as delineated by Marx, it is true, compels them to a pious belief that at some old day and at some old time or other we will necessarily face such a crisis as we ourselves believe is right here now and impending. That it is really now at hand there are few Socialists who agree. If Gabriel should blow his trumpet to-day most men would say, "Hear that big megaphone." We speak of this merely to show that a belief in the theory of Socialism derived from the study of books written fifty years ago, unless fortified by reading un-

derstandingly the facts of to-day, is of little value to a man in interpreting current economic events and their bearing upon Socialism.

The people of the United States seem about to plunge into the greatest crisis known in the history of man with practically no warning, not even from the very one whose object in life should be to give the warning.

In confirmation we give a short résumé of the last U. S. census report:

The population in 1903 is estimated at 80,372,000, against 23,191,876 in 1850 and 5,308,483 in 1800. The wealth of the country is stated at \$94,000,000,000 in 1900, and it is declared that presumably \$100,000,000,000 would not be an unreasonable estimate for 1903, while for 1850 the wealth of the country stood at \$7,000,000,000. The per capita wealth is set down at \$1,235 in 1900 and \$307 in 1850, having thus more than quadrupled. The interest-bearing debt in 1903 is \$914,000,000 against \$1,724,000,000 in 1880 and \$2,046,000,000 in 1870. The per capita indebtedness of the country in 1903 is \$11.51, against \$60.46 in 1870.

Gold and gold certificates in circulation in 1903 for the first time exceeded \$1,000,000,000, or, to be exact, \$1,031,000,000, against \$810,000,000 in 1900 and \$232,000,000 in 1880. The total money in circulation in 1903 was \$2,367,000,000, against \$1,429,000,000 in 1890, \$973,000,000 in 1880, \$675,000,000 in 1870, and \$435,000,000 in 1860. Deposits in savings banks in 1903 were \$2,935,000,000, against \$1,524,000,000 in 1890, \$550,000,000 in 1870, and \$149,000,000 in 1860.

The value of manufactures for the census year 1900 is given at \$13,000,000,000, against \$5,333,000,000 in 1880, and less than \$2,000,000,000 in 1860. Railways in operation in 1902 had 203,132 miles of track, against 166,703 in 1890, 93,262 miles in 1880, 52,922 miles in 1870, 30,626 miles in 1860, and 9,021 in 1850.

Coal production increased in nine years from 162,814,977 tons in 1893 to 269,081,049 in 1902. Steel shows an increase from 4,019,995 tons in 1893 to 14,947,250 tons in 1902. In the same nine years exported manufactures increased from \$158,023,118 to \$407,526,159, and total imports from \$866,400,922 to \$1,025,719,237.

The excess of total exports over total imports in 1903 was \$394,422,442. In 1893 the imports exceeded the exports by \$18,735,728.

How anyone, after reading these figures, particularly those comparing 1890 with 1900, can fail to see the overwhelming support they give to our argument we cannot understand.

In 1893 we were in the dregs of despair from an economic standpoint. We seemed to have built everything that was to be built and there was no employment for either labor or capital. The figures show us how much we were mistaken when we compare 1900 with 1890 and notice the enormous amount of capital that has found its way into almost every conceivable trade channel from banking to railways.

Some might say that if it is admitted that in 1893 we were mistaken in thinking capital could not be consumed, then may we not be equally mistaken in 1904?

We answer that the conditions are different. In the first place the tremendous augmentation of our capital which has occurred in the last ten years affords a great bar to additional capital being similarly consumed. The trusts are the tangible evidence of this. The trust is the sign of over-production. That there will be some capital used, that there will be immense sums used, we do not for a moment deny, but that there will be enough capital consumed adequately to employ labor we absolutely refuse to believe, unless a great European war intervenes.

Barring a great war nothing can keep our capitalist system alive for another ten years.

In order for capitalism to live men must die. Men have long died for capitalism in the fetid sweat shop, in the deadly dust of the cotton mill, and the poison of the lead factories. Men have long died of starvation from unemployment, but with all the slaughter of the past it is nothing to what will be necessary for the future if capitalism is to have a longer lease of life, and even with all the slaughtering we shall find the task in vain, for Socialism is bound to come in any event. Let no one think we are referring to any slaughter coming as the result of an attempt at forcing a change from capitalism to Socialism. We do not anticipate anything of the sort. It will be unnecessary and impossible. The slaughtering of men on our railways and women and children in our bake-

oven Chicago theatres, let alone the slaughter of war, is quite enough without any more slaughter being necessary.

The next great upward move of humanity must not, and shall not, be begun by a sacrifice of life. If anyone wishes to do any sacrificing, let him begin on himself.

But why talk about "sacrifice"—sacrifice of either life or happiness? What we propose is just the opposite. Here is a vast nation—the United States—proven by every form of statistics to be rich beyond measure in every thing that makes for health, happiness and life.

The wealth is the Nation's.

We are the Nation.

Ergo: Let us have what is ours.

Let the Nation Own the Trusts, then "we" will own the Trusts—then "we" will be happy for we will have abolished the great cause of unhappiness, "Poverty."

## A PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEM

**T**HE claim of the inevitability of Socialism places it upon a somewhat different plane than that of any other economic doctrine. No protectionist ever claims that "protection" is the result of industrial evolution, and that hence all the world must adopt it. No "single-tax" man thinks that his plan of taxation will come about as a natural process of human thought.

This insistence of the inevitability of Socialism by Socialists often gives rise to the query, which is seen in the following letter:—

Boston, Mass., Oct. 21, 1901.  
22 Worcester Sq.

H. Gaylord Wilshire, Esq.

Dear Sir:—I attended the lecture given by you last evening (Oct. 20), in Paine Memorial, by invitation of a friend of mine. I have belonged to the Democratic party, but am now very much interested in Socialism. There was a statement, if I remember, made by you, in the course of your lecture, that Socialism was inevitable—something which the laws of nature would force to come to pass. Now, if you really think so, "why not let things take their course? The ultimate result will be the same?" By way of explanation I will say that I don't ask you this question for the purpose of "sticking" you, as the small boy says, but as a matter of information for myself and others who are interested in the movement. Hoping you will oblige by answering this question, I am,

Yours sincerely,  
THOS. J. SMITH.

This is at base a problem in psychology. If you wish a man to perform a task is he more likely to do it if you tell him beforehand that it will be very easy, or if you tell him it will be extremely difficult, perhaps impossible?

Of course, there can be but one answer. The easier a desirable thing is to acquire, the more likely is the man to attempt it.

The baby wants the moon and reaches for it until he grows old enough to learn he cannot get it. Then he tries for the earth, and finds that Morgan has been there first. It is, of

course, true that if I think my breakfast is going to fall down from heaven whenever I wish it, and exactly in the form, place and time that I wish it, then it might appear that I will not be likely to work for it. However, we do know that as a matter of fact the rich man will spend long hours of the most arduous labor stalking deer, or killing salmon, when no motive of the knowledge that he will go hungry unless he does such work, can be alleged. He simply obeys a natural and irresistible instinct to work for his living, notwithstanding that he is under no necessity of doing so.

Man's pleasure in life is the exercise of his activities, and inasmuch as the problem of getting food has for so many thousands of years been his greatest stimulus to activity he cannot resist continuing in that mode of action, even when the immediate stimulus is withdrawn. He acts simply from the momentum gained through his forefathers. The very phrase, "pleasures of the chase" shows the imperative nature of this call to the rich.

It is evident that there would be no fun hunting deer if you knew positively that there were no deer in the forest. So with Socialism. The reason we want it is not only because we think that it will benefit humanity, but also because we think we can get it. Take either one of these factors away and we would never struggle for it. The nearer at hand it is the more we will struggle for it. It is notorious that those men who have the clearest conception of the economic inevitability of Socialism are always the most persistent workers for it.

For instance, there has never been a man in England that has devoted so much of his life to Socialism as Hyndman, yet he himself always declares that it is his knowledge of the inevitability of the advent of Socialism in a comparatively short period of time that keeps him active in the movement. I myself have probably always been, and am yet, the most optimistic man in the whole Socialist movement. Since the time I became a Socialist I have never placed the social revolution away over five years, and the mere fact that it has never come off according to my predictions has never daunted me. I am still a "five year man, with a possibility of three," and I will never be anything else. If I had to be in "the hundred year, step at a time, take-what-you-can-get" class,

you would find me automobiling my life away down at Newport with Reggie Vanderbilt instead of editing this magazine. There is nothing of the Salvation Army stuff about me—preaching to save a man's life after he is dead. Nor is there anything of the Seth Low-Jerome business either—grubbing away trying to reform the Crokers, Platts and Deverys. That sort of thing may amuse Jacob A. Riis, and Carl Schurz, and President Roosevelt, but it has no attractions for me. As said, I would rather chase down the pike on my Red Dragon at 'steen hundred miles an hour, terrifying the farmers, than go in for any "reform game." Socialism is the only game that amuses me, and humanity the only stake worth my while wasting my time playing for. Let the Schwabs go in for Monte Carlo if they will. They are fools to be ignorant of what America can furnish in the way of sport with its Maddens and Roosevelts. I will take my chances on a man working for Socialism if I can shove the economics into him far enough, while I won't give a cent for a man who will only get along far enough to admit that it is a "good thing." He must not only see that it is "good," but that it is "coming." Show me a man who is a Marxian in economics, and who knows the extent of our industrial evolution—who understands the significance of the trust, and I will show you a good Socialist. I am not afraid that such a man will not work for the cause simply because he thinks it will come anyway.

Socialism will not come without our working for it any more than the egg would be hatched unless the chick worked itself out of its shell. However, the chick, we know, will work itself out at the proper time, because we know it must obey an irresistible instinct.

The same with humanity, when it is ready to be hatched from the shell of capitalism into the new life of Socialism it will instinctively work its own salvation. Humanity will struggle to free itself from the shell, simply because it cannot help obeying the irresistible instinct of self-preservation, which is just as strong a social instinct as it is an individual instinct.

It is quite true that the particular class of humanity which will bear the brunt of the struggle will be the working-class, and it is to that class we must look for the great organiza-

tion which is to form from the result of the industrial evolution. Again referring back to the chick breaking out of its shell, we may think the bill or the legs have more to do with the breaking out than the feathers or the lungs, but we know that back of all the struggle is the nervous organization, the brain, which must first be formed before any concerted action can take place. So it is with the working class. They must first become conscious of their class. They must become "class-conscious" before we can expect intelligent action from them. The chick will have motion within the shell long days before its brain is formed—the brain comes last in development in all life—but this motion will not be intelligently directed to break the shell until the brain is sufficiently developed to give it this conscious direction. It is the same way with the labor movement of to-day. It staggers blindly. When the labor giant is hurt it strikes out blindly, like a man half paralyzed, as liable to hurt itself as its enemy. Labor's brain is as yet undeveloped. It has now reached the "trade-union" stage of development, which is as far from maturity as is the brain of a week-old infant. However "trade-unionism" is a necessary stage in the progress of the labor brain, and it is as foolish to think that this step could be skipped as it is to think that while labor has this kind of a brain that it can think out clearly the Socialist program.

A smart child will learn to read without a teacher, but he will learn more rapidly if he has one. Socialists are the instructors of ignorant and immature humanity.

## NEW SHOES FOR OLD BALLOTS

**D**URING the decadence of the Roman empire it was customary to suppress the clamor of the proletariat by giving them free bread and free circuses—*panem et circenses*.

Practically the same thing now goes on in New York City to-day. There are a few dozen men in New York City, mostly Tammany "leaders," each of whom has a following of from a few hundred to several thousand, whom they entertain during the summer months by taking them up the Hudson river for excursions, giving them free lunch and free beer. During the winter free clothing is distributed.

In return for this these thousands of men deliver up their votes to the givers of the excursions and food. Then the "leader" sells the votes to Belmont & Co. for so much hard cash. For instance, the following is taken from the *New York Sun*, February 7, 1906:

When Congressman Big Tim Sullivan gave a Christmas dinner the 5,000 participants received each a ticket calling for a pair of shoes. At the dinner Big Tim said to his constituents:

"Boys, I think we're going to have another long stretch of mild weather, and you won't need the shoes as much now as when it gets good and cold in February."

He announced that the shoes would be given out on February 6. That Tim is a good weather prophet was the unanimous opinion of the Bowery yesterday afternoon when 4,800 men, each supplied with one of his cards, showed up at the club house at 207 Bowery. Each man except two one-legged men, who took one each, got a good pair of shoes in which there was a pair of woolen socks. As they left the club house the men were passed through the assembly room on the second floor, where hot coffee and sandwiches awaited them. Big Tim was present with all the other Sullivans.

It is not for WILSHIRE's to find fault with these poor men who get something returnable for their votes in the way of something so very tangible as a pair of shoes, when the rest of the world does not find fault with the other hundreds of

thousands of our fellow citizens who give away their vote without getting anything at all for it. Dry Shoes and Free Sandwiches beat nothing.

We Americans could just as well have the ownership of our own country and a guarantee of at least \$10,000 apiece for everyone of us per year income, instead of a chance at a sandwich, if enough of us would only mark our ballots right, if the majority of us voted for the Socialist party. We would then have Socialism, and poverty would be abolished. Meanwhile we don't do it, and the great part of us throw away our ballot without even getting the pair of shoes which big Tim Sullivan gives his constituents.

## DISADVANTAGE OF NOT BEING A PRINCESS

**D**EMOCRACY has its disadvantages without mistake. Here has been poor little Miss Alice Roosevelt delighting her heart with the promise of being the distinguished guest at the coronation, when suddenly her dream is cut short, and she is told she can't go, forsooth, because her going might cause her pa to lose the Irish vote. Now, if she were a real princess instead of only a four-year-term one, like her pa is a king, they could both snap their fingers at votes of all kinds and she could go to all the coronations she had a mind to.

Why should not the American people have their own home-made Princess Alices and Heir-Apparent Teds just as well as the effete monarchies of Europe? We have demonstrated that we can beat the world in the making of anything we turn our hands to, and why should we quail at making a princess? Why? We have been long enough complaining of the great drain upon the country from the export of gold sent to Europe to support the daughters of our millionaires who have not only been forced to go abroad for husbands possessing the necessary rank to comport with a millionaire wife, but have also actually been compelled to remain and live abroad in order to procure a fitting enviroing society to properly set off their exalted position in life. Why should we send William Waldorf Astor an exile to England, with his hundred million dollars of American money, to buy a title when we can supply the demand at home? It is true that there is some sort or other of an antiquated clause in our constitution that prevents any titles being granted by the government, but I have no doubt but that the U. S. Supreme Court could find a way round a little obstacle like that easily enough. Let the administration drop a hint as to what its wishes are and the thing is done.

One good argument against the present system of our dependence upon Europe for our titles of nobility is that our

men are at such a disadvantage compared with our women. An American girl can make herself a duchess any time she will put up the price sufficiently high to induce a duke to marry her, but the American man has no such matrimonial highway open to his dukedom. He must in the first place take another man's wife to get a woman with the title of duchess, and when he gets her he don't get the title. This is not right.

The American man has a natural right to be a duke, just as much as the American girl has to be a duchess, and this country should open the way to him. We ought to start right in upon this proposition of manufacturing an American nobility before any more of our money goes to Europe. Inasmuch as the idea of instituting this order of American nobility is simply to keep our millionaires' money at home, it would manifestly be absurd to grant a title to a person who has not enough money to buy one abroad in case one could not be obtained at home. I would not have the titles sold. Let them come as a matter of right, simply from the possession of so much money. To begin with, anyone who could prove a million would be a baronet. Then we could have larger amounts for marquises and earls and such like, winding up with, say, a requirement of fifty million dollars for the dukes. I think one hundred million would be about right to make a man a prince. A thousand million would, of course, make a fellow anything he cared to pick, Sultan, Tsar, King or Emperor.

I do not suggest that the holding of a title should confer any peculiar political powers on the holder. I would not institute any new House of Lords. It would be a useless addition. The rich already are members *ex-officio* of a third house which is easily more powerful than all the other branches of our government. This house has no duties or responsibilities; it has nothing but rights and powers. It is a much more attractive legislative house to the rich than any new one that could possibly be devised.

No, I would make the ownership of a title convey no rights not already enjoyed. In point of fact the political power of those who would fall into the titles could not well be increased anyway. I would not even make it compulsory upon anyone to refer to the holders by their new titles. I am too

much a believer in American freedom to suggest such a thing as that. Of course if anyone should fail to call a duke "duke" he would naturally be apt to lose his job, but that would mean nothing much unless he failed to get another one, and even then it would only mean starvation. No, I would not force anyone to notice the new titles who did not wish to do so. It should be provided that the loss of money that entitled the holder to a certain title should carry with it the loss of the title. There is no sense in having a title unless you have the money necessary to live up to it. Our American nobility must never become shabby. To be shoddy is quite a bad enough handicap.

## WHEN MEN LOVE NATURE

ONE of the delights of walking in Central Park, New York, is the confident tameness of the squirrels. The pretty little creatures, so wild in the woods that only glimpses can be seen of them, are here as familiar with you as so many kittens. They have learned that man is not necessarily an enemy, a squirrel-killing monster to be avoided with the greatest care. On the contrary, he is regarded as their special friend and provider. Every man that approaches the squirrel is regarded as a possible dispenser of delightful peanuts, and treated with becoming politeness and courtesy. It's a small thing apparently—this friendship of the park squirrels—but it makes us understand how much pleasure man loses by not being on like good terms with all the harmless wild animals.

Mr. Harold J. Bolce has a most interesting account in the *Scientific American* of naturalists commissioned by the United States government on the distant island of Laysan, in the Pacific, where they have discovered some new birds, and many novel facts in regard to known species. The visiting scientists were perhaps the first human beings whom the myriads of birds that crowd this tiny speck of land had ever seen. In consequence, the visitors enjoyed an experience unusual in modern adventures. Birds representing species which in other lands wing hurriedly away at the sight of man, came up to the naturalists, looked curiously into their faces, perched on their writing tables, wonderingly inspected the tripod and other accessories of the cameras, and permitted themselves to be stroked.

The fact that these birds are ordinarily regarded as the wildest kind of species made a profound impression on the visiting scientists. "Wherever we went," said Walter K. Fisher, who under Dr. Charles H. Gilbert directed the Laysan expedition, "we were free to watch and learn, and were trusted by the birds. It was a most touching and unique experience, and one which demonstrates all too forcibly the attitude of wild creatures which have not yet learned that man is usually an enemy.

Whenever a nest of white tern was approached, the birds would come and hover in front of the explorers. They would peer intently into the faces of the naturalists, as if attempting to discover the purpose of the unusual intrusion. Among the odd instances of lack of fear on the part of these birds of Laysan, was the action of an albatross which came up and peeped into Mr. Fisher's face, and finding that he was disposed to be friendly began to make a critical examination of his camera. Many of the young birds of this species on the island permitted themselves to be stroked and soon acted as if they had been reared as pets.

Some day when man ceases to murder his fellow man for money and to shoot the wild birds for sport, the earth may become all like Laysan.

It sounds Utopian to think of a future when men will be friendly with each other, and it sounds still more Utopian to predict that man and birds and animals will be friendly; but it is not a Utopian prediction. Nothing is really more scientific, for it is subject to proof.

## THE DEATH OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

**I**F ever the Socialist philosophy was justified by election result it was by that of November 8, 1904. Political parties are merely the organs of different groups of men who are more or less conscious of what they want, and have organized a party to attain these wants by political action. However, just as organs in the human body will persist for a while after their reason for existence has departed, so will political organs or parties persist for a while when the reason for their existence has departed.

We have muscles to move our ears, yet we have no reason for such muscles, as we never have use for them. But there was a day when our remote ancestors could and did prick their ears as well as any horse, and in those days ear muscles were manifestly a necessity. Finally when we ceased to prick our ears our ear muscles gradually lost their power of contraction, but they are still with us, although probably diminishing in size from century to century, and some day they will no doubt completely disappear from the human anatomy in the process of evolution.

The Democratic Party has been swept off the political board. It is true that it remains in the Solid South, yet it simply lives there as a makeshift barrier against negro domination and as a convenient crowbar for certain politicians to break into fat political jobs. Neither in the North nor the South does it justify its further existence, for it has ceased to be the representative of the ideas of any particular economic class, and nothing else can justify life in a political party.

When the Democratic Party was the representative of the slave power and the agricultural interests of the South as opposed to the manufacturing interests of the North, it had a right to live.

When the slave power died, the Democratic Party still justified its right to live by continuing to represent the economic

class in this country that found its interest in a low tariff as opposed to the high tariff demanded by the manufacturers through the Republican Party. But finally, with the practical acceptance of all classes in this country of the permanent economic value under our present competitive system of a high tariff, the reason for the existence of the Democratic Party was once more in question, and had it not gained a new lease of life by taking up Free Silver and suddenly posing as the representative of our rapidly decaying class of small capitalists, it would have died a natural death in 1896. A rare stroke of pure luck saved it from death. The magical oratory of Bryan and the silver craze artificially galvanized it into the appearance of life. Many thought it meant the rejuvenation of the old and dying party.

However, after two tries at the Presidency under the semi-radical banner of Bryan, it was seen that a silver brick would never win the Presidential game, and the Democratic leaders decided that the party must make a new move. The Hearst wing said forward, the Hill-Belmont-Cleveland wing said backward, and Hill won, nominated Parker on the "sane and safe" platform, sent out a gold brick telegram, and backward the Democratic Party went, so far backward, indeed, that it has gone out of sight.

But let it not be supposed that if the Hearst "forward policy" had been adopted, the result would have been materially different. The Democratic defeat would have been as great if not greater, but there would have been a somewhat different lot of political corpses on the battle-field, that's all. Parker sought to revive the old-time Democratic party, not understanding that the reason for its life had departed, and therefore that it could not possibly be resuscitated. The reason Parker got any votes at all in the North was simply a case of persistence of an organ after its function had been lost, like the aforementioned human ear muscles that remain without reason. The Democratic Party is like the turtle that would walk about after having lost its head, dead but doesn't know it.

On the other hand, Hearst with his programme of public ownership and of denunciation of private wealth could not have attracted a much larger vote because he presents no tangible relief to any particular class.

It is true that the people as a whole are probably tepidly in favor of public ownership, and most of us will say that it's a scandal that Rockefeller has so much money, but we are not sufficiently exercised over the matter to organize into a political party and express such views at the polls.

Why?

Simply because the Hearst programme cannot be shown to lead anywhere. We have poverty amongst us; we see our country given over hand and body to the rich; but seeing all this does not make us to see that denunciation of the rich or even the public ownership of trusts and railways will help matters much.

Public ownership of a part of the machinery of production simply means that the owners of the part remaining in private hands will reap the share of profits that formerly went to the owners of the property taken over by the government.

The people generally who are not owners of property of any kind will get absolutely no benefit from the Hearst programme of public ownership.

What is needed is the abolition of the competitive wage system. Socialists demand public ownership merely as a necessary basis for the substitution of the co-operative system in place of the competitive system.

We demand this change in the name of the propertyless class, the proletariat, and have organized the Socialist Party as the organ to effect it politically.

We see that no help can come to us as a class nor to the people as a nation for our economic ills, but by the complete abolition of the competitive system, together with the private ownership of property upon which it is based, and the substitution of the co-operative system based upon the public ownership of property.

The Socialist Party has a sound and logical reason for its existence.

We have a distinct class to represent, and we know what will benefit that class, namely, Socialism. The immense vote for the Socialist Party shows that the people have at last begun to recognize our contention.

On the other hand, the Democratic Party represents neither a part of the people as a class nor the whole of the people as a nation. It represents nothing and therefore it logically

should receive no support, and the results of the election show that it will no longer receive any support.

The Republican Party represents the people who wish the present capitalist system to continue and to work along as smoothly as possible. Its supporters are capitalists who look no further ahead than profits, and wage earners whose ideal is a full dinner pail.

It has had its great victory because the mass of the people have no idea of the possibility of changing from the present competitive system to a better system, and who understand that if the present system is to continue then there is no better organ for the capitalists to make the wheels run smooth than that furnished by the Republican Party.

If we want things as they are, then we should all be Republicans.

If we want things as they cannot be and should not be anyway, then let us cling to the corpse of the Democratic Party.

If we want things as they must be and should be, then we must all become Socialists.

This election really for the first time gave the world a good view of the new Socialist Party. It was the first Presidential election in which a ballot was cast for candidates nominated by a party of that name.

It is significant that what is practically the birthday of the Socialist Party should be practically the death-night of the Democratic Party.

## THE "RIGHT TO WORK"

ON no subject has there been delivered quite so much flap-doodle as on the so-called "right-to-work." The last deliverance on the subject to which any one paid attention, was that of Jas. M. Beck, ex-Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, at the annual dinner of the Holland Society in New York. Mr. Beck in the course of his speech got rid of this burden on his mind:

If I do not misread history, the prosperity of the Dutch people was founded upon a principle which is vitally essential to the progress and happiness of any people, and that is the inalienable right of every man to work for whom he pleases and at what wage he pleases, and to enjoy freely the fruit of his toil. This principle is in some need of vindication in this country and at this hour. Man was brought into the world to work. It is not only his burden, it is his right, and any form of social tyranny which contravenes this right is infinitely mischievous. In vain are written constitutions, with their paper guarantee of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, if the right of the humblest citizen to earn his bread in the sweat of his brow is thus denied.

In the above Mr. Beck reveals the same queer mental twist that characterizes all of those speakers, who, like himself, are trust attorneys, or in some other way are moved to "bend the pregnant hinges of the knee, that thrift may follow fawning." There is no record that any of these twisted reasoners have answered the question that why, if it is "the inalienable right of every man to work for whom he pleases and at what wage he pleases," that the constantly increasing army of unemployed is forced to go hungry for the lack of opportunity to exercise this "inalienable right." As Mr. Beck, and those like him, interpret the doctrine of the "inalienable right to work," the theory is sheer nonsense and is simply a perversion of the theoretically admitted right of every man to life, which, of course, he cannot enjoy without work. Mr. Beck, and those of his kind, seem to be very indignant when they talk about somebody being denied the right to work, but of

course all their clamor is simply due to the fact that they want unrestricted competition in the labor market. They don't want any labor organization trying to control the labor market because that means Mr. Beck or his employers will have to pay higher wages, whereas if the power of the labor unions is crushed, the capitalists can get labor on their own terms and conditions. That is the whole milk in the cocoanut.

## THE "MERGER" DECISION

**T**HE decision of the United States Court against the validity of the Northern Securities Company is, as has been well said, a most revolutionary departure in legal matters, in fact it is so very revolutionary that it is palpably unconstitutional, and I have no doubt that the Supreme Court, upon appeal, will so declare it to be. The very essence of the right of private property is the right of disposal, and if a law preventing disposal of property is declared unconstitutional, then the constitution must part with its time-honored label of "protector of private property." The decision is in effect that certain private persons, to wit, Mr. Hill, Mr. Morgan and others have not the right to dispose of their stock in the Great Northern Railway, the Burlington Railway and the Northern Pacific Railway to the Northern Securities Co., because that company, by holding the stocks in those various competitive roads, effects a combination of competitive railways and hence deprives the public of the currently supposed benefits of competition in railway rates. It seems to me that there could hardly be conceived a more absurd law than one which says to a man, "You must not sell your horse to a man who already owns a horse, for if you do we will make that man hunt you up and return you your horse and take your money back. If you happened to have spent the money meanwhile he must keep the horse until you got some more money." By substituting horse for railway, the old for the modern method of transportation, we have the command that the Circuit Court has issued to railway owners. Of course the decision will embarrass Mr. Morgan until he gets a reversal from the Supreme Court, but to think that it will have any effect to permanently prevent "mergers" is purely childish. For the time being Mr. Morgan may be held up in his great work of unifying and systematizing the railway systems on this continent, but to think a process in the natural development of industry can be permanently prevented is manifestly an absurdity. Even in the unexpected event of the United States Supreme Court affirming the decision of the Circuit Court

the general result must finally be exactly the same, viz., the process of concentration and consolidation will proceed, although with a possible halt until Mr. Morgan can find a way around the obstacle. When a huge boulder rolls down the mountain side into the stream it may block the downward course of the water until a new channel is cut out. The "merger" decision may in the same way delay Mr. Morgan until he can cut out a new channel for the rising flood of combination. To think that a new channel will not be found by the water blocked by the boulder is no more silly than to think that a new channel will not be found by Mr. Morgan. Necessity makes new laws.

The president of the Seaboard Air Line, one of the southern railways that Mr. Morgan is preparing to merge in his Southern Securities Co., as soon as he sees the legal coast clear, has expressed great satisfaction at the "merger" decision. Quite naturally, he is one of the useless presidents that Mr. Morgan will eliminate when he effects his Southern combination. He is not the only railway president of the smaller roads that would like to stop the Morgan's onward march of combination. No doubt the little retail dry goods merchants who are being displaced by the big department stores would like a "merger" decision that would guarantee them their positions. However, I have no doubt that the Seaboard President, a Southern Colonel, sah, would be deadly insulted if he knew I classed him, a railway president, with a miserable little dry goods merchant. I also have no doubt that a few years ago he would not have thought it possible that he, a great capitalist, would have been using such revolutionary language as the following which the press ascribes to him:

"It is idle to talk of a political republic with a financial tyranny; there is no more safety in having commerce at the mercy of an absolute ruler than there would be in having our government controlled by a czar which might be a benevolent or cruel one, according to his whim or ability, or to the circumstances."

It's amusing that he seems to think that the United States is not already under an industrial tyranny simply because he happens to belong to the tyrants himself. Let Mr. Morgan absorb the Seaboard Air Line and throw him out and then the shoe is on the other foot and the Colonel roars "TYRANNY!"

## WILSHIRE'S AND THE CRISIS

**W**ILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is not dwelling upon the coming unemployed problem because it thinks that nothing but the appearance of that event will bring on Socialism, but because it thinks that this coming unemployed problem is absolutely inevitable.

We do not look for such people as ordinarily compose the unemployed army which is always with us to be revolutionists. We know the ones who have made a failure of life under our present competitive system are not likely to be the ones who are to carry on most of the work of Socialism. But we do say that when the economic crisis does come and hundreds of thousands of men will be hungry for the first time, men who have heretofore considered themselves successes in life—that then such men as these will be the very finest recruits possible for our Socialist army of the future.

WILSHIRE'S does not look to misery and poverty progressively increasing and so finally forcing the nation to revolt. As a matter of fact, it might even be willing to admit without prejudice the claim made by some that labor is possibly better off to-day than it was formerly, and that it may be getting better off from year to year. It is not progressive misery that we look forward to for the stimulating of men to see the necessity of Socialism, but it is the sudden transition from prosperity to hard times which we think will do the work.

In the meanwhile, in order that the work may be done properly when the crisis comes, we Socialists are educating the working class so that they may realize how to act. We don't think the mass of men will act unless there is a strong impulse for them to move. On the other hand, we don't think that they will then move in the right direction unless they have been instructed. The mission of the Socialists is to show the workingman how the competitive system robs him and how he can liberate himself by being the owner of machinery of production himself. The workingman is to-day being

slowly taught, but no one can question that it will be much easier to teach him in times of an economic crisis.

We are ready to admit that Socialism can come without a crisis, but we declare it will take a much longer period to get the working class to listen to the Socialist speaker without a crisis than with one.

In the meanwhile, we Socialists should act as if a crisis will never come. Keep on plugging along and never stop.

## VOTE FOR DEBS

ONCE again the people of this Republic are to go to the polling booths in order to declare their wishes as to how our affairs, industrial and political, shall be managed. There is no doubt what the verdict will be. We shall declare that we are quite satisfied with things as they are and that we see no reason for making any change in the established order of things. Fourteen million voters out of the fifteen million will vote either for Roosevelt or Parker. Some one reading this will possibly object to the statement that we Americans will by our votes declare that we are satisfied. He may say that it is perfectly known to every one that 90 per cent. of us Americans are anything but satisfied with things as they are, and that our votes one way or the other do not by any means indicate our state of satisfaction. That because a man votes for Roosevelt it does not mean he is satisfied with his position in life, not at all. It simply means that he votes for Roosevelt because he knows that electing Parker will do him no more good than the electing of Roosevelt, and as he has always been a Republican, therefore he can see no reason for switching. The man that votes for Parker will tell exactly the same story. Nobody votes to-day for a party because he votes for a principle he likes. A man votes to-day for his party simply because he has always voted that way, and he has always voted that way because his father voted that way. The reason of his voting without an end in view is simply the stupidity of the masses, and it is such a gross stupidity that the opponents of extension of the franchise to the propertyless classes, when arguing the question a century ago, never thought of it as a factor that would render the franchise valueless. And they were no admirers of the intellect of the masses, either. Before the masses had the vote it was always argued that the giving them the power to vote was giving them the power to take property from the rich by law, and

it was assumed that once they were given such power it would not be long before the power would be exercised.

However, this assumption was baseless, for it was made without any taking into account the conservative stupidity of the human ass. For years the masses have had the power to vote away the poverty under which they sweat and groan, and yet they never attempt to exercise this power. Instead of voting for what they want they simply kick between election days and then on election day they vote for four years more of Poverty and Roosevelt. If a five-year-old boy were informed that he could have an apple whenever he asked for it, and if when he became hungry he did not ask for it, we would judge him mentally deficient. But when we full-grown Americans don't ask for our apple when it can be had for the asking we are insulted if we are called idiots. The apple that will abolish our poverty is merely the adoption of a different method of distribution of the wealth we produce. There is no necessity of inventing any more new processes of producing things. We already produce fast enough to abolish want. We don't distribute fast enough to keep up with production. That's our trouble. To-day we distribute under a competitive wage system which limits us at best to a wage just above starvation no matter how much we may produce. In fact we think we are rather lucky to be sure of getting wages at all under our present competitive system. Now, all this can and will be changed as soon as we wish to make the change, and not before. The way to make the change is to say to ourselves that we wish to make it and the way to talk thusly to ourselves is to cast our ballot for a political party that advocates the abolition of the competitive system of distribution and the substitution of the co-operative system of distribution. That party is the Socialist Party, and their candidate at the next Presidential election is Mr. Debs. If you wish to abolish poverty, *Vote for Debs.*

## WAR OR SOCIALISM A NECESSITY

**W**E are seeing to-day one of the greatest booms ever known on the New York stock market. Prices in many cases have doubled during the last two years. It is an historical fact that every great war has been followed by a period of great prosperity, and it is equally true that as soon as the effects of the war wore off a period of depression followed.

The Spanish-American War began April, 1898, and closed in August of the same year.

The British war with the Boers in South Africa began in October, 1899, and was concluded in May, 1902.

Within two years (in 1903) of the close of the Boer War the boom which it had caused had worn off, and things commercially in this country were looking very black.

Two years ago the prices of stocks were almost at their lowest, and had it not been for the Russian-Japanese War, which commenced in February, 1904, and closed in September, 1905, there is no doubt but that the depression of 1903-04 would have by this time become most acute. Judging from the past, we are to have, by September, 1907, or two years after the conclusion of the Russian-Japanese War, a period of great trade depression, which maybe can only be relieved by one or two things, viz.—another war or Socialism.

It is up to the working class of this country to decide whether they prefer being decimated by war in order that the survivors may have such "prosperity" as we have to-day, or whether they prefer to have Socialism and real prosperity for all.

## WE FEED OUR BUFFALOES, BUT STARVE OURSELVES

**W**E Americans are all right when it comes to raising buffaloes, according to the following from the *New York Commercial*:

The buffalo herd in Yellowstone Park, started by the United States Government and during the past few years very carefully watched to prevent the death of the young, is increasing rapidly, and will this year number between 20 and 25 more animals than a year ago at this time. The herd is in excellent condition. It has wintered well, and the calves are growing fast and appear to be sound and strong. It has been the wish of the government officers to increase the herd until it resembles the old-time herds which covered the western prairies. The experiment of propagating the animals is definitely a success, and the army officers, upon whom the work has largely devolved, are correspondingly pleased. Major Pitcher of the United States army represents the government in the park, and is practically and officially the custodian of the herd.

The buffalo don't need to struggle for a living. Feed is good; the valleys give them splendid shelter, and they have the pick of grazing lands over which to roam.

It's very funny that our government can see the advantage of feeding its buffalo babies, fixing things so "the buffalo don't have to struggle for a living when feed is good and plenty," and yet when it comes to fixing things for its voters' babies it treats them so badly that the infant death-rate in New York and our other big Eastern cities beats the world.

If the government can see that a buffalo baby to live needs good food and fresh air, why can it not see that a boy or girl baby wants good food and fresh air? Why is it?

If good food is good for buffaloes, why does Congress refuse to pass a pure food bill that would give men good food?

It's also interesting to note that the federal army is used to protect the lives of buffaloes, whereas its common use for men is to slaughter them.

## THAT 5x4 MERGER JOKE

**T**HE Merger decision of the Supreme Court in the Northern Securities case has many funny sides to those who have read the dissenting justices' opinions.

In the first place to understand properly the joke we must never lose sight of the fundamental cause of the merger; viz., over-production of railroads. There were too many roads in the Northwest and unless they combined there would be a scramble for freight, a cutting of prices, general demoralization and bankruptcy. We must remember that this terror of rate-cutting was the cause of the merger, and that there exists to-day the very same necessity for combination that there did when the merger was formed. The Supreme Court decision cannot alter that condition in the least. Either a new method of combination must be arranged or the roads will soon be fighting again like Kilkenny cats and the fight will continue till the death—death meaning the absorption of the dead by the living. As a matter of fact, when we remember that the fight is between Morgan on the one side and Rockefeller on the other and that neither one of these giants would dare engage in any serious encounter one with the other for fear the fall of the vanquished would bring down the whole financial firmament, we can see how absurd it is even to conceive of any real fight starting up. Men do not commit suicide, financial or physical, at the order of Congress, or even of a 5x4 Supreme Court.

The fact of the matter is that there are more than enough roads in the West to do the business, and this must result either in a suicidal cutting of rates or a combination—either life or death. If we are to have railroads we must have a combination, and whether it takes the temporary form of a "gentlemen's agreement"—we say temporary, for such agreements never last long—or whether it takes the form of a permanent holding company, such as would have been the Northern Securities Company had it been allowed to live, is of no great moment.

Just now it looks to us that inasmuch as the Securities Company must part with the control of either the Northern Pacific Railway or the Great Northern Railway because it was formed to take over competing and parallel roads that the simplest way out of the difficulty would be for the Union Pacific Railway to issue bonds and take over all the securities now held by the Securities Company. The Union Pacific Railway Company has been in existence for years, and no one could allege that it had been formed to effect the combination, and as the Supreme Court seems to base its decision largely upon what the *intent* of the incorporators of the company was at the time of the incorporation the purchase of the assets of the Northern Securities Company by the Union Pacific would be legal from that point of view. The Union Pacific already owns one-fifth of the Northern Securities Company. Why should it not own the whole issue? However, we make no charge for this advice to Rockefeller, Morgan & Co., so they are at liberty to disregard it.

A similar view is held by our old friend Walter S. Logan, President of the National Bar Association, a man—considering the position he holds, a corporation lawyer—who is probably the greatest radical we know. He talks the talk of a Socialist when it comes to denouncing wealth, but when it comes to suggesting a remedy Logan is as great a child as Hearst.

Logan says that the decision will cause a re-adjustment of political lines, but when he adds that after all it amounts to nothing because the law can be so easily evaded we do not grasp his logic. Logan says:

"But the law does not go far enough. If Morgan and Rockefeller adopt one of the several ways that are open for evasion of the law the people will have no remedy. Any trust company, for instance, that has been in existence for some time and that was organized for general business, could buy the assets of the Northern Securities Company at a receiver's sale, and that method, it seems to me, will be the one adopted as being most simple. The Erie Railroad could also, I presume, buy it if its charter is broad enough to permit of such investments. But there would be no doubt about such a company as the Union Trust Company, for instance, having the power."

If this, then, is the true state of the case, and the vaunted decision simply means an auction of the Northern Securities

Company to some Trust Company, to what end has been all this rejoicing of the Hearst journals, and why has it been necessary for Attorney-General Knox to hasten to announce that he and Roosevelt were not going to "run amuck"? One would think auctions were dangerous. The great advance in the price of the Northern Securities stock after the decision does not seem to indicate any great fear of either auctions or amucks.

## HOW WE WILL DIVIDE

**T**HE standard of value can be determined by the human labor time required to make the article. It is improbable that there will be any difference in the valuation of one man's time over that of another. In the first place, under Socialism, everyone will be educated and fitted to do what he is capable of doing. To-day there is many a man who might have been a good doctor or a lawyer or an artist, who owing to poverty could not educate himself and so is merely a common laborer.

Under Socialism a man can always develop the best that is within him, and the system of education will be such that it will be developed. Instead of men being divided into hod-carriers and musicians it will be the labor that will be divided and not the laborers. A man can have his life so ordered that he may have all his faculties, mental, physical and spiritual, developed by the exercise of his daily work. There is many a professional man to-day whose brain would be stronger, health better, and life longer if he had the opportunity to perform some useful outdoor work. He himself knows it too, and wishes it, but the conditions of our competitive system are such that it is practically impossible for him to join the two lives, the physical and the mental. As for the hod-carrier of to-day trying to exercise his brain and soul by painting a few Madonnas or composing a Ninth Symphony, the mere mention of the idea conveys its absurd impossibility. Under Socialism work will be so varied, so pleasant, so light, that it will be done as a pleasure and not as a task. Men will feel that work then is just as much a necessity of their life as do their own hearts find it a necessity for the heart's life to pump blood. Does your heart ask pay for beating? Man in a natural state will ask for nothing better than the opportunity to work. A bee or an ant or a beaver finds no greater pleasure in life than to work. Man, after all, is simply an animal with a soul—what is fundamental to the animal is fundamental to man. Work is life.

Hence under Socialism the idea of work as a task to be avoided will be as absurd as thinking of a honey-bee flitting from flower to flower sipping honey as performing a task intensely disagreeable to it, and that if it could it would be playing golf or driving an automobile instead of gathering honey.

All this may sound too dreamy for the man who to-day is so saturated with ideas, the result of his present environment, that he cannot imagine how men would act in another state.

It would be hard to convince a bull-head fish that if he had lungs instead of gills he would prefer living upon dry land. Some men are merely advanced bull-heads. You cannot argue with them. All you can do is to use a scoop-net and dip them out of their slime and land them gently and firmly in another life.

Mr. Rockefeller with his trusts is the simoon which is going to dry up the slime wherein these human bull-heads wallow. The first thing they will know they will be kicking around on a dust heap and must develop Socialist lungs, for they will find their old capitalist gills will be no good. We will not be doing much calculating about the exact division of things produced when we have Socialism. The scramble will be for the privilege of working; not for the privilege of taking. The fun will be more in the making of the pudding than in the eating of it. These people who are worrying so much about how they are going to divide up the omelette before they find the eggs to make the omelette, should remember that to-day they at best can only get the egg shells, and that they can't lose very much by taking a chance of adopting a plan which promises them the eggs. To-day we do not profess to give products according as a man has produced. We simply hand the eggs over to the capitalist and stand on our hind legs begging and whining for the shells. When it amuses him to toss them to us we gratefully wag our little tails. Under Socialism we would at least live under a system that professed to give to the workers and did not profess to give to drones simply because they happened to have a rich father.

The theory is amusing that Socialism by enforcing economy will cut off demand for luxuries, for variety, so that a

man will be compelled to wear a home-spun suit, eat oatmeal, drink water, stop smoking, and buy only of the state store. Under Socialism a man will get what he produces. If he wishes champagne, cigars, automobiles, diamonds, etc., nobody will object either to the wish or its realization, but the condition upon which he gets them will be the giving of his labor in exchange for the labor which produces what he gets. For instance, if he wants a pink pearl ground up in his coffee every morning then he will either have to fish for the pearl himself or give up his labor to the chap who does the pearl fishing. As pearls are not found in every oyster, and as it takes, say, a week's hard and dangerous labor to get one pearl it means that the man with a penchant for drinking ground pearls would have to work a week to pay for one drink. Probably after a few such drinks and after working a few months to pay for them he would decide of his own accord to give up his extravagant taste. Under Socialism the ordinary worker's income will be augmented many times its present size, and he will spend it as he pleases. The coming of Socialism will not be so very different from what would happen to the man who is now getting two dollars a day and who had a sudden raise to twenty dollars a day. The usual thing to-day is that he promptly raises his standard of living to correspond to his larger income. He could if he chose work only one-tenth of the time, but he rarely makes such a choice. He will stop living at cheap restaurants and patronize better ones. It will be the same under Socialism—exactly the same. Man will have more and he will spend more. Supply will increase and with increased supply will come increased demand to equalize things.

Private business under Socialism will not necessarily be wiped out. I may like a peculiar brand of wine or an odd kind of cheese or rag-time music. The state may not bother to furnish me with such things. Do I lose them? Not much. I have plenty of money—Socialist money—and I use it to pay the maker of my peculiar wine, my cheese, my music. I am satisfied, for I get what I want. He is satisfied, for he gets paid for his work and he produces what he likes to produce. If I want merely pure water the state will be pretty sure to be in a position to give me what I want for a reasonable payment in Socialist money—time checks, earned by me with

my work. My work may be in the state water works, or it may be singing rag-time music for Jones who has given me *his* time checks which he may have earned working in the city gas works.

The time-check system offers a simple mechanical system for determining what each man should get. That we shall ever use any such a system for any great length of time I hardly believe.

Your heart doesn't wake you up in the morning by a knock on your ribs and demand pay for the work it did while you slept. If you had to busy yourself determining exactly how much blood you should give to each of your organs every day according to the work that organ did for you, then your life would indeed be a burden. It would be less wearisome for you to say "grab what you can and let the slow grabber starve." Similarly, if we are going forever to minutely apportion to each according as he produces, the bore of it all for eternity is worse than letting Rockefeller and Morgan grab what they can and then our grabbing what is left. Socialism means the extermination of grab as well as of graft.

## WHAT GOOD IS GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP?

**W**HAT good would the government ownership of utilities be?

I must say that the answers given by many Socialists to this reasonable question are not as convincing as might be.

With the present competitive system remaining in operation government ownership is not *necessarily* any better for the people than private ownership. It might, and probably would, be somewhat better, but I am not talking about the "might be's," I speak of the "must be's." As often pointed out, the Post Office is a nest of mismanagement and corruption, and yet it is under government ownership. Then why urge that the railroads or other public utilities be put under government ownership?

I don't. That is, I don't urge very hard.

I can see some of my readers gasp with astonishment.

What's this? Wilshire not urging government ownership! Why, we thought that government ownership was an essential part of the Socialist program!

Not at all. If these gaspers would read my editorials long enough and carefully enough they would see that I am after the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, and it is simply in order to have a basis for this co-operative commonwealth that I declare for the government ownership of the machinery of production. I am cold; and to prevent myself perishing of cold I demand clothing. Incidentally the clothing may make me more beautiful to look upon at the Horse Show; it also may satisfy my ideas of modesty, but fundamentally it is neither modesty nor appearance that necessitates the clothing. It is absolute necessity of protection from cold. But why do I wish protection from cold? Simply because I have an instinct which urges me to live rather than die. So that when I ask for clothing it is

really asking for life, and yet some might be short-sighted enough to think that the only reason I wished clothing was for the appearance of things.

Government ownership might and probably would be of general benefit to the community under our competitive system. We would probably have better rates and more comfortable transportation. The roads would be run for the benefit of the public instead of to make dividends for the Vanderbilts. At least that would be the theory. It might not work out that way, however, because the same interests which now control the post office might control the railways.

If the people were as negligent of their interests then as they are now, government ownership of railways under the existing *competitive* system might give us no benefits at all. This, I admit, is unlikely, but still it is not impossible. However, under a co-operative system it would be different. In the first place, inasmuch as all property would be owned by the State, there would be no powerful group of private property owners to dictate the policy of the State for their own benefit at the expense of the non-property owners as to-day, for instance, the railway owners dictate the policy of the government regarding post office affairs so that the railways get excessive rates for carrying mail.

Again, with a co-operative system the products of industry would of necessity be distributed to the workers, as there would be no one else having any claim upon such products.

If we allowed private ownership of the railways and other machinery to remain, then those owners would naturally have some rights accruing from their title of ownership; otherwise what would be the use of their having a title? Now, the only rights that we can conceive of as being of any particular use would be the rights entitling them to the products of labor without themselves working. If such were the case and they took such products it is evident that the workers would not be getting all their share of the product and we would not be enjoying the co-operative system which we set out to establish. The absolute necessity of public ownership is palpable if we wish to establish the co-operative system. Of course, as long as we have our competitive wage system, which keeps wages down to the mere level of subsistence, we cannot hope to abolish poverty, and therefore it is superfluous

to argue as to the advantage of substituting the co-operation for competition.

The present government office-holders outside the classified service are naturally an incompetent lot of grafters, taking them as a whole, for they are not there to serve the State but to rob it. This is bound to continue as long as we have our system of private ownership of capital. Private owners of capital will always corrupt our political officials as long as we have on the one side men with money who will pay it to buy franchises and on the other side aldermen without money having franchises to dispose of, in which their individual interest as one of a large community is much smaller than their individual interest in getting the whole of the bribe from the capitalist.

A Broadway franchise may be worth five million dollars to the City of New York. To me as alderman, it is worth exactly one five-millionth part of the five million dollars, or one dollar, for there are five million citizens to share it with me. Therefore, if I am paid anything over the dollar for my vote in favor of granting the franchise I am so much ahead. As long as this condition of affairs exists there will always be men who will buy aldermen, and there will always be salable aldermen. Hence, if we wish to have honest aldermen we must have complete public ownership, in order to do away with the men who do the buying of aldermen. Where there are no buyers, of necessity there can be no sellers.

Now, as to the harm combinations do the public. The Socialists hold that the combination of capitalists does not necessarily do any more harm to the people than does the single capitalist, but that the combination has more power to do such harm, and when it is to its interest to do it, it is in a much better position to do the harm. However, it is not the harm that any particular combination can do or actually does do that is of such great importance anyway. The mere matter as to whether the Standard Oil Company charges an exorbitant price for oil, or whether it sells it for only a fair price, is of no great economic import. If it charges too much, that is, if it charges a profit that is greater than what a capitalist ordinarily expects from the sale of his manufactures, then it simply means that the workman who buys the oil must get higher wages to pay for it, and this

higher wage comes out of his employer for the benefit of the Standard Oil Company. This means that Rockefeller comes into possession of so many more dollars to invest than he otherwise would have had, and that the employer who paid the excess wages has so many dollars less to invest. Of course, it may be that the immediate employer may not be the loser, for he may add to the price of his goods the excess of wages he has to pay, and so shift the burden to some other capitalist. The point is that the high price of oil does not economically hurt the workman because his wages are based on the cost of living. Oil is a necessity of life, just as is water, or bread, or meat. He must have sufficient wages to buy these necessities. If the price goes up his wages must go up or he will starve to death, for there is practically no margin for him to infringe upon. A high price of oil is a price made at the general expense of the capitalist class for the benefit of the Standard Oil Company. But this only means that the Standard stockholders have the directing of the investment or the spending of a certain greater portion of the surplus products called profits, instead of a certain other set of capitalists having it. To the community as a whole it is of no practical importance whether capitalist Rockefeller or capitalist Morgan gets the surplus.

And, it is asked, are not Rockefeller and Morgan "the people"? And, if so, what do we mean by saying that the people should own the trusts when they already own them? Yes, Rockefeller and Morgan are the people, or rather, some of them, but the trouble is that the people are not Rockefeller and Morgan. The Morgans are very considerably less than ten per cent. of the people. We wish to make one hundred per cent. of the people Morgans.

And why do not laborers combine and set up shop for themselves? Why, this is exactly what the Socialists propose. Only we do not propose that the shops should be small competing ones. That would not make things any better than they are to-day. Suppose a few hundred workers should combine and try to run a blast furnace. Where would they land, with pig iron selling at less than cost, as it is to-day, through competition and over-production? Would the fact that they owned the furnace do the workers any good? Not at all; for instead of getting wages for their work they would

be forced to pay assessments to keep the furnace in blast. Of course, this is an unusual case. Pig iron is not always selling less than cost; but on the other hand, there is now a strong tendency for prices of all commodities to fall below cost, and there is no economic reason why, if production keeps up to the present standard, we should not have over-production and a general state of prices being less than cost.

No, we do not wish any small production, with the co-operative owners competing for the sale of their products in the existing capitalistic field. We wish national ownership and the complete elimination of competition in the sale of products as well as in the sale of labor.

We do not look forward to trade-unions taking the place of capitalists. We look forward to the people as a whole taking charge of the great industrial functions, and regulating production upon the basis of what the laborers desire, and regulating distribution upon the basis of what they produce.

## THE TWO NATIONS

**F**OR many years, until 1902, a certain man Loud has represented the Southern Pacific Railway and Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express in Congress, although nominally representing the people of California. Loud has been notorious for his attacks on any project that might extend the utility of the post-office, and has publicly declared that it would be a good thing if the post-office were in the hands of a private corporation. He not only antagonized the post-office generally, but he incautiously went so far as to extend his antagonism to the post-office employees. They wanted fair pay for their work, and would probably have gained their point had not Loud taken it upon himself to defeat their bill. The result was that the post-office employees "banded" together and two years ago made a fight on Loud's re-election and defeated him. There is no charge that money or undue influence was used against Loud. The post-office employees simply pleaded with the voters in Loud's district to send some man to Congress that would stand for labor instead of capital. The electors responded and Loud was defeated. But Loud was a particular friend of the President; so he did not lose his grip at the public crib. He has been appointed, of all men, at a salary of \$7,500 a year, to represent the United States at the International Postal Congress which meets at Rome next summer. Loud will no doubt tell the congress that the United States is contemplating selling the post-office to Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express Co. He will certainly say we ought to make such a sale.

The temerity of the working men taking to the ballot as a method of obtaining their rights strikes President Roosevelt as most unmannerly and dishonorable.

The letter carriers, both municipal and rural, are as a whole an excellent body of public servants. They should be amply paid. But their payment must be obtained by arguing their claims fairly and honorably before the Congress, and not banding together for the defeat of those Congressmen who refuse to give promises which they cannot in conscience give.

Working men are to politely stand hat in hand before their servants, for a Congressman is but a public servant, and to

humbly plead their wishes and then bow themselves out with an apology for giving trouble, and then wait results. If no results come, they must be patient and not presume to send some one else to Congress who will be more open to suggestions even after they have tried the bowing and scraping game unsuccessfully for years.

This idea of Roosevelt's that a Congressman has a divine right to rule instead of being merely a public servant to obey the public will, is about the most remarkable utterance ever given forth by an American President. Not only does Roosevelt object to political action of working men, but he is especially severe upon any resort to violence. He says:

But when any labor union seeks improper ends, or seeks to achieve proper ends by improper means, all good citizens and more especially all honorable public servants must oppose the wrongdoing as resolutely as they would oppose the wrongdoing of any great corporation. Of course any violence, brutality, or corruption should not for one moment be tolerated.

Mr. Roosevelt says nothing about corruption or violence if committed by capitalists. He has nothing to say about the action of General Bell of Colorado.

But while he denounces violence by trade unions, no matter how just may be their cause, he commends violence if done by a nation in the cause of justice.

There are kinds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. Tyrants and oppressors have many times made a wilderness and call it peace. Many times peoples who were slothful or timid or shortsighted, who had been enervated by ease or luxury, or misled by false teachings, have shrunk in unmanly fashion from doing duty that was stern and that needed self-sacrifice, and have sought to hide from their own minds their shortcomings, their ignoble motives, by calling them love of peace. The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of craven weakness, the peace of injustice, all these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war. The goal to set before us as a nation, the goal which should be set before all mankind, is the attainment of the peace of justice, of the peace which comes when each nation is not merely safeguarded in its own rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty toward others. Generally peace tells for righteousness; but if there is conflict between the two, then our fealty is due first to the cause of righteousness. Unrighteous wars are common, and unrighteous peace is rare; but both should be shunned. The right of freedom and the responsibility for the exercise of that right cannot be divorced. One of our great poets has well and

finely said that freedom is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards.

Why do nations fight? Usually because one nation thinks it will experience an economic gain by resorting to violence. Because it thinks, or at any rate alleges it thinks, that justice will not prevail unless it goes to war. There was never a war except both belligerents stoutly maintained that each was fighting for justice, and the onlooker has usually a difficult problem in deciding which, if either, is in the right.

But when we look at the two nations within each and every nation, the nation of the rich and the nation of the poor, we never can have any doubt as to which is the oppressed and which the oppressor, as to which does the work and as to which gets the reward.

The fact that both rich and poor live within the same national borders blinds the sense of justice in many. If all the rich Americans lived abroad, as do William Waldorf Astor, W. K. Vanderbilt, the Countess de Castellane, and other well-known members of the various "American colonies," no doubt these blind ones might see that we have a nation of poor Americans who are subject to a nation of rich Americans. Suppose all our rich did emigrate, although of course still keeping their property and taking their rents and dividends, I would like to ask Mr. Roosevelt if he would then say we Americans who remained on this side of the Atlantic would not be cowards if we did not end the "peace of injustice" which would let a situation continue by which we who remained at home did all the work while those who lived abroad did all the playing.

If it is plain that we would be cowards in this case, is it not equally true we are cowards to-day in letting continue a "peace of craven weakness, this peace of injustice" when we know that its continuance means that thousands of our fellow-countrymen must work and get nothing that other thousands may play and get everything?

This is the "peace of injustice" that Socialists are warring against, and if the President is sincere in his striving for the goal of the "peace of justice" I would counsel him to begin at home and cast his lot with those who are warring for justice to the Nation of the Poor.

## ROOSEVELT'S MUCK RAKE

I AM in agreement with the President on the muck-rake question on one point at least, namely, that the question now is more how to get rid of the muck than to merely stir it up and leave it where found to remain a stench to the nostrils. Everyone knows by this time that the muck is here.

President Roosevelt suggests the cause of the muck and likewise the remedy, and here I am again in agreement with him.

He says: "Materially we must strive to secure a *broader* economic opportunity for all men, so that each shall have a better chance to show the stuff of which he is made."

That's good Socialistic doctrine. That's pretty nearly what I say: "Let all men have an *equal* economic opportunity," is the way I would have put it.

The reason of "muck" is merely because some men have a much better opportunity than other men and can buy or bully the other men into economic submission. For instance, Vanderbilt owns a railway—this gives him superior economic opportunity—with it he extorts "muck" from the public and with the "muck" he buys our legislators, who make his man Depew a Senator. The "muck-rake man" comes along, tells the public all about the transaction, stirs up the muck, and leaves us with our handkerchiefs to our noses to find out how much better we are off than we were before he raked the muck. But he makes us sure that the muck is there. Now the President is not this kind of a muck-raker. When he rakes muck he knows where he is going to dump it. He is not only going to show us how to get rid of the muck, but is also going to show us how to prevent future accumulation of muck.

President Roosevelt clearly sees the source of muck to be in the existence of large fortunes; that it lies in the fact that we allow our railways to be owned by a Vanderbilt, our oil refineries by a Rockefeller, our sugar refineries by a Have-

meyer, etc. Roosevelt says we must take these properties away from them, not now, but soon, when they die.

I quote again: "We must have a tax to put it out of the power of the owners of these immense fortunes to pass on more than a certain amount to any one individual."

It seems to me that if I found a muck heap under my window I would not wait until somebody died before I would try to remove it. I would rake off the muck at once. Why endure the stench a moment longer than necessary?

If Roosevelt sees that private ownership—an overgrown fortune—of wealth causes the muck, then he has no more reason to ask us to wait for the owner to die than he would have to ask a city to continue drinking water known to be polluted with typhoid germs coming from the drainage of certain houses because the owner of the houses was not yet dead.

It may be true the greater the fortune the more the muck, yet it is also true that even a very little muck is disagreeable just as a very little typhoid fever is disagreeable. No one would advise letting even one house drain into and pollute a city's water supply. No one would allow the smallest muck in his house if he could throw it out. If small fortunes give an economic opportunity to the class that own them to create even a little muck while we are cleaning house, why not make it thorough?

Let us do away with all fortunes and all muck, and do away with all at once. Let the nation own the fortunes, both big and little, the little railways and the big railways. Let the muck-rake gather them all in. Let us have a clean house.

## THE BOOM OF 1906

SOME day, and a not very distant day either, people will be talking of how crazy investors were in the "boom of 1906." We are right now in the midst of the greatest period of insane speculation that this American nation of speculators has ever experienced, and the singular part of it is that notwithstanding all we should have learned from the past about the ephemeral character of such booms there is hardly a warning voice.

The big financiers and bankers who should be the men to warn us of an impending panic are the very ones who are pushing along the boom harder than any other class.

What, may I ask, is there to justify all this construction of new houses, new stores, factories, and railways from one end of the country to the other? Certainly not the increase of population, either natural or from immigration. For every American new born and for every foreign immigrant we are to-day building five times the house-room commercially necessary.

And yet only two years ago we were practically facing a commercial depression, a condition of apparent over-production. We apparently had then too many houses, railways and factories. Does anyone mean to say that in the intervening two years population has so increased that all this tremendous demand for goods is justified? Of course not.

If two years ago we could not use up what we were producing and if conditions to-day were practically the same, then how is it that now we do not seem able to produce enough for consumption? Why such a change?

It all begun from the demand upon us to supply the waste of the Japanese-Russian war. From that demand there arose the necessity for more manufacturing establishments, while at the same time the export demand for our farm products to feed the belligerents caused a rise in the price of farm products.

This demand for the building of factories meant an increased demand for labor, and the demand for labor meant higher wages.

Both the American farmer and the American laborer at one and the same time have had more money to spend, and they have spent it. Goods of all kinds as a consequence have been in demand. More shoes wanted, more theatres patronized, more luxuries bought. It has meant a further demand for more factories to still further facilitate the making of foods.

Each factory that has been built means the building of still other factories to furnish the machinery to build the first factories.

When a new factory is built it creates a demand for lumber; this may mean the building of a new railway into a new lumber camp to haul out the lumber, the building of the railway may mean the building of a new steel rail mill to make more rail, the building of the rail mill may mean the opening of a new iron-ore mine and the opening of the new mine may mean the building of still another new railway to haul the ore, of new steamships to carry the ore on the lakes, of new piers for the steamers. New steamers need paint, more paint means more lead and zinc mines must be opened.

And again these new railways, mines, etc., mean still more demand for labor, still higher wages, more demand for farm products and higher prices all along the line for all commodities.

At first the demand caused by the Japanese war was met by our selling goods and farm products at the normal price prevailing two years ago, then, as the demand increased, prices naturally rose and traders and manufacturers made more and more profits. Then, as prices of secondary commodities needed in the production of the primary products also rose in price, profits fell off and a further rise in the price of primary goods took place to restore profits to the original status. For instance, first the price of steel advanced, then the price of iron ore went up, then the price of steel again advanced on account of the higher price of ore.

Labor at first was sold in the form of wages at the old level, but the increased demand, and especially the increased cost of living, caused wages finally to rise along with the general rise in price of other commodities, although wages have not risen in any like degree with the increased cost of

living. This means that labor is really not consuming any more than it did before the boom, because the higher wages it now gets do not give it any more real purchasing power on account of the higher prices. The largely increased production is altogether absorbed by the increased investments of the capitalists in new machinery of consumption, new railways, etc. However, as shown, the starting point for all this boom was the Japanese war, and with the ending of that war the impulse to the present commercial boom ended.

We are now running on the start which was given us by that war, and unless another war comes along to give us another boost our boom is as sure to soon stop short as is a clock sure to run down unless some one re-winds it. There is no more possibility of perpetual motion in connection with the present system than there is with an 8-day clock.

The question to be presently up to us Americans is what to do when our industrial clock runs down and stops.

As I write these lines the first of July, 1906, when prices are booming as never before, when there has never been such building activity, when the banks and the United States treasury were never so flooded with money, when corporation dividends were never so great, when there is an unprecedented boom in real estate throughout the whole American continent, for Canada, too, is with the United States in the same mad race, I say when with all these such favorable conditions in trade and without a cloud upon the financial sky, it seems madness to predict that within a twelve-month all will be reversed and the country will be in a state of panic. However, I give the present boom just one year to reach its zenith and collapse.

I predict also that when the collapse does come it will have an infinitely greater social effect than any other previous crisis. We are to suddenly plunge from the present condition of unbounded prosperity to unprecedented depression.

Merchants and manufacturers who to-day hardly know what to do with their enormous profits will then be terrified to know how to avoid bankruptcy.

Workingmen who are now scorning the highest wages ever paid in the history of the country will then be cringing at soup kitchens, glad to be fed by charity on any terms. The

trade-unions will be wrecks. The Socialist Party and the Socialist Press alone will be booming.

Now, we have had previous times of crisis in this country when times have been as hard and bad as I have just predicted as to shortly again to come upon us, but in those times in the past the people generally and labor particularly looked upon a crisis as an unavoidable natural event. Men regarded hard times then as they regard, say, yellow fever two years ago in New Orleans before the infection was found to lie in the bite of a mosquito. A panic and yellow fever were alike a visitation of God for which there was little or nothing to be done but to sit down and wait until it passed, then get up, bury the dead and count the survivors and wait for it to again appear.

But to-day, when yellow fever comes to New Orleans, they don't sit down and wail and do nothing, nor do they take a hundred different quack medicines,—they get busy, they get rid of the mosquito breeding pools, they screen the cisterns where mosquitos breed, they screen their bedrooms to protect themselves from mosquitos.

It is now recognized that without the mosquitos yellow fever cannot be conveyed from person to person. The mosquito bites a person infected with fever, then bites a well person and thus is the disease conveyed. It took quite a little time to educate the people of New Orleans about the danger of the mosquito, and the mosquito theory met with all kinds of ridicule, but the last epidemic convinced all classes as to the soundness of the theory.

The Fear of Death is a great Schoolmaster.

It will be the fear of death which will teach the American people in our next economic crisis the correct scientific remedy to avoid starvation.

We will at last see that the Mosquitos which sap our strength and poison our blood are the Capitalists. We will finally see that as long as we suffer the capitalist mosquito to puncture our veins and drain our blood we must necessarily be poverty-stricken. We will see that to get rid of the capitalist mosquito is impossible as long as we allow the pools and gutters of competition and private ownership of capital to remain. We will set to work and drain our pools as did the people of New Orleans. We will turn to and fill up the

capitalist swamps which breed our capitalist mosquitos. We will open up the mighty river of Socialism, a great clear running stream, breeding no capitalist mosquitos, which will carry man upon its broad bosom to a land of peace and plenty for all.

All this literature of exposure which is now going on, all the muck-raking, the beef-trust business, the Life Insurance frauds, the railway rebating, all, all is slowly educating the public to the nature of our present system. We no longer venerate our capitalist leaders any more than do the Russians of to-day venerate the Tsar. We are merely patiently waiting and looking for an opportunity to get rid of them. Just now we are like a man carrying a pack through the Canadian woods during the black-fly season. He is bitten to distraction by the flies, but he cannot stop to fight them on account of the pack. But because he doesn't brush them off doesn't mean he doesn't want to brush them off. He is merely biding his time. Just now he is too busy. That is just our position. We are too busy making money and drawing wages to attend to our capitalist mosquitos. But we know they are biting us all right. And we know they are of no more benefit to us than are the black flies of benefit to the man carrying the pack. We know they are annoying pests, but we don't know yet that they are as deadly as the yellow fever mosquitos. New Orleans never liked the mosquito, but it never really fought them until it found them not only annoying but deadly.

Let the next crisis come, and my prediction is that it will be here before August, 1907, unless another great war breaks out, and we will see the American people do some much more lively mosquito hunting than any one to-day would think possible.

We are to-day producing wealth in unprecedented quantity, no one can deny that everyone could be provided for in the most generous manner with our present labor power and machinery. And notwithstanding that we are producing so much food and clothing for actual day-to-day consumption we are at the same time diverting an enormous quantity of our labor force to the building of more machinery for use in the future. We are building a two hundred million dollar canal at Panama, a new hundred million dollar steel plant

at Gary, Indiana, half a dozen railway enterprises are going on and each costs over a hundred million dollars. Millions and millions are going into new houses and factories. If one-quarter of the millions we are now putting into new machinery were devoted to the making of more goods for immediate consumption by the working class, it is difficult to compute how great would be the ensuing good and comfort to the recipients.

In addition to these immense "savings" being made, our millionaires are wasting millions and millions on luxuries. No one can say that we are not producing enough and more than enough for all. Unquestionably we have right now both labor and capital at hand sufficient to give us all a good living.

Suppose in a year from to-day there is a crisis, and instead of labor and capital being well employed, both are idle. Suppose, instead of the greater part of the working class being comparatively well clothed and well fed, the greater part of them are hungry and out of work.

Does any one think that the workers will have memories so short as not to be able to look back one short year and contrast their position then and now? Does any one think that the working class in their present frame of mind in regard to the capitalist class are going to submit to starvation for any considerable time and be calmed by the explanation that the whole trouble is "overproduction"? It may be asked, "What are they going to do about it?" I can answer right now what they are going to do about it. They are going to demand Socialism, and they are going to insist on their demand, too. It may be said that they cannot do anything without organization. To this I reply, the germ of the future organization which is to free the workers is already at hand, namely, the Socialist Party. It is true that to-day it is of comparatively insignificant size and strength. But it is merely so because conditions have been unfavorable to its growth. Too much prosperity. It has the right framework, it has the right principles, it is headed in the right direction. Let the winds of an economic crisis blow and you will be astonished to see how the driftwood in the labor stream will come together in a compact mass to form a great raft under the guidance of the Socialist Party to ferry us across the River Styx of Capitalism to the Elysian Fields of Socialism.

## HERBERT SPENCER

**W**E are all too apt to think that when a man does not agree with us that there are reasons other than pure which cause the difference of opinion, and that this is a fault to which we Socialists are prone is readily admitted. But we have more cause than most people. It is not to the interest of a man of property or position to agree with us, and since the economic basis of Socialism is so plain and simple we have a good reason to question either the brains or the honesty of a man who disagrees with us. Suppose you claim the right and title to four apples, and four only. Now suppose that by actual count I show you that you really possess five apples. I then say you have an apple to which you have no right. Then if you say you fail to understand either my mathematics or my ethics I have a right to question your sanity, or if not your sanity your honesty.

Socialism to a Socialist is like unto this problem of the four apples in its simplicity, and it is always hard for us to understand that it is not all just as plain to others as it is to us.

Now Herbert Spencer was always a conundrum to us Socialists. Here was a man, one of the foremost thinkers of the day, and a man who bowed the knee to neither priest nor millionaire nor king. A man who preceded Darwin in his adherence to the theory of evolution. A man who at one time was heading straight for Socialism. He was apparently logically bound to apply his theory of social evolution to the social organization of man as well as to his individual organization. If man was developing, then so was society. He had said that the "cardinal trait in all advancing organizations is the development of the regulative apparatus," but when the trust appeared as the great regulator of industry, and a fulfilment of his prophecy, he refused to recognize it as a fulfilment, but persisted in looking at it through the blind and prejudiced eyes of an American politician. He

called the trust an unnatural phenomenon which should be suppressed by the police powers of the State. Then when some fifty years ago he went so far as to demand the nationalization of land as a necessary concomitant of his theories of exact and equal justice, he later on recanted his demand, lamely excusing himself by saying that it was "simpler" to leave the existing owners in possession than to take the trouble of expropriating them.

Of course, in a way, he was right. That is, if we are to leave private capital except land in the hands of private owners and continue with our present competitive system, then it's hardly worth while to upset things for the little good that land nationalization would do. But by leaving things as they are we give up all our ideas of exact justice, and for a man holding the high ethical standard held by Herbert Spencer his recantation was incongruous and inexplicable.

The man was a great disappointment; but this is not saying that he has not performed a great and monumental work for humanity. He made many good bricks, and even if they do not go to construct the building he designed, they have come into good use constructing our Socialist house of the future.

## HOW TO BE HAPPY

**T**HE rich are above the law, and no better illustration could be had than the action of the directors of the corporation which owned the steamer General Slocum, which recently burnt up, with the loss of a thousand lives. The evidence showed such criminal negligence to provide life preservers and proper fire apparatus that the directors have been indicted for manslaughter. After the indictment it was common talk that nothing would come of it all, and that the directors themselves are unafraid can be seen from the way they are acting regarding another steamboat they own, the Grand Republic, a sister ship to the General Slocum. The Grand Republic is used exclusively for excursions and has a legal carrying capacity of 3,700 passengers. Some weeks previous to the Slocum disaster I myself was a passenger upon the Grand Republic on an excursion up the Hudson River. There were at least 2,000 more on board than the law allowed, and there was not the least attempt even to prevent still more crowding upon her. The only reason there were no more on board was that no more tickets were in demand. It was so crowded that when she made her stop at 125th street—she started from 'Twenty-third street—a great many more got off there than got on, as many had an opportunity to realize by that time that the crowd was too great for comfort, quite apart from considering the danger of it, and they preferred to forfeit their fares rather than continue the trip. If a fire had occurred that day, even if there had been plenty of good life preservers, there would certainly have been an immense loss of life, for the boat was so overcrowded that it would have been impossible to have gotten near a preserver. This kind of overcrowding is the rule with excursion boats, not only about New York, but about every other American city. There is no country in the world where profits are put so far ahead of human life as in our dear land of Colorado Bull Pen Liberty.

However, to continue my story. After the burning of the Slocum there was a demand for general reinspection of all excursion steamers about New York harbor. I am not very innocent, but I admit that I thought to myself that the lesson of the Slocum would certainly warn the directors to get the Grand Republic in ship-shape to pass the reinspection, sure to come shortly. I did think a man under indictment for manslaughter would be careful to avoid another indictment. Not at all. Did the directors turn to and fix up the Grand Republic after the burning of the Slocum? Not only did they fail to prepare her for reinspection, but they actually contested the right of the government to reinspect! However, the reinspection was made and what the same inspector two months ago pronounced safe he now pronounces unsafe. The life preservers were found absolutely rotten and incapable of sustaining even twenty-four pounds of lead, and the fire hose was as rotten as the life preservers. As for a fire drill, the crew never had heard of such a thing. Now it must be borne in mind that all this criminal negligence is found on the Grand Republic a full month or more after her owners had been indicted for criminal negligence regarding the Slocum. If this conduct does not show a contempt for the power of the law when it comes to the protection of the weak from the strong, then there has never been an example of it.

Money has now become such a power in this country, it has such an absolute dominance over our courts, that it is almost hopeless to look for any good results from the passage of laws designed to protect man as against the money-bag. We have seen how the trade unions are being crippled by one decision after the other. We have seen how in Colorado the referendum is disregarded by the corporations and the constitution scoffed at. The nation may not be ruled by Money, but it is certainly ruled by the Men who rule Money. The only men who can rule money are those who own money. Ergo, if the Nation would rule money, it must own money. What is money? When we say Rockefeller is worth lots of money what do we mean? Do we mean he has lots of dollar bills in his vest pocket? Of course not. Rockefeller might be worth a billion dollars of money and yet not have ten dollars in bank. Let him own the Trusts and the

Railways and he can own a billion of money whenever he will. The Trusts command money and money commands the Nation. When we use the word money we use it metaphorically. We don't mean actual dollars and cents, but we mean railways and other forms of capital, the ownership of which gives the owner the power of extracting the dollars from the people. Therefore, when I say, Let the Nation Own the Money, I do not mean to cry, Let the Nation Own the Gold Dollars and the Greenbacks. I mean, Let the Nation Own the Trusts. Once owning the Trusts, the Nation will have no more difficulty commanding money than has Mr. Rockefeller commanding it. If we do not wish any more burning up of the people in Iroquois theatres or Slocum steamboats, then let us do away with the profit system which causes men to burn up their fellow-men for the sake of a few half-dollars. If we do not wish to shorten the lives of millions of our fellow-men who are wearing out their lives working unnecessarily long hours and in unnecessarily unhealthy factories, then let us be the owners of those factories ourselves and regulate our hours and the conditions of our labor. Instead of allowing a few soulless corporations to sweat and murder us on the plan of making the most profit without regard to the loss of life, let us be our own masters.

If we wish this Earth to be our Paradise for men, then Let the Nation Own the Trusts. This sounds hifalutin. Is it? What is Paradise but a place where you do what you like? And what you like is obedience to God. Obedience to God has an ugly sound for most of us. It usually means doing something you do not wish to do, in order that someone else may have the fruit of your work. Be unhappy yourself that someone else may be happy. But this is not obedience to God. God's law is simply the law that impels us all to do what is best for the social organism, not for our own selves, not for our neighbors, but for the general good. When we do what is best for all, we are doing what is best for ourselves and what renders us the most happy. However, we cannot under present conditions either do what is best for ourselves, nor for our neighbors, nor for humanity. Therefore we are unhappy and this world is not Paradise. We simply cannot be good as things are to-day, and unless we are good we cannot be happy. Therefore no one is happy. If we would be good

we must have the conditions which allow of Goodness. The primary condition is liberty for each individual to be able to work to the best advantage for humanity as a whole, for by so doing he is working the best for himself. To do this we must control the earth and manage it for ourselves. Someone else cannot do this for us any more than someone else can be good and happy for us. To control and manage the earth we must own it. The first step toward ownership will come only when we cry, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts."

## MR. GOMPERS AND HIS LITTLE PLAN

**T**HE American Federation of Labor, by a vote of over five to one, has decided that it doesn't want any close connection between the political and the economic movements of the working class.

Mr. Gompers, the president of the Federation, took occasion during the debate on the subject to declare to the Socialists: "Economically you are unsound, socially you are wrong and industrially you are an impossibility." Such remarks from Mr. Gompers naturally aroused more or less annoyance among the Socialist delegates at the convention, and among the Socialists generally throughout the country. But what else could we anticipate? Mr. Gompers spoke from his own particular trade-union standpoint. The trade-union movement is essentially a movement to raise wages. That this is a difficult task goes without saying. It is difficult enough when the whole attention of organized labor is devoted to this one object, and dividing the attention certainly would not make the task any lighter. This is essentially the position taken by Mr. Gompers and Mr. Mitchell and the rest of the trades unionists pure and simple, and there is more or less logic in it. Neither Mr. Gompers nor Mr. Mitchell understands the present economic situation and its natural evolution. They look upon Socialism as if it were a scheme of industrial government to be imposed upon us by the conscious action of the working class, along the line of a predetermined plan. That it is coming about as a natural and inevitable result of industrial and social evolution never occurs to them.

The Socialist Party at the last election cast a very small percentage of the general vote. If Gompers should advocate that trades unionists attach themselves to this small party, he knows enough to know that his advocacy would influence only a small percentage of the trades unionists, and that little good could accrue to the Socialist movement, and much harm to the trades union movement. He also knows that

such advocacy would cost him his office. Many of the trades unionists are good Democrats or good Republicans, as the case may be, and have as much affiliation for their respective parties as a Methodist has for his church. Some would rather abandon their trades union than to abandon their party. To ask a Republican trades unionist to attach himself to the Socialist Party would be almost like asking a Methodist to become a Roman Catholic. It takes a long process of education to make a Socialist. This is particularly true when the man has been doing as well as the average trades unionist has been doing for the last four or five years. He is quite satisfied with the existing system which has given him a good job for the last four years. Of course, he asks for more, but often in his inmost heart, he thinks he is getting all that is his due, and he is simply asking for more because he thinks he can get it.

The knowledge that he produces a great deal more than the very best paid trades unionist gets, and the conviction that he should get the whole of his product, is not as yet widely prevalent among the trades unionists. However, President Gompers himself admitted that conditions for the next year are not going to be analogous to those of the past four years. He knows that we are approaching a period of great depression; and he has warned the capitalists that they ought not to meet this by reducing wages. He has adopted the Socialist argument, that inasmuch as the working class constitutes the great bulk of consumers, any reduction in wages will reduce the demand for commodities to just the extent of the reduction; and render the problem of over-production still more insoluble.

The idea of Gompers appealing to the capitalists to keep up wages in a time of falling prices and over-production is a more palpably Utopian scheme than anything the Socialists ever dreamed of presenting. For instance, here are, say, the cotton mills encountering a reduction in the price of cotton cloth. They have two alternatives, either to shut down the mills altogether or to reduce wages, so as to decrease the cost of the cloth, and enable them to make and sell their product without loss.

According to Gompers' plan they would go ahead paying the same wages as at present, in order to give the mill-work-

ers an opportunity of buying more cloth than they could if wages were reduced. If the cotton mill owners were the only employers of labor in the world, this plan might work well enough; but inasmuch as they are engaged in competition with all the rest of the world, and as the laborers spend but a very small proportion of their wages in buying cotton cloth, and the far greater proportion in buying bread and meat and sugar and paying rent, it can be seen that the cotton mill owners personally would get a very small direct benefit through keeping up wages in the cotton mills. It is self-evident that the Gompers' plan is an impossibility. With the period of depression and falling prices that we are now entering upon in the United States, the capitalists must either reduce wages or shut down the factories. The reduction of wages would be at best only a temporary expedient, and we would finally have to shut down the factories anyway.

Gompers is right in saying that the working class constitutes the bulk of the consumers, and that cutting down their wages will hasten the coming of the unemployed problem; but in the meantime cutting down the wages does give the capitalist a chance to breathe a little longer, and the meantime is very important.

When the Federation of Labor meets next year conditions are going to be very different from what they are at this meeting. There will be no mutual congratulations next year about the prosperity of trades unionism, increase of wages and winning of strikes. On the contrary it will be a very mournful tale of the breaking up of the trades unions, a large decrease in the membership of the Federation, a great reduction of wages and hundreds of thousands of members out of employment. Gompers' absurd plan of having the capitalists pay high wages during periods of depression will not even be mentioned.

The question as to whether Socialism is an industrial impossibility, as Mr. Gompers has proclaimed, will probably be the particular subject of discussion. Certainly the existing system of competition will have proved itself to be an impossibility and will be so realized by a great many out-of-work trades unionists next year. When a man is out of employment he is very apt to have his ideas shaken as to the

eternal goodness of the existing system, even if he does adore Mr. Gompers.

With competition found to be impossible and Socialism declared by Gompers to be impractical, the trades unionist will be indeed in a perplexed state of mind. Whatever way he may look he will see no land in sight. However, with the collapse of the present wage system, it is probable that the deference he now shows to Mr. Gompers' view of Socialism may be considerably modified.

So long as we can get along at all with the present system, no change will be made. Man, as a rule, is loath to do anything until he has to do it, and naturally when it comes to making such a vast change as that from one social system to another, he is not likely to do it until it has become a vital necessity. And this is the point, it seems to me, which is likely to be reached before a great many years.

Trades unions are only of benefit to the laborer when there is a demand for labor, just as the Trust is only of benefit to the capitalist when there is a demand for capital. The trades union prevents competition among laborers cutting the price of labor below the point of subsistence. The Trust prevents capitalists selling their capital below cost. In both cases the premise is that there is a demand. If there is no demand for labor, the trades union naturally cannot protect the laborer. When there is no demand for capital for the production of commodities because of there being no sale for them, there is no reason why there should be any Trust among capitalists to prevent too much capital going into that industry.

The crisis just now impending over the United States cannot be obviated by action of either the trades unions or the Trusts. They are equally helpless before the situation which arises from non-demand for their respective commodities.

Some people have argued that the Trusts, by regulating the production of commodities, can institute some sort of industrial feudalism which will result in the permanence of the existing competitive system.

There is no doubt at all that the existing Trusts, by virtue of their monopoly, have been able to make much greater profits than they would have made under competition, and to a certain very limited extent they have divided these

profits among their respective employees by the payment of somewhat higher wages. This sop, though small, had something to do with the Federation's declaration against anti-Trust legislation, alleging that such legislation would be turned against the trades unions rather than against the capitalists. No doubt there is some truth in this allegation; but it is also true that the trades unions themselves feel somewhat kindly toward the Trust form of industry which has enabled them to get higher wages than might possibly have fallen to them otherwise. The employer when he reduces wages invariably excuses himself to his workmen by declaring that he is reluctantly forced to it by the lowering of prices. The Trust, by being the only employer of labor, might oppress labor, but so far it has not exercised its power that way. The trades unionists are apparently grateful to the Trusts for the favor they have received, and the adoption of the resolutions by the Federation of Labor is more or less tangible evidence of this gratitude.

The recent disclosures ventilated in McClure's Magazine about the combination of the trades unionists and the trust of the coal dealers in Chicago, by which the coal dealers raised the price of coal, and then, through their tremendous profits, were enabled to pay higher prices for union labor, is still fresh in our memories, and is a concrete example of what Mr. Gompers is grateful for.

With a constantly growing demand for commodities the Trust could hold a monopoly price upon sales, and if they were entrenched still further in their monopoly by an alliance with the trades unions, and in return for this alliance gave higher wages, then, indeed, we would be in danger of the so-called "industrial feudalism." And it is not owing to the reluctance of the capitalists or of the trades unionists that such a system of industry may not some day be imposed upon us. That there is no danger of such a fate befalling us is owing to the fact that such a state of affairs is an economic impossibility. Of this the existing industrial situation alone is sufficient evidence.

Here we have the Steel Trust finding the market flooded with steel products, because the capitalists who have been building steel buildings and laying steel rail find that there is no longer any chance of profitable extension of their busi-

ness. Therefore they don't buy steel; therefore the steel mills don't make steel; therefore the steel trust cannot employ men. So that even if the steel trust were willing to pay the highest-asked wages, it could not do so, simply because it cannot pay even the lowest wages, because it cannot sell its product. Hence any combination between the steel trust and its employees must finally fall to the ground as soon as the market for steel collapses; and such is the case to-day.

We could only have an industrial feudalism by the total elimination of competition between the capitalists, as well as between the laborers, and not only through our own nation, but throughout the whole world.

It must be remembered that there is one great class of competitors whom no union can ever save from competition, and that is the farmers. The farmer is statistically shown to get less return from his farm than the average laborer gets from his labor. The farmer is really engaged in selling his labor, just as much as the laborer is; he merely doesn't sell it directly to the capitalist as does the laborer. The wheat farmers of the world are engaged in competition, one against the other, in the sale of their wheat; Liverpool fixing the world price of wheat. The price is determined by the cost of production at the margin of cultivation. The great majority of farmers are working at approximately this margin of cultivation. They are, hence, compelled to work for a mere subsistence wage like the city laborers. The mere fact that the farmer gets paid for his wheat instead of for his labor does not alter the fact that he is really paid a competitive wage, just as much as is the day laborer. Now, with the farming class so ground down to the verge of mere subsistence through competition in the sale of their products, it is at once evident that they cannot get enough of their product to avoid over-production, unless a world-union of farmers to hold up the price of their agricultural products can be formed. This, on the face of it, is an impossibility. And it is not only the farmers who are cutting their own throats by competition. There is an immense body of small middle-class men, merchants, etc., who, through competition, are also selling their services at a mere subsistence living. Then, of course, there are hundreds of thousands of laborers

who can never be organized into a trade union and who are getting mere subsistence wages. The only people who can be raised above the mere subsistence wage are practically those who are already organized in the trades unions, and these constitute only about one-ninth of the wage-workers of the United States. And even with the trades unionists, their own estimate of what they should have is so very low, being only a few cents a day above a subsistence wage, that even if all the organized workers got trade-union wages it would have little effect in relieving the glutted market of the world.

Again, we have not taken into consideration the competition of the capitalist who is removed from the possibility of entering into a trust and has the price of his products lowered by competition exactly as are those of the farmer. The capitalist himself lowers his prices in the struggle for a market.

This theory of an industrial feudalism is one of the wildest and most ridiculous ones that has ever originated in the mind of man; but, luckily, outside of a few dreamy socialists of the half-baked variety, who are so far removed from the actual affairs of this world, that what they think is of no importance, it is held by no one.

Another idea that is being suggested in this connection is equally absurd. It is that the capitalists when they find a period of depression coming on, and that they cannot utilize labor in productive enterprises, will transfer it from productive occupation and use it creating luxuries. To speak concretely: if Mr. Schwab, who is a large holder of steel trust stock, finds that there is a slack in the demand for steel, and that he cannot employ laborers to make more steel, he would take five thousand men away from the steel mills and set them to work raising roses in his garden.

The absurdity of this is at once evident when it is remembered that when over-production of steel exhibits itself it means that a much lower price will be paid for steel. This means a tremendous falling off in the profits of the steel trust and naturally a great diminution of Mr. Schwab's income. It may be that his income may sink to practically nothing, if all his capital is invested in the steel trust. So that these Utopian dreamers would argue that the moment

Schwab's income sinks to zero, it will be the signal for him to employ thousands of men in growing roses, merely to keep them employed. Just when Schwab would naturally economize he is to splurge. Further analysis of this absurd idea is quite unnecessary. It is even more absurd than Mr. Gompers' idea of the capitalists keeping up high wages on a falling market. There is no future for this country except socialism, and there is no possibility of benevolent feudalism or any other thing, side-tracking the irresistible movement of humanity to its inevitable goal of socialism.

## MONOPOLY A NECESSITY

**T**HE series of interesting articles upon Mr. Rockefeller is still running in McClure's Magazine. The author is Miss Tarbell, and her story certainly shows great ability in the gathering of information. It would seem, however, that if Miss Tarbell could understand better that Mr. Rockefeller was forced by unavoidable circumstances to pursue his path of consolidation, she would write a more sympathetic article and one in which the philosophy would be more apparent. No causality permeates her story. She does not correlate her facts, as she might easily do by making the predominating note the necessity of things.

If a leak be found in a Mississippi River levee it becomes imperative that it be stopped at once, for every drop of water that goes through increases the opening, until finally the crevice becomes so great that nothing can prevent the ruin of the fertile fields that lie beyond the levee. No sacrifice is too great for the planters to make to prevent such a leak, and nothing is considered a greater crime than to weaken the levee. During periods of flood, patrols walk up and down on the levee, armed with rifles, to shoot down any pilot who runs his steamboat so near to the levee that the wash from the boat damages it.

Competition in a business like the oil business, or, in fact, any business furnishing a commodity of which price is a determining factor in finding a market, is just as dangerous to the stability of that business as a break in the levee is to a plantation on the banks of the Mississippi. If competition is not stopped at once, it grows worse and worse, until finally the business is swamped. For instance, here is Mr. Rockefeller with a monopoly of the oil business. A small refiner, say, like Mr. George Rice of Marietta, competes with him. Mr. Rice, in order to sell his oil, sells it at a little lower price than Mr. Rockefeller sells his. Mr. Rockefeller holds up the price, so that Mr. Rice can make money, even

if he must take a cent per gallon less than Mr. Rockefeller gets. Then Mr. Rice uses the profits that he so makes in enlarging his refinery and next month he sells still more oil and again uses the profits for still further enlargements. Meanwhile, it must be understood that Mr. Rockefeller has more refineries than enough to supply the market. He sees his own refineries standing idle because he has closed them to prevent the lowering of price by the production of too much oil. Mr. Rice takes advantage of the situation to produce more and more oil. Rockefeller holds up the umbrella to protect Rice. His profit is the result of Mr. Rockefeller's restricting production. What would happen if Mr. Rockefeller allowed this thing to go on? Mr. Rice would finally have just as large a plant as Mr. Rockefeller and the market would soon be flooded, and both would go down in a common sea of bankruptcy through the ruinous prices made as the result of this overproduction.

We justify a man going to any extreme to preserve his own life and that of his family. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. A man's business is his support in life, and if you take that away you take away his life. It may seem absurd to talk about such a small competitor as Mr. Rice taking away the life of the Standard Oil Trust; but a little mole may start a hole in the levee which will develop into a crevasse allowing the Mississippi to sweep away a whole country. Hence, when we hear tales of the Standard Oil Trust having gone to the utmost extreme in order to exterminate competitors, even to blowing up their oil refineries with dynamite, we need not be astonished at the heroic measures employed. It is simply a question of self-preservation. When the trades unions resort to every possible means, legal or illegal, to prevent even one "scab" doing work in competition with the union, they are pursuing exactly the same policy. They know that if one scab is allowed to work, more scabs will come in, and finally there will be enough at work to break up the union. The number of non-union men employed in a shop may be insignificant as compared with the number of union men, but it presents just the same kind of danger that Mr. Rice's small capital against the enormous capital of the Standard Oil Company does, if allowed to exist in competition with it.

This necessity for the extermination of competitors in the capitalistic world is going to be brought very clearly before us during the next year, when profits and interest approach the vanishing point, coincident with the disappearance of prosperity. The necessity for monopoly is going to be infinitely more apparent in the near future than it has ever been in the past. This will apply to the trades unionists as well as to the capitalists, and all possible means to secure it will probably be used by both sides.

## UNDIGESTED SECURITIES

**T**HERE has been considerable discussion in the newspapers about the menace to our industrial situation resulting from the public being unable or unwilling to buy a large mass of securities, bonds, stocks, etc., which Mr. Morgan and his associates have recently issued, based upon various enterprises incorporated by those esteemed gentlemen.

In order to understand the economic position clearly, let us suppose that there are but three capitalists in the world, viz., Morgan, Vanderbilt and Rockefeller, and that these three men own the whole earth. They look over this sphere and determine that certain railroads and canals and steel works can be built which would give certain facilities for the production of material commodities better than those now existing. Suppose they detail, after a careful calculation, say, two-thirds of the inhabitants of the earth to the work of manufacturing the food, clothing, housing, etc., which they find necessary for the whole of the inhabitants. They divide the remaining one-third of the people into two parts, detailing one part, *i. e.*, one-sixth of the whole, to construct such new industries as they may think are wanted, and then they set the other half to work producing luxuries for themselves or working as their servants, footmen, coachmen, etc.

This is practically the industrial process now going on. As long as Vanderbilt, Morgan and Rockefeller can keep the whole six-sixths of us employed, there is no danger of any unemployed problem or any trouble about undigested securities. If it take a full three-thirds of the earth's population to produce wealth enough for the whole two-thirds, it is evident that if any larger part than the remaining one-third were devoted to the production of new machinery or of luxuries, then the excess must be subtracted from the two-thirds, the number necessary to feed the whole three-thirds.

However, supposing the capitalists were so eager to build new railroads or so greedy to enjoy luxuries that they would employ more than the one-third at such occupations, the result would be a diminution in the amount of grain and pork produced, since the necessary two-thirds would not be working, which would force part of the world to go hungry. This would be the condition which is described in the economic phraseology: "Too much floating capital has become fixed capital." That is, we would be building railroads more rapidly than we could afford. Now, supposing Mr. Vanderbilt had desired to build more railroads than Mr. Rockefeller thought the world could afford to build, and Mr. Rockefeller therefore would not join him; and he would say to Mr. Vanderbilt: "Look here, Vanderbilt, you may go ahead and build as many railroads as you wish or you think needed. I will lend you money to do it with, if you will pledge your part of the world to me as security for repayment." In other words, Vanderbilt assumes the risk and will get the profits or meet the losses, while Rockefeller advances the money and gets simply interest. This advance of money simply means that Rockefeller allows Vanderbilt part of his share of the products of his laborers to feed and clothe his, Vanderbilt's, laborers in payment for their producing more railroads for Vanderbilt.

If before the completion of the railroad, or even after it, Rockefeller should demand payment from Vanderbilt of what had been lent to him, and Vanderbilt could not pay, of course Rockefeller would be in a position to force Vanderbilt to give up a part of his share of the earth, Rockefeller would foreclose his mortgage. Of course, if Rockefeller would give Vanderbilt time, Vanderbilt might finally pay him off, but it might be that conditions would be such that Rockefeller would insist upon immediate payment, and Vanderbilt would be in a bad way. By immediate payment, as things go to-day, we mean payment in gold. But gold is obtained from the laborer who mines it by the exchange of other commodities produced by other laborers; so that Vanderbilt's laborers in time would produce sufficient food to feed other laborers digging out gold, and this gold would first go into Vanderbilt's hands and then come into Rockefeller's hands in payment of the debt. But all this takes time, and time

might be the element most important in the case and be vital to Vanderbilt's being able to liquidate his indebtedness to Rockefeller.

Suppose Vanderbilt is building railroads to-day, that he is issuing bonds and stocks upon these railroads, which are virtually notes of indebtedness, and that he expects to sell these stocks and bonds to Rockefeller. But Rockefeller does not buy with the avidity that he might be expected to do. Vanderbilt would find himself with a lot of "undigested securities" on hand which he could not dispose of. In the course of time Vanderbilt himself could take up his own undigested securities, so to speak, from the income of his own properties, and also in course of time Rockefeller and Morgan, from the income of their properties, would have a surplus on hand to buy such securities, because they would have no other place to invest their surplus incomes. But again, this is all a question of "time." Therefore, the problem of "undigested securities" is, like any other question of digestion, one of time. A man eats a hearty dinner; if he is in a healthy state and you give him time he will digest it, and nothing else but time can effect the digestion.

"Undigested securities" simply mean that a certain part of the capitalists have overbuilt the machinery of production and their bonds and securities issued upon this footing have not been sold to other capitalists as readily as was anticipated. However, unless financial disturbance takes place, this condition is of no material consequence, inasmuch as it only requires time to straighten matters out. That is, this will be true if the inordinate construction of new machinery be abated.

Another phrase, which is often used when issuing bonds for the payment of certain improvements, is "we will let posterity pay for the said improvements." As a matter of fact, any work that is being done on earth to-day, building railroads or anything else, must be and can only be done by the present generation, and it is absurd to talk about a generation which is yet unborn doing any work for us. If bonds are issued by a city in order to pay for its sewer system, it simply means that labor is being performed in some other part of the world, for instance, raising wheat and pork—and this food is lent by the capitalist constructing such improve-

ments to the citizen of that town to feed them while they are building their sewer, upon the pledge that the said pork and wheat shall be paid back at some future day with an added percentage in the way of interest. Taking the earth as a whole, however, it is absurd to talk about posterity constructing any present-day improvements. The "posterity" that works for us is simply the present generation in a different locality.

The danger of to-day consists not in undigested securities, but rather in capitalist society not having enough securities furnished it to feed it. Of course, as in the case of an individual laborer, there are times when he may suffer from indigestion from eating too much food, but his great danger is not over-eating, but in the possibility that some day he will not have enough to eat. The continuance of our capitalist system depends upon the construction of more and more machinery, and this machinery, whether it be a new railroad or a new telegraph cable, is represented by new securities, bonds and stocks, and when the world reaches the point where no more of these machines are needed, there will be no more bonds thrown on the market. The consequence will be that the stock market will be suffering from a scarcity of stocks rather than from a surplus. The immediate result will be a great rise in the price of existing stocks and bonds; unless, which is very possible, there should be a period of great commercial depression owing to general overproduction, which will so reduce the earnings of existing stocks that prices fall, notwithstanding that no more stocks are being added to the general market. The moment the process of construction of new machinery ceases, and it must cease owing to the practical completion of the industrial equipment, then we will be confronted with a great unemployed problem. While this unemployed problem may take place coincidentally with the phenomenon of "undigested securities," the only reason that they are coincident is that the securities have been issued upon the last lot of machinery constructed, and which has failed to pay dividends owing to there having been no commercial demand for such machinery.

Every day there are less and less opportunities for the investment of capital in enterprises which promise safety and security. The result is that a great deal of machinery is

likely to be built for which there is no demand, in the capitalistic sense; and upon this machinery there will be floated stocks and bonds which will probably in very many instances never pay any dividends. Such securities will, of course, remain "undigested," for they are of the nature of food known to be innutritious and indigestible, and consequently in no demand. In the continued manifestation and appearance of this kind of undigested securities there is indeed a menace to our whole financial structure; and it is probable that many of the securities which are classed to-day among the "undigested" are of this nature. In fact, the recent failure of the Shipbuilding Trust and of several other great corporations would seem to indicate that even though time were given, the public would be very unlikely to take over such securities, inasmuch as they are not of a nature to attract investors, since they would have very little likelihood of ever paying dividends.

Thus, one sees that the cry of "undigested securities" is of no especial menace if the securities are based upon legitimate financial operations, provided we have time to allow the public to gradually absorb such securities. On the other hand, if they represent such wildcat concerns as the Shipbuilding Trust, they are a menace to our financial system and a prophecy of its early collapse.

The financial system and the industrial system, though closely related, are not necessarily affected by the same conditions. The *financial* systems of the world, and especially those of the United States, are of a much more delicate nature and more liable to derangement than the *industrial* system. Our industrial system will break down only when we finally reach the stage of complete overproduction of mechanical equipment. Our financial system can break down from a number of causes, at any time, and it is very likely that a violent financial crisis will be precipitated upon us some years ahead of the inevitable and final industrial crisis. Of course, it is understood that a financial crisis must bring on our industrial crisis. Any day might see some great banking concern break, which would pull down other banking concerns, and throw the whole financial world into a state of collapse. This collapse would naturally bring down at the same time our industrial structure; and we may not have to

wait until the industrial structure is completed before we shall see the end of our competitive system.

As a matter of fact, the industrial structure is already in a state so near completion, that any great financial crisis is very likely to usher in the transformation of society from Capitalism into Socialism.

## TESLA'S GREAT PROMISE

**N**IKOLA TESLA has recently announced that he is about to perfect an invention which will distribute electric power from a central plant throughout the earth, so that, for instance, the electricity may be developed at Niagara and that it may be used in London. Not only that, but we will send news, without wires, to any part of the world. A man may be isolated in the heart of Africa and yet be in perfect communication with New York or London. It is said that whatever the mind of man conceives he can put into operation, so that even if Mr. Tesla does not realize his hopes at present, then some other man will do so some day. Human society as a whole is an organism and it is certainly in the line of development that every portion of that organism should be in intellectual touch with every other portion. To-day large portions of humanity are quite separated from the whole, and even those portions which are most closely in contact, as for instance society as organized within the United States, where we have telegraphic and telephonic communication, there is left much to be desired. Perfection for the human race will not come until each individual human being will be as consciously in touch with every other human being as is each cell in his body consciously related to every other cell in his body. It will be just as impossible for a man to be happy when he knows that another man is unhappy while it is possible for him to be relieved of pain, as it is for an individual to be happy when any part of his physical body is in pain. In the lowest form of life, the amoeba, there is no organic connection between the members. One part may be injured and the rest of the body not know it, nor have any care for the injured part. The amoeba may be cut into four or five different pieces and each part will become an organism by itself as complete and perfect as the parent organism. As the amoeba has developed higher and higher in the scale of life, it becomes more and more organized and different parts assume particular

functions. Instead of every part being an eye and every part being a stomach, one part specializes and becomes an eye, and another part specializes and becomes a stomach, etc. In this higher form of life we see, for instance, that it is manifestly impossible to injure any part without the rest of the parts suffering. It is ridiculous to think of cutting a dog into five different pieces and making five new dogs. Human society is analogous in its development to the amoeba. Fifty years ago, before we had railways, we could have divided the United States into different sections and it would have made little difference to the country as a whole, inasmuch as communication was so infrequent and difficult between the sections that they were in no way interdependent upon each other as to-day. There was neither the exchange of goods nor the exchange of intelligence which is now prevailing. In the same way, as the different nations of the earth have become more organically united within themselves, they have become also organically united nation to nation in a world trade federation. Just as industry has progressed from the national stage to the world stage, so has human sympathy made like progress, and now the perfection of the means for the conveyance of this organic world thought seems to be about to be disclosed to us by Nikola Tesla.

## BRYAN EXPLAINS SOCIALISM

**M**R. BRYAN has at last been driven from cover by the attacks of the *Chicago Chronicle* denouncing him as a Socialist. He has a long editorial in the late *Commoner*, in which he explains why he is not a Socialist. He admitted that he has come to the conclusion that monopoly in railroads and telephones and telegraphs has come to stay, and that, therefore, it is better to have public monopoly than private monopoly. But he is not prepared to admit that there is any economic necessity for trusts in the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods, whiskey, or oil, or tobacco, etc. He says: "These trusts are organized not because of any economic necessity, but for the purpose of destroying competition." The question I would like to put to Mr. Bryan is: That if it becomes an economic necessity to destroy competition, is not then the trust an economic necessity? Mr. Bryan does not understand that the accumulation of surplus capital in this country, which has hitherto been poured into the building of productive machinery, has now finally rendered it much greater than any economic demand. Over-production has ensued and over-production means cut-throat competition and cut-throat competition means bankruptcy unless it is prevented. If Mr. Bryan could only understand that the trust is an absolute economic necessity to prevent over-production, we would have him right in line in seeing the necessity of the trust. When he sees the necessity of the trust in manufacturing enterprises he will be compelled to logically conclude with the Socialists that such monopolies along with railroad monopolies should be nationalized. Mr. Bryan is moving, but moving slowly. He says he now sees that the borrower is not on the same footing as the lender, therefore he favors limiting the rate of interest. He sees that the employee is not on the same footing as the employer, therefore he favors the limitation of the hours of labor and the prevention of the employment of children. These are great steps in advance for Mr. Bryan, who, only

a few years ago, was declaring for free trade in everything, silver, as well as labor. He belonged to the old Adam Smith school of *laissez-faire* economists. However, now that he sees that the employee is not on a footing with the employer, and is attempting to put him more on an equality, we would like to ask him if the best way to get him there is not to put him on an equality of wealth. This is what public ownership of the means of production would do. It is a pity that Bryan does not understand his economics better than he does, as there is no one in the country who has a better opportunity of getting his views heard.

## THE RIGHTS OF A WHEELBARROW

**T**HE way the President is absorbing the spirit of the times, the rapidity with which he is moving along to the Socialist position, is a mile-post showing us how rapidly the whole nation is commencing to take a new viewpoint.

The President speaks of "organized capital" and "organized" labor. What does he really mean?

What is capital? A wheelbarrow is capital. What is "organized" capital. A number of wheelbarrows or cars pushed by a steam engine over an iron roadbed is a railway, it is capital, it is "organized" capital.

What rights has a wheelbarrow? Can it vote?

What is labor? It is men. You say you will hire labor to build a house. What do you mean? You mean you will hire men. What is "organized" labor? It is men who have assembled together for the purpose of systematically carrying out a certain project.

Suppose you were cast away on an island all alone with one wheelbarrow. Suppose some fine day the wheelbarrow should say to you, "See here, young man, you are Labor and I am Capital, and I wish you to understand that I have just as many rights as you have. In fact, I have more rights, for I have the right of doing nothing and being kept in good condition and well oiled, while you get nothing unless you work. You have no right to use me to wheel dirt or to do anything else until you get my permission." You say that only one having a disordered brain would ever seriously think of a wheelbarrow having a personality, a few sticks of wood and an iron hoop stuck together as having rights. Very well. Then let us suppose that a ship is wrecked on your island; the passengers and crew escape and join you in the work of making the problem of gaining food supply simpler by building all sorts of ingenious machinery. In other words, they

become "organized labor" and the wheelbarrow is transformed into a railway and becomes "organized capital."

Now you who laughed to scorn the idea of the wheelbarrow as capital asserting its rights, what would you say to the railway as "organized" capital asserting its rights? Would you not say it is just as absurd to talk of rights of a wheelbarrow as rights of capital?

Now then, if you see the absurdity of rights of capital upon a hypothetical island, then why can you not see the same absurdity when your President talks about the rights of capital in your own country?

You may explain that he does not really mean rights of capital, but rights of the men who own capital, or capitalists. I ask then if the man who owns capital has any rights that the man who does not own capital is not entitled to, then is it not really capital that has the superior rights and not the owner? Suppose he lose his capital on Wall Street?

August Belmont lost the Louisville and Nashville railway over night last winter when John W. Gates made his famous raid. Do not the rights which he held by virtue of his ownership of capital depart with the capital? Admitting this, can you still say that it is not capital, but the man who owns the capital, that has the rights?

The President is not wrong in speaking of the rights of capital, for capital has rights which are very superior to the rights of man.

However, when the President uses such phrases as "organized labor" and "organized capital" and puts them in anti-thesis as having respective rights, it means the day when some inquisitive man will be inquiring, "Why should not Organized Capital be Owned and Controlled by Organized Labor? and then we will have no more of this absurd discussion about the rights of capital."

## TO THE VOTERS OF THE 10TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, NEW YORK

**D**O you wish to abolish poverty? You will say, of course, you do.

But you will add that it can't be done. This is a mistake.

It is true you cannot, and neither can I, abolish poverty, but, nevertheless, poverty can be abolished if you and I can get enough other people to help us in the task.

There is nothing impossible about abolishing poverty. The only difficulty lies in getting people to see that it can be done. There is enough of wealth in the world to make everybody wealthy if it were only properly distributed. The trouble is that those who produce the wealth don't get it.

It is not owing to "under-production" that we have poverty. On the contrary, what we all fear to-day is "over-production," for when that happens men cannot get work, and so they starve to death because there is too much food.

See what a vicious circle we are in. Is it not an absurdity that because the baker has more bread than he can sell, you cannot get a job baking bread, and, therefore, you can't get the wages to buy bread, and, therefore, since he has more bread than he can sell, and as you can't buy the bread you want for the lack of wages, you must starve, because there is too much bread? How ridiculous! You might say that you would never see yourself starving if you knew there was bread at hand. This is precisely what everybody else thinks, but we all know that plenty of people do starve every month, here in New York City, notwithstanding there is plenty of bread here. However, it would not help general conditions any if a few of us did make a raid on the bakeries and take the bread when we were hungry. We could not do it more than once, for the next time the baker would either have plenty of police to guard his shop, and if he did not then feel safe, he would buy no flour and bake no bread for us to take.

It is not the fault of the baker that we don't get bread. We all know that he is simply subject to the same condition that all the rest of us are. He must find a market for his bread or he will go bankrupt, exactly as the workman must find a market for his labor or go hungry.

The reason why we don't get food in the midst of plenty is simply because our competitive wage system prevents us distributing to ourselves what we produce.

A man's labor is valued not at what it produces, but at what the employer can hire an unemployed man for to take his place. There are always plenty of unemployed men who are forced to take any wage that will give them simply a bare living, and as long as such labor is to be had in abundance no employer will pay a higher wage.

As the workers are the great consuming class, it follows that when the wages they are paid do not allow them to buy back the enormous product which is now the result of their labor, assisted by modern machinery, then a glut in the market must result. More is produced than can be sold. We then have what is called "over-production," which simply means that we have produced more than the existing competitive system allows us to distribute. The remedy is not to be found in diminishing production, but in increasing the facilities of distribution. Shortly, to give every man what he produces.

The only way to effect this is by the abolition of the competitive wage system, which makes men starve because they produce in abundance, and the substitution of the co-operative system which will allow them to get what they produce. However, in order to have co-operation in distribution, we must first have the public ownership of the means of production.

We must have governmental ownership of the railways, coal mines, oil refineries, etc.

We can grow the wheat and grind the flour and bake the bread in plenty for all, but we have not yet learned the lesson of how to get the bread after we bake it. The reason why we don't get the bread is because we don't own the fields that grow the wheat, the mills that grind the flour, and the bakeries that bake the bread.

You never hear of a rich man starving or freezing. Why?

Simply because he owns the machinery that produces what he wants. If you own a coal mine you will never freeze for the want of coal.

However, man wants more than coal. He wants more than bread. He, therefore, must own more than a coal mine and a bake oven. He must own all the machinery of production if he wishes to enjoy all the fruits of the earth. He must own the land, the railways, the wheat fields, the coal mines, the great flour mills, the sugar refineries; in fact, all that is necessary to produce what he wants. He must own the trusts.

When he owns all these things, all this wealth, he will certainly be freed from the dread of poverty, and particularly from the fear of starving because of his producing too much to eat.

Now, to own all these great machines, the railways and the coal mines, etc., we must abolish the individual ownership of this wealth by Morgan & Co.

It would do no good to *divide* up Morgan's railways among us. We could not give every man a spike, or a rail, or a car-wheel, or a brick out of a railway depot and effect an equality ownership of railways by any such absurd method. The railway systems must be kept intact as a great organization of industry, but instead of letting them remain in Morgan's ownership, we must place them in Uncle Sam's ownership. We must own them ourselves instead of Morgan.

We must have governmental ownership of the railways, just as we have governmental ownership of the post office and the city ownership of public schools and public parks.

This is the Socialist solution of the problem of "How to Abolish Poverty."

Let the American people own America instead of letting Morgan own America.

*"Let the Nation Own the Trusts."*

Let the products of industry be distributed to the producers upon the basis of what they produce, under a co-operative plan, instead of under the present competitive plan, which forces the workers to accept wages that merely allow them the very least they can subsist upon.

If you wish to own your country and get what you produce, you have only to say so in order to realize your wish.

The way to say so is by voting for the Social Democratic Party. That is the party which stands for the public ownership of the United States by the people, instead of the present private ownership by Morgan & Co.

If you vote for the Republican party or for the Democratic party you are simply declaring that you prefer Morgan, Vanderbilt, Gould & Company owning the country rather than own it yourself.

You vote to perpetuate poverty.

If you wish to abolish poverty, the way for you to say so is by voting the Social Democratic ticket.

It is true that the Democratic party is now advocating the government ownership of coal mines. It is taking up an issue that the Social Democratic Party has been advocating for the last twenty years. It is a good issue, too; that is, as far as it goes; but it really don't go very far. Man wants coal, and he should own the mines from whence it is dug if he wishes to be sure of getting it, but coal is not everything in life.

Man wants other things than coal. He wants bread; he wants meat. Why, if it is right that the Government should own the Coal Trust, is it not right that the Government should own the Flour Trust and the Beef Trust?

The Democrats promise you a hod of coal, the Republicans promise you a tin bucket of cold victuals, the Socialist promises you all the wealth of the earth. It is for you to make the choice. Let men have all the fruits of the earth.

While the Social Democratic Party emphasizes principles rather than men, yet we recognize that the electors should have some assurance that the candidate will faithfully endeavor to carry out the platform upon which he is elected.

I may say, that in soliciting the suffrages of the voters of the Tenth District of New York, to be returned to the Congress of the United States, that I have a consistent record in the advocacy of Socialism for the last fifteen years.

Let your souls have bodies fit to inhabit.

This is my programme, and if you wish it carried out, then vote for Wilshire.

Twelve years ago I was nominated by the Socialists for Congress in California. Eleven years ago I made Socialist speeches in this very Tenth District of New York, when a

Socialist candidate for Attorney-General of the State of New York. Since then I have been a candidate for office a number of times, and always as the regular Socialist nominee.

I formerly published a magazine in New York, known as WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, but as it has been denied publishers' rates by the United States Post-Office, owing to its advocacy of Socialism, I have been forced to take it to Canada to print, in order to continue its publication. It seems to me, that with such a record, no voter can have the excuse that he believes in Socialism, but is not sure that I will carry out its mandates if I am elected.

I can only ask you to take a chance upon voting for what you want, even if you don't get it, rather than voting for poverty, and being sure of getting it.

Faithfully yours,

H. GAYLORD WILSHIRE,

Social Democratic Candidate for Congress, Tenth District,  
New York.

**NOTE.**—When this was written, the Socialist Party in New York State was legally known as the "Social Democratic Party."

## ROCKEFELLER INCOGNITO

**I**N the course of the injunction proceedings against the issue of bonds to supersede the preferred stock of the U. S. Steel Co., it came to light that a certain hitherto unknown man, a Bertram Cutler, held over twelve million dollars worth of steel stock. There was great curiosity for a while to determine who this unknown millionaire might be. The N. Y. Journal soon discovered, in its mind, that Bertram Cutler was none other than another name for Andrew Carnegie. It then proceeded to get up a scare-head story of a big fight brewing between the Carnegie and Morgan interests in the Steel Trust which was about to cause the said trust to be split in twain. It was a good enough story, but it only lasted one day, for the next morning it had to acknowledge that Bertram Cutler was simply a young clerk in the employ of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, and that the stock in question belonged to John D., but was placed in the name of Cutler for unknown reasons.

The incident points out the ease with which the holdings of the wealth of the country can be kept in anonymous hands. I do not question at all but that very much more of the wealth now owned by Mr. John D. Rockefeller is covered up in many unexpected places. I feel confident that sooner or later it will be discovered that it is the wealth of Rockefeller which is back of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan in all his gigantic deals.

This game of pretending the Morgan and Rockefeller interests to be at odds is simply a fake. The two great banks in New York, one ostensibly controlled by Morgan and the other by Rockefeller, are simply parts of the stage paraphernalia used to delude the public into thinking that there still exists some competition among the great financiers.

Mr. Rockefeller is to-day the most powerful man in the world because he is the richest. J. Pierpont Morgan is simply his agent. Rockefeller is the substance, Morgan the shadow. Rockefeller is a man with absolutely no ambition

for mere ostentatious display. To him it is a matter of no moment whether the great Colossus Morgan borrows his insignia of power or whether it be the unknown type-writer, Bertram Cutler.

Morgan, of course, is an immensely rich man in his own right, but his wealth is insignificant compared with that of Rockefeller, and without Rockefeller at his back he would have never been able to have entered upon his conquest of the world. He not only would have been unable but would not have dared to have even contemplated such a thing. With Rockefeller at his back he can defy the world. Not only has he Rockefeller's wealth, but what is almost as valuable, he has Rockefeller's advice.

A New York writer on financial affairs says it has been made plain that J. Pierpont Morgan's real intention is to girdle the globe and capture the carrying trade of the world. All he needs, he says, is the Russian trans-Siberian road.

Morgan is planning to build railways in China. He has asked China for a permit. Last week he secured the trans-Atlantic steamers. This week he was after the South American ships and railways.

What next he will do no man knows.

Almost every kind of man who labors works for Morgan through some of his companies. Rudyard Kipling, Lew Wallace—all of the geniuses who in fine frenzy dash off poetry and write stories for Harper's are working for Morgan. The patient scientists are digging out minute facts for Morgan to scatter to the world. The artist with pencil and brush draws and paints, and Morgan pays him.

So absolute has he become that while he is personally worth perhaps not more than \$100,000,000, corporations over which he has control possess more wealth than there is gold on earth.

The total capitalization of all the companies he controls is \$5,210,993,386—and all the gold, coined and uncoined, in all the nations, including the populous East, is estimated at \$4,841,000,000.

There are in the whole known world about 1,320,000,000 human beings. Morgan controls enough to give each \$4.00.

More than a million are employed by the companies Morgan controls. This means that 5,000,000 men, women and

children are dependent on him for a living—or rather that 5,000,000 persons contribute to his comfort.

Three hundred of the largest steamships in the world and 30,000 of the best equipped passenger and freight trains take orders from them.

Fourteen steamship lines and forty-four railroad systems belong to them.

On land a mileage of 108,500 and on sea a tonnage of 1,200,000 are in their control.

This railway mileage is greater than the combined mileage of Russia, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Spain and Belgium. And more than three hundred vessels which will sail under its orders cannot be duplicated from the merchant marine of every ocean.

A world-wide transportation trust has long been Morgan's dream. English newspapers are making comically pitiful pleas to Morgan to let England come into the new trust. The fact that Morgan is addressed in tones of supplication shows that he is absolute master.

Not Alexander, in all his glory; not Caesar Augustus, not even Napoleon, with all his mighty armies, was such a conqueror as J. P. Morgan with his little "yes" and "no" that makes or unmakes.

No king is one-tenth so powerful as Morgan. Edward VII., Emperor William, Nicolas of Russia—any one of these is a pigmy in real power compared with Morgan.

Continuing he declares that Morgan and six other American citizens have now become more powerful than all the Congresses and Parliaments in the world.

All this is true enough, only Rockefeller's name should be substituted for that of Morgan.

Mr. Duke, the president of the American Tobacco Co., is another man who owes his strength, I have no doubt, to Mr. Rockefeller. The campaign that the American Tobacco Trust is now carrying on throughout the world requires a colossal sum of money, and it is certain that the earnings of the Trust itself are not affording the money that is being spent like water.

Another man whom I believe is working in the interests of Rockefeller is the Mr. Morse, who every day or so buys up a new bank. Mr. Morse, while admittedly a rich man,

has neither the money nor the motive to acquire the immense chain of banks which he is gathering under one control. In my mind he is working for Mr. Rockefeller, and sooner or later the Morse banks will fall into the ownership of the great City National Bank of New York, of which Rockefeller is the principal owner. This move is preliminary to the establishment of a great central United States Bank, with headquarters in New York and branches in every city of the Union, as well as in the greater cities of Europe. The Fowler Bill, which is now before Congress, is a sign of what is coming. At present National Banks are not allowed to have branches, so the only way for them to attain the advantages of branches is to own stock in the banks in the smaller towns. The small banks are then legally separate entities, but are in reality simply branches of the central bank, their own. The Fowler Bill simply aims to legalize actions that are already of every-day occurrence. The small bankers all over the country are up in arms against the bill, as they see its enactment means so much the quicker a finish for them. However, they are fighting against the current, and they might as well accept the inevitable now as later. Concentration is the order of the day, and the small banker must go as well as the small manufacturer.

## THE MYSTERIOUS MR. HEARST

**M**R. HEARST is more or less a mystery to certain advanced thinkers. They see him publishing a great paper, with an enormous circulation, and with a policy which is, on the whole, very Socialistic, and whose editorials are the strongest to be found in any American daily, and yet they are always prepared for the most glaring inconsistency on his part at any moment. For instance, one day they find him showing up the absolute impossibility of doing anything in the way of destroying the Trust, because the Trust represents the natural evolution of industry, and the next day he comes out with an editorial declaring for the destruction of so-called Criminal Trusts, whereas by his own analysis he has shown that the Trust cannot be criminal, because it is simply a creation of natural law. Again, he will show the impossibility of one's obtaining justice under the existing competitive system, when the machinery of production is owned by a few great monopolists, and then he follows with an editorial to the effect that all one has to do in order to get along, is to attend strictly to the employment in which God has seen fit to place him in this world. Later on, he will have an editorial showing that all the poverty on this earth is not traceable to the monopoly of the earth by the Vanderbilts and the Rockefellers, but to the drinking of whiskey by the workingmen; and then, to cap the climax, if more were needed to confuse people as to his sincerity, he keeps on putting before the public in a delicate manner, by quoting from other papers, the great desirability of Mr. Hearst being elected President of the United States.

It seems to me that from his own standpoint, and from whatever way we may look at it, this last stroke is the worst possible policy. I can conceive how, in order to keep all classes of readers and hold his advertisers, he must give all sorts of views as to what should be done, and advocate temperance, the destruction of Trusts, national ownership of Trusts, Tariff Reform, and everything else which will bring

fish into his net, but when he utilizes his paper to boom himself for the Presidency, he immediately makes a large number of people feel that after all he does not mean anything he says, but simply says his say in order to place himself in the Presidential chair.

My own theory regarding Mr. Hearst is a very simple one. He is following an irresistible law of his nature to bring about harmony in the universe, but he is ignorant as to how to do it. He is also following an irresistible law which forces him to take care of his own individuality, and the result of his ignorance of economic laws on the one hand, together with his extreme egotism on the other, has the effect of making many people misunderstand him.

## CLASSES IN AMERICA

**W**E Americans have a great advantage over other nations in our unconsciousness of classes. That we have rich and poor is not denied, but that we have classes and class feeling is almost as vigorously denied by the poor as by the rich. And this denial of the palpable has an effect upon the social consciousness that it is hard to over-estimate.

In Europe classes are a recognized institution. The peasant never thinks that he is anything but a peasant, nor does the nobleman ever think he is anything but a nobleman. Even the very rich capitalist feels that he is hardly as good as the poor aristocrat.

In America, while differences in wealth have really made very distinct class cleavages, we refuse to recognize this condition; and there is no doubt that this refusal will sooner or later have a considerable political effect. We deny that Mr. Rockefeller's money was ever given to him except for the benefit of the whole people, and we have been insisting that the wealth of such men would be distributed by natural laws in the course of time, and the sons of other men would be quite as liable to own Rockefeller's wealth as his own descendants. This, indeed, is the stock argument of almost all opponents of Socialism. They insist that while there is great wealth in a few hands, this is simply an ephemeral condition of affairs, and that no one family will hold great wealth any length of time. So long as people generally believe this, it is not difficult to understand why it is they refuse to consider any change of society which would aim at preventing the concentration of wealth, feeling, as they do, that it will regulate itself automatically. However, we are now realizing that this concentration of wealth, and the holding of the natural resources of the country by a few immensely rich families, not only gives no sign of being an ephemeral state of affairs, but has every indication of being a permanency. Every year the very rich are becoming

more and more strongly entrenched behind their ramparts of gold, and the public are generally recognizing that under our existing social system there is no possible remedy for the inequality of wealth. It is true we have anti-Trust bills galore introduced in our Houses of Congress, having for their object the levelling of the great fortunes, but these bills are felt by every one to be of no possible avail in that direction. Concentration of wealth is an inevitable result of our economic system, and we can no more make effective laws to prevent it than we can make laws to prevent the sun shining. However, the introduction of these anti-Trust bills year after year in our Congress indicates strongly the wish of the people to level wealth and to abolish conditions which make classes. They are also a very reluctant confession that there is such a thing as a class cleavage in the United States. Our sentiments are too strongly democratic to allow any classes to remain if we can possibly prevent it, because we are fundamentally opposed to classes, and to this extent Socialism, which aims to abolish classes, will have a spiritual significance to the people of the United States which it has not in European countries where aristocracy is a recognized institution. There has never been a nation of free people, such as we Americans are, resolving year after year that they wished to do a certain thing, and having every reason to get their wish, and also having every means for carrying it into effect, but what finally succeeded in their desires. While we scoff at the anti-Trust laws as being ridiculous, yet we can see behind them the determination of the people to accomplish the establishment of an economic equality among the people of this country. One hundred years or more ago, in colonial days, and before we separated from England, there was a long period of time in which we kept on passing resolutions and having meetings, and even having physical encounters with her. It was with the greatest reluctance we ever finally considered the possibility of separation from the mother country. In fact, it was once considered rank treason to refer to independence as an ultimate outcome of the agitation against England's tyranny. We expected to make some sort of a compromise by which we would still remain colonies and yet participate in all the advantages of an independent

country. It is the same to-day. We expect to allow the Rockefellers and Morgans to own us, and yet we expect to have all the luxuries of complete independence which can only accompany self-ownership. It will finally be found to be just as impossible for us to remain free and independent under King Morgan as it was for us to remain free and independent under King George. In fact, theoretically, as has been proven by the English colonies—Canada and Australia, New Zealand, etc.—it would have been much more possible for us to remain under King George than it will be for us to remain under King Morgan. King George did not need to have been even a benevolent despot to have kept the American colonies; he needed but to have been sane. King Morgan, with all his benevolence, can never keep his American colonies, simply because the economic system will prevent him from devising a plan which can avert the great unemployed problem. He cannot feed us. Under King George the economic problem was how we could produce *enough* to give us the luxuries and comforts of life. Under King Morgan the problem is:—How can we prevent ourselves producing too much? Our fear is that we will be swamped in a rising sea of wealth.

What we must do is not to try and prevent the sea of wealth from rising, but to construct the bark of Socialism which will float us safely upon it, so that instead of wealth being a menace to us we will be borne forward upon it to the Golden Age of Man.

## THE SIPPERS OF CARLSBAD

**T**OO much eating and too little exercise does not fall to the lot of everyone in Austria. The standard of wages is not conducive to the laying up of too much adipose tissue on the bones of the ordinary laborer, nor has he such short hours of work that he fails to get enough daily exercise. However true all this may be, there are, out of the forty million population of the Austrian Empire, a good many thousands of people who are unlucky enough not to belong to the wage-earning class; consequently many of them are forced to seek an alternative to hard work and plain living in taking "die Kur" at Carlsbad.

There are about fifty thousand visitors to the springs annually. While all the world contributes, the great bulk of the visitors—four fifths—are Germans and Austrians. There are about one thousand Englishmen and a little over two thousand Americans. The season opens in May, is at its height about the 20th of July, when 12,000 are here, and closes in October. The water is just as good in winter and quite as hot, for the Sprudel spring has a constant temperature of 163 degrees Fahrenheit, but man does not live by bread alone and neither is he cured by Carlsbad water alone.

How much of the cure comes from the water and how much from the regimen will ever remain a vexed question.

Shortly, the cure consists in getting up at six in the morning, walking down to one of the various springs, where the water gushes out, dipping up a cup of water, and slowly drinking it by sips, until four or five cups are swallowed. This should take say half an hour, during which you are parading up and down a fine covered colonnade, with thousands of other drinkers, each holding his cup in hand, and taking an occasional sip. Meanwhile, the City of Carlsbad Band plays most delightful music every morning for you and the other peripatetic sippers.

When the water is all down you take a walk for one hour and then have a light breakfast, no sweets and no coffee. At

two you dine, then take another walk and at seven you sup lightly, and after another walk you go to bed. The water is only taken once a day, in the morning.

The cure takes at least four weeks and preferably six.

Carlsbad is in itself a delightful resort, beautiful shady walks and excellent hotels, with accommodations suited to all kinds of purses. For while the rich are much in evidence, it would be unfair not to state that at least half, if not more, are invalids who are far from rich. In fact, it is quite probable that poor food and over-work have driven just as many to Carlsbad as have rich food and no work. Indeed, the trouble with modern life is that it is all extremes and no middle. A man is ill either from too much work or from too little work.

Carlsbad is a good example of the possibilities of municipal Socialism. The city owns the springs, the gas and electric lights, the magnificent bath house, and one of the most beautiful and best arranged theatres in the world.

But the wages paid employees by the city are no better nor are the hours any shorter than with private employers.

Going through Belgium, I asked the guard upon the Belgium National Railway about his wages, etc. He said he was now getting \$216 a year, that he had started in at \$180 a year; that at the end of forty years service he would be getting \$510 a year, and then he could retire upon a pension of \$360 a year.

He paid \$12 for his uniform, which lasted two years. Board and lodging cost him \$11 per month.

He was liable to 13 hours work a day, 7 days in the week, but said that the actual hours of work did not average over 10 a day.

He was quite an intelligent young fellow of twenty-three, and seemed quite content; so much so that he was not a Socialist and took no interest in the subject.

## THE SEQUEL TO A MODERN ROMANCE

**C**OMING from Venice to Vienna, after a few days in the Austrian Tyrol, I had two delightful days in Munich with Mr. and Mrs. Serge von Shevitch.

Fourteen years ago, and for the ten preceding years, Shevitch, although a Russian by birth, was the leader of, and the greatest man in, the American Socialist movement, and thereby hangs our tale.

The year 1877 first saw him in the United States, a Russian nobleman, a tall, handsome young fellow of twenty-nine. With him was his bride, the world-famous beauty, Princess Racowitz, the widow of the Roumanian Prince Racowitz, the woman with whom the great Ferdinand Lasalle had been so passionately in love and on whose account he lost his life in the historic duel.

I will not go over in detail the story of that bit of romance in the development of Socialism. It has already been too fully exploited to bear tedious repetition. Shortly, I may narrate, for the benefit of the few who may be unfamiliar with the tale, that some forty years ago a young German, Ferdinand Lasalle, the most gifted man of his time, as philosopher, orator and politician, organized a great working-class party in Germany, the progenitor of the existing powerful German Socialist Party.

Lasalle's influence became such that even the great Bismarck, then at the height of his power, became terrified and made him all sorts of most tempting offers of alliance.

In the period of his political activity, Lasalle met and at sight fell violently in love with the brilliant and beautiful daughter of Count Von Donniges, a distinguished member of the old German nobility, and Secretary of State for Bavaria. His love was returned, with nothing lost in wear and tear by the transfer. It looked as if the world's dream of the union of her greatest man to her most beautiful woman, was at last, at the end of the ages, to be realized. The lady's practical and aristocratic father, however, dreamed differ-

ently and less romantically. A title and wealth were in his dream, and he saw them in material shape realized in the person of Prince Racowitz, who had long been a persistent, but hitherto unsuccessful, suitor for his fair daughter's heart and hand. The father would not listen to the idea of having a mere Socialist agitator for a son-in-law, when a Prince could be had for the word.

Before 1870 a father's power over a daughter in Europe, and especially in Germany, was greater than nowadays. His answer to Lasalle's demands and his daughter's lamentations was the practical incarceration of the obdurate maiden in the old ancestral castle.

One night, after many days of durance vile, she eluded the guard and escaped. Lasalle was in Switzerland. She flew to him and proposed immediate marriage, but Lasalle's pride had been wounded by the attitude taken by her father, and he said, "No, go back to the castle. I will not take you by stealth. I will force him to give you to me regularly and conventionally as a matter of justice and right." Of course, this was all false pride, and consciously or unconsciously must have dampened the lady's ardor.

A man doesn't improve his position with his lady-love by bringing in the question of his pride. When the lady had braved all and fled to him, it was a cruel bit of weakness and conceit for Lasalle to cast her back to her father's hands on the chance that he could force his consent.

This episode naturally enraged the old father more than ever. The second incarceration of his daughter was much more rigid than the first. His remarks regarding Lasalle were so insulting that when they were carried to Lasalle's ears a challenge to a duel was the reply.

Then the Prince Racowitz steps to the front of the stage. The father is too old and feeble to fight. Lasalle is renowned as the best shot and best swordsman in Germany. He, the Prince, the father's choice for a son-in-law, is a natural substitute, and will accept the challenge. Lasalle consents to the change. As the challenger, he must allow the Prince to select the weapons. The Prince says pistols. Swords would have been certain suicide for him.

Pistols were bad enough with such a shot as Lasalle, but there was a chance in a thousand. The duel came off and

the great Lasalle fell mortally wounded at the first exchange of shots. The Prince was untouched.

Then after many bitter days with her old father, the lady's spirit was conquered and she consented to marry the Prince. After another two years the Prince died and she was a widow.

And this is where all the other narrators of this "Romance of the Nineteenth Century" have laid down their pens.

I will now give the Twentieth Century Sequel.

Some years after her husband's death the Princess went to Paris, where she soon became a center of attraction owing to her beauty, grace and accomplishments, and above all, to her romantic history, which all the Parisian world so well knew.

Serge von Shevitch, a rich young Russian nobleman, was then a new arrival in Paris, the handsomest and most brilliant one of all the *jeunesse doree*. A few years from the university in Russia, where he and Stepniak, already a revolutionist, afterwards well known as a Nihilist and who recently was killed by a locomotive in England, had been classmates. Shevitch was a Socialist, and this at once put him on a good footing with the old sweetheart of Lasalle. The courtship was fast and furious. The United States was their dream of Utopia. Marriage ensued, and New York became the home of the young couple.

The Socialist Party of America was then in its infancy. The *Volkszeitung*, the German Socialist daily of New York, had only just been launched, and was struggling in a very stormy sea. An editor was badly needed. The appearance in New York of Shevitch seemed to the Socialists as a gift sent by the gods. He soon became not only the life of the paper, but the whole Socialist movement in New York, and New York spelled America for Socialism thirty years ago.

A brilliant writer and eloquent orator, of commanding personal appearance, equally at home in the German and English languages, Shevitch was indeed a gift of the gods. From 1879 to 1890 he was editor of the *Volkszeitung*. Possibly the best remembered event, of which he was the hero, was the memorable debate in Cooper Union, when he so completely crushed the late Henry George, the great single

taxer. Mrs. Shevitch, like her husband, became a figure in New York and is still remembered by the many American friends she gathered about her.

In 1890 the Shevitches left New York and returned to Russia, much to the consternation and sorrow of the New York Socialists. However, the change was imperative. Shevitch had inherited large estates, and the Russian law provides that if an owner remains absent from Russia over a certain fixed period of time, the estate becomes forfeited to the crown. After living quietly a few years in Russia on his estate, just sufficient to allow him to dispose to advantage of his lands, Shevitch and his wife removed to Munich, where they have been living ever since, and where I had the pleasure of visiting them the other day. Shevitch is still as vigorous and handsome as ever. He is now fifty-five, and Madam Shevitch possesses all the old charm which rendered her so irresistible in years gone by. They live delightfully in Munich—their dinners are quite the best I have had in Europe—but I am in hopes of some day seeing them back again in America—if not permanently, at least for a long visit.

Shevitch is taking little or no part in the active movement at present. The German government does not allow aliens to participate in German politics, and as they have at the same time also refused him naturalization papers, he is quite cut off from active participation in German Socialist politics.

Shevitch looks forward to the granting of a constitution in Russia within such a limited number of years that he himself will be able to return to his native land and take an active part in the rapidly growing movement for Socialism, now gaining such headway in Russia.

He says that practically all the educated men in Russia, outside of the bureaucracy, are in favor of a constitution, and that the pressure is becoming too great for the autocracy to much longer successfully resist.

He has promised to write up for WILSHIRE'S a general review of the Socialist position both in Germany and Russia, which, I am sure, our readers will look forward to with the greatest delight and interest.

## MUNICH—A PROPHECY OF THE FUTURE

I CAN quite understand how cosmopolites like the Shevitches, speaking all languages and at home in any intellectual and artistic center, should have settled upon Munich as the most delightful city in the world wherein to pitch their tent. It is the most uniformly beautiful city in Europe. There may be slums, but they are not in evidence to the stranger.

The streets are wider and better laid out, the distribution of the public buildings and parks is more convenient and effectual, and the architecture of the buildings, both public and private, in better taste in Munich than any other city in Europe.

The sad thing of it all, too, is the reflection that one must admit that nearly all of this beauty and convenience is the result of the method in the madness of the late King Ludwig, who recently committed suicide while in an insane fit.

A city can only be beautiful by becoming socially conscious and letting this social consciousness externalize itself, so to speak. To-day the European cities owe nearly all their superiority in beauty over our American cities to the fact that this social consciousness was able to translate itself into action through the medium of an autocrat, such, for instance, as Ludwig was here in Munich, and as Napoleon the Third was in Paris.

It is almost impossible for what we call "democracy" to make a city beautiful.

In the first place, it is not democracy that we have in our American cities anyway. It is the rule of the private corporations through the medium of a corrupt political machine. The aim of the private corporations is to make as much money in as short a time as possible, and the best argument to get them to allow the city to have parks or other municipal improvements, is to urge that by making the city more attractive you will draw outside capital and people to the city.

More people will make their town lots and their gas and street-car stock more valuable, and this is a final argument if anything at all will convince.

King Ludwig made Munich beautiful, not because he was looking for a raise in his kingly salary, or because he wished to increase the value of his royal palace, but because he had a love for beauty as an end in itself. He patronized Richard Wagner not because he had figured out that he was going to get his money back from the American tourists who now flock to Munich for the Wagner operas, but because he loved beautiful music.

Let us be fair and give the man his due, even though he be a king and mad.

In addition to what Ludwig did for Munich, God himself also did one or two things. It has a delightful summer climate, very like New York in early May. It is true, the winters are cold, but the cold is not the raw, biting cold of New York.

The magnificent river Isar springs from its mountain gorge, fed by eternal glaciers, only five miles from the city, and with its rushing current flowing through, gives perfect drainage and unlimited possibilities of power and water to Munich.

I doubt if any city in the world of its size (500,000) has the water power within its walls that Munich possesses. However, with the exception of furnishing power for the electric cars and light, it is not as yet much utilized. Munich is not much of a manufacturing center yet, but with its cheap water power and its cheap labor power, for wages are low in Munich, manufacturing should develop there rapidly. The common, ordinary, everyday laborer gets from 50 to 75 cents a day. I asked Shevitch the question that always bothers me: "How does the European laborer getting such low wages and at the same time paying such high prices for food, still keep himself and his family in as good, if not better, physical condition than the American, and quite as well dressed, who, with twice or three times the wages, has practically no margin for saving." Shevitch quite agreed with me as to the superior appearance, as to health, of the European laborer generally, and said the mystery as to how he managed it all was as insoluble to him as to me. Rents are lower in Europe

and that goes to explain where part of the American's wages are absorbed.

The street-car system of Munich is about to be taken over by the municipality. At present the conductors get about \$25 a month wages for a ten-hour day, and then by a peculiar and universal system of tips from passengers, they get about \$20 a month in addition to their wages, but one-quarter of this is by custom handed over to the motorman.

There is a very general impression held by Americans who have not lived abroad, that living for the average middle-class family is much cheaper in Europe than in the United States. This is all a mistake. For a man expending, say \$1,500 to \$2,500 a year on his family and taking the main comforts, it is practically the same thing, Europe and America. The American who saves money by living in Europe does so by living in worse style than he would live at home. One may save a little in rent, servant hire and clothing, but food is higher in Europe, and there are other items of increased expense to balance the gain.

The Wagner operas were being given in Munich while I was there. The Opera House, completed in 1900, is quite the best building for the purpose in a way that I have ever seen, not excepting the Grand Opera House of Paris. The orchestra is below the level of the floor and is quite hidden by an overhanging screen. There are no boxes or loges, nor any division of seats in any way, no balcony or gallery. The seats are sold at a uniform price of five dollars each, first come, first served. Now I will admit that I have never seen opera so well staged—the scenery was wonderful—nor ever heard such a perfect orchestra, nor better voices. The *tout ensemble* of the opera was as nearly perfect as can be imagined, but with it all five dollars a seat is not in consonance with the American idea of opera being so cheap in Germany that one may go with all his family every night. The Germans take their opera in heroic doses. It was "Das Rheingold." The performance began at 5 and went straight through, without intermission, to the end, the curtain falling at 7.50. I must say that while I am an admirer of Wagnerian music, still this was too large a dose for me.

The next night at the theater we saw Maeterlinck's new drama, "Monna Vanna," translated from the French into

German. It was given extremely well, and seems to me to be a play that will take well when brought out in America. Here, too, the seats were not given away for a song, as American travelers so often would have us believe. All the good seats were two dollars each. The acting, as in all German companies that I have seen, was on a decidedly higher average plane than in our American companies, with their one star performer supported by a lot of sticks.

Munich supports a daily Socialist paper, and both of its members to the Reichstag are Socialists.

It seems absurd that a city of 500,000, like Munich, should be allowed but two members, when, if there were an equitable division of seats, it would have nearly twenty. A redistribution of seats in the Reichstag will not be made because it would inure immensely to the advantage of the Socialists, who are relatively much stronger in the German cities than in the country districts.

Society in Munich is upon a very democratic basis. Its doors are open to anyone of education and refinement. There is little of that nonsense about birth which is growing so rapidly in America, and none at all regarding money.

It has a fine university—3,500 students—and magnificent art galleries, the collection of pictures by Rubens being especially good. There are also a few Murillos. I was especially struck with the picture of a young girl by Fritz Kaulbach exhibited in this year's salon and of which a half-tone is given on another page.

From Munich I took the train direct to Vienna, a ten hours' journey. I only wish our American farmers, everyone of them, could have the country intervening put under their eye as it has been before mine.

The next election time, when the Republican city politician would come out to them and ask for a return of the Republican Party to power on account of what Republicanism had done for the farmer in America, their happy position compared with the German and Austrian farmer, he would get a jolt from his audience that would shock him.

As I have said in another article, I have never seen the external evidence of comfort in farm dwellings in America that I have seen here. The houses are all, as far as appearance goes, suitable for summer villas for those of our American

city men who farm for pastime rather than profit. Where the farm laborers live in houses separate from the farmer's family, which is apparently very seldom, as the farms are too small to require much help outside the family, the standard of comfort for him is on exactly the same plan as for his employer. The buildings used by many of our American farmers in the West, and particularly those furnished for the hired men, would simply not be tolerated in any part of Europe.

Another thing that strikes one is the comfortable houses afforded by the railway companies to their employees along the line. At the smallest stations where the train stops, there is always a large two or three-story handsome stone structure. The lower part is used for a ticket office, etc., and the upper rooms for the ticket agent and his family.

There is always a nice garden plot about the house, and the windows look very home-like with their flower-boxes and lace curtains. At every little cross-road there is also a nice comfortable stone house with garden for the man who lowers the bar when the train crosses the road.

There is many a free and mighty American citizen in the west who thinks the railway company exceedingly generous when they allow him one room in the station for his bedroom. If he has a family then he must rent a private house. Sometimes, if he is lucky, he may get the company to allow him an old freight car to be lifted from its trucks and set alongside the track to be modeled into a castle suitable to him as an American voting king.

It might be remarked in passing that the railway companies in Germany and Austria that furnish these fine, comfortable houses for their employees are state railways.

We Americans are all right, but we are not exactly "it" on everything.

Vienna I reserve for another letter. I have already had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Lorenz here, the great expert in so-called bloodless surgery, who recently had such a triumphant tour through America. He went there originally, it may be remembered, to treat the little Armour child, of Chicago, for congenital hip joint dislocation. He tells me the operation on the child has been a great and complete success. His rooms here comprise a large outside flat in the centre of town, having

forty outside windows, giving light such as one rarely gets in an American city, as he reminded me.

He has a number of rooms fitted with apparatus for carrying out exercises for his patients taking his special line of treatment. He showed me one little girl of twelve that he had operated upon about six months ago for congenital hip joint dislocation, and who was rapidly progressing, but, of course, she will never be as well as she would have been if the operation had been done at a much younger age. In this case there was no excuse except the timidity of the child's parents. They had personally known Lorenz and his method for ten years, ever since the child was two years old, and yet they had hesitated from year to year, and now, when the child is twelve, they bring her in when the chances of success are so little that the doctor as a rule would have refused the case. In America Dr. Lorenz gave free treatment to hundreds of poor children at the public clinics, but in those cases he made it a practice not to take on any child who was over seven years of age, as the chances of success were so remote and the difficulty of the operation at ages over seven so greatly enhanced.

To-morrow is to be a great day for Vienna. The King of England is to arrive here and be the guest of the Emperor of Austria.

## THE AMERICAN IDEAL

**I**T is cynically remarked by many that we Americans have lost our ideals. As a matter of fact, it is absolutely impossible for a man to lose his ideals, although conditions may be such that unless he sees or thinks he sees the possibility of realizing them he feels it futile to dwell upon them. We Americans are to-day largely of the opinion that our old ideal of freedom for the citizen seems to have become an impossibility. There was a time when we all thought that individual energy and talent on the part of the citizen were all that was necessary for him to acquire an independence and be as good as anybody else.

We always realized that economic independence depended upon the possession of wealth; and now, inasmuch as a great part of the wealth of this country has passed into the hands of the Trusts, the individual acquisition of wealth has become an impossibility to the great mass of the people. We have given up hope of any distribution of the wealth held by the Trusts through the enforcement of anti-Trust laws, and but few of us yet see that this distribution can be effected by State Ownership.

Judge Grosscup, who recently made a very learned speech about the Trusts, a résumé of which has already been given in this magazine, says that the first step toward the regulation of the Trusts should be the repeal of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Of course he is right; but since he does not propose any other law to take its place, it is really a confession of a most pessimistic attitude on the part of a man who should be thoroughly competent to judge of the situation. His logic, however, is keener and clearer than that of President Roosevelt, who proposes all sorts of remedies, and each one only more manifestly impossible than the previous one, for the solution of the Trust problem. As between President Roosevelt and Judge Grosscup I prefer Grosscup's position, for he realizes the futility of things as they are, and I take it the great mass of the American people are

in agreement with him on this point. We no longer have any confidence in Roosevelt and his political conferees who talk about proceeding against the Trusts on the old lines. We have largely resigned ourselves to Grossecup's position that nothing can be done. We do feel, however, that there is a future which is going to be different from what the present is. This feeling is inborn with us. We cannot get rid of the idea that America means something more than a mere pleasure ground for a few Goulds and Vanderbilts to use as a pleasure park. That the public ownership of monopolies would be a great step toward the attainment of our ideals would hardly be questioned by any one who has given the Trust problem any thought.

I appeal to the young men of America to come forward and help toward the realization of the American ideal of freedom. It is really you who should bear the brunt of assisting in making the change from the present autocratic industrial condition to a democratic one. You realize well enough that the country is certainly rich enough to make the very suggestion of the necessity of poverty a ghastly mockery. If your grandfathers could look to a future of happiness and freedom and wealth, when they had no dream of the labor-saving machinery of to-day, then certainly it is not flattering to your intelligence if you think that poverty is necessary when we have at hand such abundant means to prevent it.

What is the young man of America doing to-day to realize the ideal which must be within his breast?

Practically nothing. Instead of paying attention to political and industrial developments he is more apt to be speculating on the result of a football game or what horse will win the race to-morrow. Instead of having pity for the poor of the country who are suffering from unnecessary poverty, he is wasting his life in pool and billiard rooms, smoking cigarettes.

He goes to school and college, and his main idea is not to acquire culture or learning, but to get sufficient credit marks to graduate him with the least possible work, that he may have the greatest possible amount of time to devote to dissipation. This is certainly no flattering picture; and it has a very depressing effect upon those people who, as they

view the country, do not see any reason for a change in the sentiment and conduct of our young men. However, I can see that the mode of life of the young man of America to-day, while most deplorable, has not quite succeeded in utterly destroying his ideals. The trouble is simply that the conditions which may look to their realization seem so impossible to him that he is now dissipating energies which would under other conditions be turned into better and nobler channels. It is not that the young American does not wish to control his own country and his own destiny, but simply that he does not see how to do it. It is the mission of the Socialist not only to inspire these young men with the ideal of commanding their own destiny, but also to show them how this command can be attained. The "reform" school of politics, some twenty-five years ago, attempted to appeal to our young men by holding up to them the ideal of honesty in office as the great ultimate. This movement has failed of its purpose, and in consequence a great many of the men of the Carl Schurz type, and those whose views are represented by the editorials of the New York Evening Post, are becoming exceedingly pessimistic. After all, this is but natural. The average young man of to-day has no property. He knows if he goes into politics he loses caste with his business associates, the general theory throughout the country being—and it is a well-founded one—that "politics ruin a man." This, of course, refers to going into politics with one of the old parties; for no one goes into politics with one of the old parties except with the idea of getting an office or bettering his *individual* condition. Going into "reform" politics has no attractions, because it only means that certain men are elected to office who pretend to be more honest than the "old party" men, and if elected experience goes to show that they do not make good; and, even if they did, the benefit accruing from an honest administration falls largely to the few who own property, rather than to the great mass of the people.

Thus it is easy enough to see why neither "old party" politics nor "reform" politics attracts the young man. Socialist politics would attract him if he had given it sufficient thought to know what Socialism meant, but he hasn't. He regards the Socialist as a crank with some wild visions of

an impossible Utopia that is to be reached some time after the next thousand years. He does not understand that the Trust is the greatest argument the Socialist uses to prove the inevitability of Socialism; and the chances are that he will not realize the force of this argument until the Trust itself finally throws him out of his job. There is no doubt that we are now rapidly approaching a great unemployed problem. When this occurs, these young Americans, who now give no attention to Socialism, will give it plenty of attention when they find their own bread-and-butter is at stake.

All mankind has an ideal of a paradise on earth; and if we analyze our idea of paradise it resolves itself into a condition of existence where every one is on an economic equality, where there is no danger of starvation, where there is not too much work and where everybody is happy. Now, in order to banish fear of starvation it is necessary to have the earth on which to raise the food, and to raise food with ease it is necessary to have machinery. We Americans certainly have provided the earth with machinery in a larger degree than has ever been done before. We know how to produce the greatest quantity of wealth with the least amount of human labor that has ever been required in the world's history. We have made the first great step toward our Earthly Paradise. The only thing that remains for us to do now is to devise a plan by which we can distribute this wealth which we so easily produce. When we achieve that end, we shall realize the American ideal.

Our work is to make the young American see that his ideal can only be reached through the advent of Socialism.

## THE TRUST OVERSHADOWS ALL ISSUES

**T**HAT the Trust would sooner or later be the great issue in American politics I have never once doubted for the last fifteen years. My surprise to-day is not that it has suddenly become so important an issue, but that it has been so long in becoming such. In 1884 I was managing director of the Riverside Rolling Mill Co., of Cincinnati, Ohio. The price of iron was steadily falling and there seemed an end to things. If we wished to sell our iron we must meet a market that already forced us to manufacture at less than cost, and there seemed no prospect of the future being any better than the present. There was no way that we could lower the cost of producing. We bought our ore and coal at the lowest market price, and our day labor was at a price that only too obviously admitted of no reduction. The men were already at the margin of starvation. Our skilled labor was paid upon the scale of the Amalgamated Iron Workers that allowed us no option about reduction. We must either pay the scale or shut up shop. I was young in business in those days, fresh from Harvard College, and I used to puzzle over the question of how long the world could get along on the basis of everybody losing money. For after finding out there was nothing in the iron business I naturally looked into other businesses and my inquiries showed me that the iron business was in no exceptional condition. Every manufacturer that I talked with had the same story to tell of the impossibility of making a living with the existing low prices. I was so discouraged with the outlook for making money in ordinary business that I made up my mind that the only thing to produce that seemed to be sure of a market at a standard price was gold. Therefore I decided to go into gold mining. When you got your ounce of gold it was always worth your \$20 and this sort of a business seemed infinitely better than the iron business where you had to sell your iron ten per cent. less every three months than you originally expected for it.

It is true that Mr. Rockefeller and his Standard Oil Trust had already even in that early day shown me and the rest of the world how to prevent over-production and get a fixed price for our product, but I did not see how I could ever wait long enough for the iron men to get sense enough to follow Mr. Rockefeller's example.

It is well, too, that I did not wait. It took those iron manufacturers eighteen years, from 1884 to 1902, to do what they should have had the sense to have done at once. How they ever managed to survive all those eighteen years has been a great surprise to me, although I know that it has not been four years since a good many of them, who are now on Easy street through the forming of the Morgan Trust, were on the verge of bankruptcy.

While I was investigating gold mining prospects, which, by the way, did not prove to be particularly rosy because the uncertainty of your product fully offset the certainty of your selling price, I happened to be chucked off a fractious horse in the mountains of California and suffered a broken jaw. Although I was not an "agitator" in those days, nevertheless I felt my jaw an important enough member of my ego to justify a trip to Southern California to allow it an opportunity to consolidate, to form a little trust of its own, so to speak. While there, the real estate boom came on and I, at last, saw an opportunity of buying something—land—which looked as if one could be sure of selling it for more than he paid for it. I gave up my determination to go in for gold mining and became a real estate shark. It was possible for a year or so to buy land and sell it at a considerably larger price than you paid for it; then the "boom busted" and as far as I could see, the problem of selling for more than you gave was as impossible of solution as ever, unless you could form a trust. This was in 1888. Since then there have been ups and downs in business, principally "downs," though, for most men, and the "downs" had all the game to themselves, apparently, until after McKinley's first election, when the Cuban war stirred up trade so much by the destruction of property and the consequent demand for things of all kinds, that ever since the "ups" have been very much in evidence for most American business men.

However, a little prosperity has not made them blind to the advantages a trust has in making assurance doubly sure. If we had not had the war, the trusts would certainly have been formed as a matter of absolute necessity. As it is, they may possibly have been formed as a matter of expediency in some cases, although I think most of the insiders on the trusts of to-day would admit that they had in forming their trusts only forestalled an inevitability.

I think my own experience in business life in America since the year 1884 is more or less typical of all other business men. We all realize that the only way to make money is to get into a monopoly, and if that cannot be done then the best thing is to stay out of business. However, there happen to be so many people who must make a living somehow, that neither get into a trust nor stay out of business, that there is considerable dissatisfaction in the land among these outsiders. They may be very rude to make their weeping and wailing such an offence to the eye and ear, but we must take men as they are.

Man is primarily and above all things an eating animal, and after all an animal is simply an intelligent automobile carrying around an ever greedy stomach. If a man cannot feed himself he is sure to make unpleasant remarks. If to feed oneself one must own a trust, and there are not enough trusts to go around, then those fellows who fail to draw a trust are sure to become ill-natured and generally inconsiderate. However, the mere matter of men being inconsiderate would be of no particular moment,—men are usually that way anyhow, some people think,—did it not happen that these fellows propose to take their inconsiderateness into the political field.

It so happens that the fellows who draw blanks in the trust lottery are so far in the majority of those who draw prizes that if it came to a matter of voting there is not the remotest doubt as to who would win out. However, while the winners of the trust prizes are few in number they make up in brains what they lack in numbers, and they also have brains enough to know where to hire other brains to do some of their thinking for them. What they are mortally afraid of just now is that the business men who are not in on the draw will throw down their cards and demand a

new deal. Hence the main object of the winners is to persuade the losers to continue in the game by feeding them with fairy stories of how, by some change in the rules, they will be able once again to win back their losings.

In the present stage of the trust problem the workingman is largely a disinterested onlooker. The people who are objecting to trusts are not the workmen, but the capitalists who have been squeezed by the trusts. It is true that the beef trust has called attention to itself by the high price of beef and many workmen have suddenly become aware of their interest in the trust problem on that account who hitherto had regarded the trust problem as one of simply academic interest with no immediate application to their daily life. However, the price of beef will fall or wages will adapt themselves, and that episode was and is simply an accidental note in the song of monopoly. The merchants and manufacturers who have lost their power to conduct an independent competitive business alongside of the trust, however, are naturally up in arms against an invasion which threatens their commercial existence. Thus, when the trust problem is represented as overshadowing all other issues of to-day what is really meant is that the smaller capitalists, and they are vastly in the numerical majority, are demanding legislation to curtail the growth of monopoly. So far in the United States political issues have always been simply clashes between the different interests of certain capitalists. It is true that the interest of the workman and the country as a whole has always been the ostensible interest in concern by both parties, but this has always been a palpable mask used for the purpose of gaining votes. For instance, take the tariff issue. The manufacturers wanted a high tariff to increase their profits, but they said they wanted it in order to pay higher wages. On the other hand the farmers wanted a low tariff in order to reduce the cost of the various articles they required and the price of which was raised by the tariff, but they said they wanted a lower tariff in order that the workmen could buy the necessities of life, including farm products, at a lower price.

So it is to-day the smaller capitalists want the trusts crushed because if they are not crushed, they themselves will be crushed. It would never do for these capitalists to

go before the country with such a purely selfish cry that they wanted legislation simply in order to protect their own particular class, so they add to the causes which impel them to attack the trust on their own account the additional ones which they think will make workingmen and the country at large rally to their support.

First, they say the trust, by holding a complete monopoly of the sources of life, is putting the whole country at its mercy.

Second, they say that by reason of the undoubted economies the trust introduced in the production of goods it is threatening the working class with a huge unemployed problem.

Of course both these indictments are correct, but what I wish to call attention to is that the smaller capitalists could never have paid attention to the "country as a whole," nor the working class in particular, unless they had seen their own interests in jeopardy and wished to call to their political support other interests outside of their own particular circle.

I am not blaming them for this course. It is simply a natural human phenomenon. Men never look much after other people's interests; they are usually too busy looking after their own.

However, just as these same smaller capitalists could never be induced to take action until the trust had actually compelled them to look financial death in the face, just so will the working class never take action until they, too, are placed in the same relative position that these capitalists are in. The appeal to the working class to rally to the support of the smaller capitalists will be in vain. The workingman will vote just as he has been voting until an economic condition presents itself directly to him, that will compel his attention.

Judging from the following editorial the *Detroit Tribune* thinks that such a condition has already presented itself.

#### THE ALARM OF LABOR IS NATURAL.

Trust control of any industry means the application of trust methods. Trust method means the systematic elimination of every item of cost that can be dispensed with. It means the substitution of cunning mechanism for human handiwork as far as possible. It means the substitution of women and children for men in every department where men can be thus displaced. It

means a reduction of prices just to the exact point that will squeeze out competition. Then follows absolute control of price and product.

A case that is very much in the public eye is that of the Brown cigar factory. It was operated under a system by which young girls became competitors of men in cigar making. Their product went out in competition with that of skilled laborers. Now another step is being taken which will multiply the effectiveness of the trust operative. The displacing of a certain number of girls from their employment in a given factory is the lesser evil, although that is bad enough for those who are dependent upon such employment and are the support or partial support of a family. Trust control must by its constant reduction in the cost of production seriously affect the independent factories and their workmen who make a specialty of hand work. It is possible that the future of such industries may not be as bad as it looks, but the operatives cannot be blamed for exhibiting serious alarm for their jobs and hostility to the new system.

Passing by the complacent manner with which the *Tribune* regards a system which forces girls to support their families as a perfect natural and satisfactory one, and that anything which tends to prevent the perpetuation of such a system must be viewed with abhorrence, I would deny the general proposition that the working class as a class are ready to take any decided stand against the trust in its present stage of development. I say this simply because the problem of unemployment is not sufficiently large to induce any considerable part of them to think. The capitalist's political brains are found in his pocket-book; the workingman's brains are in his stomach. The capitalist is finding the trust emptying his pocket-book. I have been warning him that this event was sure to happen, warning him for fifteen years or more, but he would never listen. In fact now that his pocket-book is actually being emptied, while he is kicking hard enough, he has hardly yet come to listen to the advice I offer him. He still wishes to destroy the trusts; I tell him, "Let the Nation Own the Trust."

This is too radical a solution yet for him to adopt, although, judging from the editorials appearing in the Hearst papers demanding National Ownership of Trusts, I should judge that the tide is setting pretty strong in that direction now-a-days.

Mr. Hearst has too much good newspaper sense to run

very far ahead of public opinion. Mr. Hearst gives his readers such ideas as he thinks are in commercial demand, albeit he usually selects the more radical kind. I, on the other hand, give my readers the kind of ideas they ought to like. I am like a temperance bar-keeper, who, when a customer asks for whiskey, puts him off by giving out ginger-ale. This is not usually a good commercial policy, and, in fact, is so unheard of that when Mr. Madden refused me the use of the United States Post-office to carry on such an unusual business of selling my own hand-made ideas instead of the ordinary ones manufactured in quantities for the general newspaper trade, he had the endorsement of President Roosevelt and the whole tribe of American politicians, together with the daily press. In Canada all manufacturing processes are somewhat backward compared with the United States and home-made articles are still in demand, hence, owing to this primitive state of affairs they let me publish and manufacture home-made ideas and send them through the mails to a degree of liberality that must be quite shocking to the firm of Madden, Roosevelt & Co.

However, while the small capitalist is shilly-shallying with the trust problem and letting President Roosevelt fool him with ridiculous feints through palpably impossible actions in the United States Supreme Court against the beef trust, the steady march of economic evolution goes on apace and conditions are fast becoming so ripe that they will force the working class to act.

The small capitalist is at present praying to the workingman to come to his aid and destroy the trust in order that he, the small capitalist, may once more go into business. The promise made to the workingman is that the waste of labor engendered by this going back to the methods of production on a small scale will be sure to make his labor much more in demand than at present. He will have good wages and a steady job if he destroys the trust. That there is something in this argument cannot be denied. There was something in the logic of the hand-weavers who in 1838 tried to destroy the machinery that was taking away their livelihood. The proposition, viewing it politically, is simply this, "Can there be a sufficient number rallied to the support of a movement to prevent an economic development?" If not, then

the movement must proceed. The growth of the use of machinery has never yet been stayed, because men were thrown out of employment by its use, and there is no reason why the future should differ from the past. A boy may wish to remain a boy, but he grows into a man all the same.

I referred to the steady growth of the process of economic evolution finally forcing the working class into a very pronounced attitude on the question of the trusts.

The stage in which this event will occur is not during a stage or period of so-called prosperity such as we are now enjoying. It will come during a time of depression. Depression will only come when the demand for new machinery has so decreased that the demand for labor to build such machinery falls off to a degree to create an unemployed problem. The trust presages that such a condition is rapidly approaching.

The trust is primarily simply a device on the part of the capitalists to prevent price-cutting as the result of over-production. Over-production is caused by the competitive wage system limiting wages to approximately what it cost the workingman to live. We have by the use of machinery largely augmented the product of the workingman, but he has shared hardly at all in this increased productivity. The increase has gone to the capitalist who has used it in the production of new machinery. He has had finally piled up for him more capital in the shape of new machinery than he can use, and therefore he has been compelled to form a trust to prevent over-production. The first economic effect of the trust is to force the surrender of other *manufacturing* capitalists engaged in the same line of production. The next point of attack is the capitalists engaged in *distributing* its products. For instance, the American Tobacco Trust first captured most of the competing establishments manufacturing tobacco. After that it went after the wholesalers and jobbers and forced them to abandon handling any competitive brands. By this means it forced the surrender of those recalcitrant competitive manufacturing establishments who would not surrender on direct assault. They were starved out by a siege. Their sources of supply were withdrawn by taking away from them the avenue by which they sold their goods and derived their profits.

It is thus seen that the first people to be up in arms against the trust are naturally those first attacked, namely, the smaller competing establishments and the distributive establishments, that is, they are capitalists and not workingmen. These are the men who are now doing most of the howling, and from them very largely comes the cry for workingmen in particular, and the public in general to rush to their aid and destroy the trust in order that they, the capitalists, may live.

When the people at large and the workingmen do not respond with that alacrity which they supposed they would show, these small fry capitalists throw up their hands to heaven and cry that the country is "going to destruction."

They confuse their own petty interests with those of the country at large.

We can dispense with these little capitalists and we can see the jobbers and wholesalers enslaved by the trust and still see how the country can live. It is the usual process of nature to eliminate the unnecessary. Years ago the farmer cried that the middle man must go. He is going. However, the day will come, and it is rapidly approaching, when the trust will say to the working class, "*You have built up the manufacturing plants of this country to such an extent and to such perfection that we do not require your service to build any more and we do not require many of you to operate those already built, so automatic has your ingenuity made them,*" then may we expect the working class to at last awaken to the real significance of the trust. The workingman will only vote for the Public Ownership of Trusts when lack of employment will force him to do so in order to preserve his existence. The smaller capitalists never made a move when they simply had the *theory* of the trust expounded to them. We had to see the trust actually throttle them before they could realize their danger. Why should the working class be any clearer sighted than those capitalists? There is no reason to expect it. They, too, will decline to move until conditions force them to, and the only hope I have of soon seeing any movement from them is simply because I foresee conditions where they will have but one chance of escaping starvation from an unemployed problem. That chance will be the adoption of the Co-operative Wage System, Public Ownership of the Trusts and Means of Production.

The co-operative wage system will do away with the over-production, for over-production is simply the result of the competitive wage system preventing the laborer buying back what he produces. By the aid of machinery the worker produces far more than he gets. The surplus has been handed over to the capitalist, who in turn has used it up in the production of more and more machinery. He has been "building up the country." As long as the capitalist could use this surplus in this manner there would never be any permanent unemployed problem, because when the laborer had produced enough to feed himself the capitalist would set him to work producing more machinery.

But now comes the trust as the sign that this production of new machinery must come to an end for the simple reason that no more machinery is needed.

This is why the Trust signifies an Unemployed Problem.

However, until this problem of unemployment is right upon the laborer as a fact, and not as a theory in "Wilshire's Magazine," history teaches us that he will do nothing. I therefore do not look for any great political movement as the result of the trust until this unemployed problem actually makes its appearance. When this event does occur, and it cannot be many years away, then it is evident that a solution *must* be found.

I myself take the scientific Socialist stand that no solution can be found other than the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

However, while I declare that this catastrophic theory is the only true theory from a scientific economic standpoint, yet I admit that from the purely political standpoint there are many reasons why I should favor trying to make steps toward the co-operative commonwealth, even though I do not think those steps will ever be built, or, if built, will be ever used to assist us in gaining the aforesaid co-operative commonwealth.

I do not believe there will ever be a single trust or a single railway nationalized in the United States before the whole of industry is nationalized, yet I know that there are many people who can never see how we can nationalize all industry until they are first convinced of the good and the practicability of nationalizing railroads. For such people we need a kinder-

garten method of teaching, but because a kindergarten is needed is no reason for us to refuse to educate children at all. The man is only the outcome of the child, both physically and mentally, and many a man has the frame of an adult, concealing the brain of a boy, and especially is this true of his capacity to absorb a theory in economics. We must take men as they are, and not as we would have them. Just as I know the small capitalists will never be able to rally the working-class to their support on any theory of economics, so do I know that until those same capitalists see that their economic salvation depends upon the nationalization of the trusts they will never favor such legislation. However, the day is now at hand when such capitalists will favor such a measure, and they will be enforced in their demand by the farmers. There will also be a number of workingmen who will join them in this demand. It is true that these people will be demanding nationalization simply as a reform of our present competitive system, and with no thought of its leading to the co-operative commonwealth, but even so, that, to my mind, is no reason why I should not do all I can to help them along with their movement, and utilize their platform to affirm the necessity of still further steps in order to introduce what will be finally necessary, viz., the Abolition of the Competitive Wage System.

Let us get down to Earth in our dealings with men, and always remember that you can do much more toward teaching a man a new idea if you start out by humoring his prejudices rather than by antagonizing them.

This magazine is published for the purpose of extending the idea of the Necessity of Socialism. I am lucky to be in Canada when I say this, because in the United States you must declare you publish a paper to make money, otherwise the Madden-Roosevelt Post Office will rule you from the second-class privilege because your primary object is not to make money but to advertise ideas. This sounds funny, but it's simply a solemn fact. I say this for the information of my foreign readers who have been accustomed to think America free.

However, this magazine is published to advertise the theories of Socialism, and that being its primary object, I regard any honorable means justified to attain my end.

One of those means is the use of people who will help it along because it gives voice to their ideas as to the practicability and desirability of Public Ownership, of some Public Utilities.

I consider any movement toward nationalization of industry an unmixed good, and will do all I can to push it along without qualification.

I regard every step taken in that direction in the United States as of almost certain good to the people, and in any case, of great value as an object lesson in the practicability of complete Socialism. I say this, too, after full experience of the brutalities that may exist from a Post Office owned and operated by the People.

I say, frankly, however, to my Public Ownership friends, that I do not look for any measure of success from their program simply because I do not think the people generally will move until an unemployed problem forces them to move, and that when this occurs no measure of Public Ownership will be of any avail short of complete Public Ownership of All the Means of Production and Distribution, and this program necessarily carries with it the introduction of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

## A HEART-TO-HEART TALK

THE CITY OF CLEVELAND

MAYOR'S OFFICE

TOM L. JOHNSON, MAYOR

CLEVELAND, OHIO, August 1, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. WILSHIRE:—

After the thundering challenge of last year I was agreeably surprised to receive your very warm letter of the 29th ult. and am answering it in the same kindly spirit.

I haven't the slightest doubt of your earnestness and sincerity in advocating the Socialist program. I don't agree, however, with the Socialistic doctrine which seeks to destroy competition. We, the followers of Henry George, see in the denial of competition the evils that you charge to one of Nature's laws.

The ownership of public utilities we agree about, but our reasons are different. I understand that the Socialists would have the people own and operate municipal monopolies so that the State should become the sole employer, while we advocate it as the means of destroying monopoly and only desire the State to control and operate those utilities in which competition cannot well enter.

But I did not intend to write you this sort of a letter when I began. I merely wanted, in a friendly way, to point out to you that I did not write articles; my field of usefulness being in a different direction.

While the Socialists and ourselves are antagonistic in our ultimate aims, a part of our program lies along the same road. To this extent, I hope we shall be able to co-operate and I always welcome the aid of men, called by any name, who desire to break down the power of privilege; that is, to take away the advantages conferred on some men by law that all men cannot enjoy.

Very truly yours, TOM L. JOHNSON.

It is said to be hard to forgive a man whom you have insulted. I exemplify the truth of the rule by being a brilliant exception. I always forgive people whom I insult, but I am never sure they will accept my forgiveness, no matter how freely offered.

Some moons since I insulted Mr. Bryan by offering him \$10,000 to debate with me. By rights I should never have spoken to him again, but I did. I sympathized with him in

his little trouble with the Post-office where they threatened him with suppression if he did not stop sending out a "few" papers to Congressmen and then refused to tell him how many constitute a "few." I never have any animosity, but I must say that I feel that I must sometimes give to others what I do not have myself, and when I find that men like Mr. Bryan and now Mr. Johnson are broad-minded enough to forget and forgive such grievous insults as they received from me, I feel that the Brotherhood of Man is nearer than I ever hoped—and this is saying a good deal for me.

I have much more hope of converting Mr. Johnson to Socialism than I have Mr. Bryan. Not that he is more of an idealist or that he will trim his political sails to the growing Socialistic breezes more quickly, but because he is a business man, while Mr. Bryan is a lawyer. Being a business man, Mr. Johnson is conversant with facts in business life that to Mr. Bryan are simply unproven theories. His business experience has cultivated and prepared Mr. Johnson's mind for the sowing of seed that would be entirely wasted upon Mr. Bryan. This is no reflection upon Mr. Bryan's native ability, but simply upon his misfortune in being a lawyer rather than a business man.

This is no joke, let me say, but is said in all seriousness. I have had a great many talks upon the Trust question with lawyers and business men and it has been almost my universal experience to find that the lawyers simply cannot understand that the reason the Trust exists lies in overproduction. They are apt to regard the Trust as simply a conspiracy of capitalists, voluntarily formed to limit production and raise prices.

For instance, last August I had the pleasure of talking on the Trust problem with the Hon. Chas. E. Littlefield, at his home in Rockland, Me. He it is who has been selected by President Roosevelt to formulate new anti-Trust legislation for the next sitting of Congress. With such a commission one might consider Mr. Littlefield as being prepared to say the last word for the Roosevelt administration upon the Trust problem. I can only warn the Trusts to stand from under if they have any fear of Mr. Littlefield having his way with them, for if he does there will be ructions to pay and no mistake. However, he will never have his way, for, although he

is a lawyer, and an honest one too, so the Rockland people all say, he will never be able to draft any legislation that will ever have enough force after it goes through the Supreme Court to hurt any Trust or make Mr. Morgan lose any sleep. Mr. Littlefield did not agree at all with me that over-production was at base of the Trust. He thinks Mr. Rockefeller was not compelled to form his Trusts and that a good strong anti-Trust law can be drawn up that will end all such pernicious combinations.

In fact, Mr. Littlefield has apparently not learned a single lesson from the industrial history of the United States in the last ten or fifteen years.

It is one of the delightful ironies of our present political and industrial situation that the man who is called upon to solve the mightiest problem ever set before the world has not the first inkling of the necessity of public ownership. It was rather funny that when I suggested public ownership Mr. Littlefield declared that public ownership of wealth meant practically the annihilation of wealth. Wealth to him was non-existent unless in the hands of private owners.

However, to go back to Mr. Johnson, as I have no doubt that Mr. Littlefield's views will be sufficiently aired in a few months.

Now Mr. Johnson, you are an eminently practical business man. You want facts and not theories. You are quoted as saying that the present system gives capitalists opportunities to exploit the public and that you take advantage of those opportunities and exploit them, although at the same time you are advising the public not to be such fools as to tolerate being robbed by you or anyone else. This is a perfectly consistent attitude. It's my own position, so naturally it is right.

You and I both seek to abolish special privileges. Our difference is that you would nationalize and municipalize certain industries and leave others in private hands and then let competition work its way; and you hope that then labor will get its just rewards.

I, on the other hand, would nationalize and municipalize everything and would institute co-operation instead of competition.

This you regard as Utopian.

Brushing aside the glory of my ideal of the future of so-

ciety, where all men have plenty and are in a vast brotherhood of love, and yours, where they spend their time—when they have any to spend apart from your competitive struggle—in determining how much to tax each other, let us consider co-operation from the viewpoint of necessity, not as a luxury. If it becomes a necessity, then of course you must become a Socialist.

Now, Mr. Johnson, I never flatter anyone, so you know, when I say that you are worthy of having time spent upon your conversion, I must have a good opinion of you. You are today doing a greater work and probably a more useful work in your sphere of directing attention to the advantages of municipal ownership than anyone in the United States. I may include also the work you are doing for the equalization of taxation. However, when you have finished there is the greater problem to solve for the nation and you are as likely as not to be called upon to have a great hand in the settling of it.

If the Democratic Party had any brains they would nominate you for President, but they haven't, and if they should nominate Hill or Gorman you will have but one refuge, namely the Socialist Party.

I have in my hand the New York Commercial of today's date, August 18th. The Commercial is a good reliable business man's paper, and I would like to call your attention to the tremendous lesson that can be drawn from its pages of a single issue. You want facts and not theories and I will give them to you. If you will not admit that co-operation is soon to become a necessity, you do admit that you have no doubt of my sincerity in advocating Socialism. Of course you have no doubt of it. No more have I of Mr. Littlefield's honesty in advocating anti-trust laws, or Mr. Bryan and his free silver, or you and your single tax. The question of the individual honesty of the advocates of certain remedies is unimportant when compared to the honesty of the remedies themselves.

You no doubt think I am a dreamer of dreams that might be realized if all men were angels. Let us see how the dreams are being realized today when men are just as "good devils" as Mary MacLane could wish for.

My position is that we are now producing so much wealth

that we cannot distribute it under our competitive wage system. Let us see what the Commercial says about the production of wealth. I take this from its editorial:

The productiveness of our agricultural industry was nearly doubled within a decade. This fact is fine evidence of the energy and progressiveness of our farmer population. No such record would have been possible to any but a people imbued with a spirit of modern progress and determined to take advantage of every discovery in science that could add to the fruitfulness of their fields. There is no such thing as rigid conservatism having a place in modern industry.

The American farmer understands this necessity, and it is because he understands it that he has made such a magnificent record in the last decade. He stands at the head of the agricultural world, and he will continue to hold this proud position so long as he stands firmly on the principle that has placed him there. We are almost feeding the whole world to-day. It is by no means impossible that in the future we may be the absolute source of supply for the foodstuffs of the globe.

This looks as though the United States should be able to provide for its people. However, it appears as if the little fellows in fruit raising were being crowded pretty hard by the big ones. Single tax would not help the small farmer, because the big one, while he would pay more taxes, would be able to pay more owing to decreased cost through larger production.

I quote the Commercial again, showing this tendency to farming on a big scale:

Hartville, Mo., Aug 17.—A contract has been closed by a Des Moines syndicate for a 5,000-acre tract of land lying north of here on Bear Creek for a mammoth fruit farm. The syndicate has contracted with the Frisco to build a spur, leaving that road three miles west of Sleeper station, in Laclede county, and running through the orchard.

Orders have been received for the manager to employ hands and clear off 1,000 acres of the land, which the syndicate proposes to put in apple trees next Spring. A steam stump-puller will be used in clearing off the ground, and a disk gang plow operated by an engine will be used to plow the land.

Two thousand additional acres are to be ready for planting during 1904, and the remaining 2,000 acres a year later.

Now, of course I could have made my facts much stronger had I not determined to limit them to the issue of a single day. We have had statistics showing how much more we are

producing, and how we are doing it. I will now show some of the results of this tremendous production. Again I quote the Commercial:

San Francisco, Aug. 17.—In Napa Valley there are a great many prune orchards in which the fruit is falling from the trees and rotting on the ground. The low price makes it hardly worth while to attempt to handle the crop.

So you see, Mr. Johnson, it is one thing to produce and quite another thing to sell. Those poor prune growers might have their land presented to them tax free and yet they would go bankrupt because prices are less than cost, owing to over-production. There is no use of your saying that they might have raised something else, because if they had they would have been just as likely to have been swamped by over-production. There is not a single agricultural product raised in California that is not liable to over-production, and none that have not in the past been, during certain years, absolutely valueless from that cause. One year it is barley, another cabbages. This year it is lemons and prunes, two years ago it was oranges, a little before that it was walnuts.

You may think the farmers ought to have gone into some other business than farming. It's all overdone. Even those capitalists who, like yourself, were clever enough to have gone into transportation sometimes lose their heads and ruin themselves with competition. Of course they usually combine; they can combine easily enough because they are few in numbers. Farmers cannot. Too many to get together. However, sometimes even railway men fight and lose money. Once more I go to my ever faithful Commercial:

Houston, Tex., Aug. 17.—Five hundred tickets were sold to Chicago yesterday at startling prices as the result of a war of ticket brokers, the outgrowth of the fight of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, the International & Great Northern, the Cotton Belt and the Santa Fé for Northern passenger business.

The lowest rate before yesterday was \$18.00 for the round trip. One broker cut it to \$8.00. Another broker at once cut it to \$4.00. Yet another announced Houston to Chicago, 30 cents; Houston to St. Louis, 20 cents; Houston to Kansas City, 10 cents.

Another met the cut and offered a \$5.00 box of cigars with each ticket.

But it is not the war of the capitalists that I am counting upon to cause over-production. It is the war between work-

ingmen to get a job that will do the trick. The capitalists soon get over their foolish disposition to fight, and form a combine, as you will see once again in our Commercial:

Chicago, Aug. 17.—Following the International Harvester Co.'s public declaration that economy in the manufacture and distribution of agricultural machinery was the motive for effecting the \$120,000,000 merger, several of the Chicago companies in the combine have issued letters to their agents throughout the country ordering a reduction of about three-fourths in the number of employees representing them in the field. The other companies in the combine are preparing to follow their example. Ten thousand men in all are expected to lose their jobs.

The men whose services are to be dispensed with are the canvassers and traveling salesmen, whose work has been to solicit orders from small dealers and farmers. The reduction is also expected to lessen materially the volume of correspondence and thus render unnecessary the employment of as large an office force as heretofore.

But you will also notice that at the very same time it gives a notice of a cessation of war between the capitalists it shows how by the discharge of ten thousand employees or more that the war between workingmen redoubles in fury. If this item is not sufficient to show you, Mr. Johnson, that we can have a great production and yet have it neither benefit the farmer who raises prunes nor the workingman who makes farm machinery, possibly this interesting little item may awaken your interest. Again from the Commercial:

Chicago, Aug. 17.—The employees of the First National Bank are said to be in revolt because the bank has a rule which prohibits employees from marrying until they receive a salary of at least \$1,000 a year. This obstacle is said to have barred the way to many weddings recently. The bank officials deny the existence of the rule, but employees say that matrimony on less than \$1,000 a year is almost certain to result in dismissal. An open protest was made and a strike was threatened yesterday.

Now you know pretty well, Mr. Johnson, that a thousand dollars is very little for a bank clerk to keep a family on. He must for the sake of the good name of the bank dress himself fairly well, and by the time he feeds himself there is very little left for the family. The bank doesn't want a lot of shabby looking half-starved clerks in its palace of marble and brass rails. It's much cheaper to make a rule of firing a clerk that enters a course of starving himself by getting married than

it is to raise his salary. There are plenty of men who will be glad to take the \$1,000 and stay single. But it is this very competition that keeps the clerks and workmen generally down to the point where they can't even buy prunes.

It seems to me I have shown pretty well by my facts from one issue of the Commercial the cause of over-production and the necessity of the Trust, and I have at the same time shown how the Trust does not in the least prevent an unemployed problem, although it may for the time being solve the problem of the capitalist of how to avoid bankruptcy.

But while there is so much food in the land that the bankers are unable to allow their clerks to marry, it would seem from this item that the state can arrange to feed its citizens well enough and make money into the bargain.

Jackson, Miss., Aug. 17.—The report of the warden of the penitentiary for the first six months of the present year shows that the total cash receipts from the farming system were \$190,436.32, against expenses amounting to \$89,004.23, leaving a net profit on the labor of the convicts of \$101,432.05.

Of course, you may reply that you would rather be a dead free man than a live convict, but I don't think you would, my dear Mr. Johnson, stoop to such an argument to win applause from an unthinking audience. Certainly, if the State can take its most unwilling, ignorant and vicious citizens and by co-operation not only give them employment, but make money, while the farmer in California, working under private ownership and initiative, loses money, there is some argument for public ownership of even that most difficult business, farming.

But it is not only the competition between workmen, limiting demand for products, that is causing over-production. It is also the approaching completion of the machinery of production that is causing trouble by throwing men out of employment. I showed how it was working in the Harvester Combine. The machinery necessary to build new harvesters is more than enough, therefore a combine is a necessity, and out go 10,000 men. Here is another item from the same old mine, the Commercial:

Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., Aug 17.—The great water power canal of the Soo, which has just been finished, after four years of con-

struction and an expenditure of \$5,000,000, is regarded by engineers as one of the most magnificent works of its kind in the world.

Everything is now in readiness for the final stroke by which the waters of Lake Superior will be turned into the broad, deep, smooth channel, and soon thereafter the wheels of immense industries will begin to turn under the power of the mighty flow. This will be accomplished in a few days after the work shall have been thoroughly inspected by F. H. Clergue, president of the Michigan Lake Superior Co. Like a river, 230 feet broad, and deep enough to float the biggest vessel that sails the lakes, it divides Sault Ste. Marie into a city of two parts, with the island portion now for the first time completely surrounded by water.

It is the completion of our great industrial plants the world over that presages the great world problem of the unemployed. It is upon this, Mr. Johnson, that I base my theory of the necessity of public ownership in order that we have a co-operative wage system to distribute the enormous wealth now being produced.

As long as this wealth could find its way into new machinery, new canals, railways, etc., even though the laborer did get but a small wage there was no over-production. I insist that the facts of today show that this method of disposing of our surplus wealth is now about ended and that the laborers' share of the product must be enormously increased to absorb the wealth that formerly went into the building of new machinery.

You say you don't write, Mr. Johnson. Well, you read the papers. I wish you would see if events are not shaping themselves my way. I am counting on you later on when this country gets into a tight box and wants men to show her how to get out of it.

I am sure you will not find that the capitalists will ever take up again with competition, and I am equally sure that the laborers are not going to starve in order to prove the value of a theory that you single taxers uphold, viz., the desirability of competition. The people of America are going to say that they want America for themselves and that they are tired of giving up all they produce to Morgan & Co. simply for the pleasure of starving in their own country because they produce too much to eat.

## SCIENCE BENEFITS THE RICH

OUR good clergymen and professors of political economy never weary of telling us that Rockefeller and others have their great incomes as the reward of what they have done for the public in organizing the labor of society. They would have us infer that a man is paid pro rata with his ability. They never give us a glimmer that the immense mass of humanity are not paid according to their product, but according to how little they can live upon. It is strange that Mr. Hearst, with all his zeal for the toiling masses, should not take a moment of time, while he is twirling his cap on high for his new friend, Parker, and explain to his readers the impossibility of the working-class ever being able to better their condition as long as the competitive wage system lasts. However, Hearst does see some things correctly. For instance, he takes note that Professor O. F. Cook, by the introduction of the Guatemalan ant, which destroys the boll weevil, saving the nation forty million a year to the cotton planters, will get nothing for his labor above and beyond his regular government salary. If Professor Cook were to be paid on an interest basis he should be given two thousand million dollars worth of two per cent. government bonds. As it is he gets merely a living, and when he gets old in the service he will be turned adrift without a pension. He had better been a Filipino killer. It is to be noted that Professor Cook made his discovery when working, not for a competitive capitalistic corporation, but for the State. The same remark applies to Professor Koerberle, the man who discovered a remedy for the white scale bug which was destroying the orange groves of California some ten years ago. Koerberle heard that while there were scale bugs in Australia, yet they did not seem to bother the oranges there. He rightly guessed there must be some countervailing influence. He found it to be in a lady bug, the *vedolia cardinalis*. This little insect makes a business of eating the white scale. Koerberle sent over a colony of the Australian lady bugs to California, and

the little chaps thrive so well in their new home and ate so many white scales that in a few months California was rid of the pest. What Koerberle did for the orange crop Cook now promises to do for the cotton crop. These two men have saved the country millions of dollars, and yet neither will benefit personally to the extent of one cent. And yet I doubt if either of them would not feel completely rewarded if they could only have a guarantee from society that they would be supported while they could continue to make scientific discoveries for the benefit of man. However, it is also noteworthy that as long as the competitive system and private ownership of property continues all these and other great discoveries do not inure to the benefit of society as a whole but merely to the rich. The extinction of the boll weevil will not add much to the pay of the negro cotton pickers, but it means much gain to the owners of the cotton fields and much more gain to the railways which have a monopoly of the cotton carrying. Similarly, the extinction of the orange scale in California gives the railways, which carry the oranges, the bulk of the gain. Competition keeps the rate of wages and the price of oranges so low that neither the orange grower nor the orange picker get much of anything. But the railways get ninety cents on every box of oranges that California exports, and this price has remained uniform for twenty years, although the price of oranges has decreased from \$5 a box to less than \$1.50. The railways have advanced sufficiently to know the beauty of combination, while the ordinary people are still working along on the old starvation competitive basis. The evolution of the human mind is a slow process.

## WHAT IS RELIGION?

**A**S long as commercial success is generally thought to be synonymous with rendering the earth better adapted for man, so long will commercial success, generally speaking, be a pleasure to the individuals making it. It is only when the commercial success of the individual becomes generally incompatible with the welfare of the race that the pursuit of wealth will become unendurable to those engaged in it. It is freely admitted that a great deal of the business success of to-day depends upon the obstruction rather than the production of wealth. A Trust insures profits by its ability to curtail production. But this is the accident of business rather than its normal course. However, accidents of this nature are sure to become increasingly frequent as, owing to the workings of the competitive system, the capacity to consume becomes more and more limited compared with the capacity to produce.

As this condition of affairs becomes more and more evident it will come to pass in the natural course of events that men who have formerly been devoting their lives to the accumulation of wealth will have their energies diverted to the socialization of wealth. That this is the case may be seen already in the actions of a certain part of the capitalists of the United States. It is said that during the last year over \$90,000,000 were distributed in various benefactions and charities, and it is well known that Mr. Carnegie himself has given away nearly a hundred million dollars to date. Of course all this charity and philanthropy is only a feeble indication of a social tendency, but it is a very striking one and should be appreciated at its full value.

That the individual can only attain complete happiness by being himself in perfect accord with his environment is axiomatic. The individual, no matter how harmonious he may be in himself, cannot be happy unless he has an environment which is harmonious.

The boundary lines of one's environment are illimitable. A rich man's house may be pleasant and his family agreeable, but if his neighborhood is disagreeable it is evident that he is not in a favorable position for happiness. Again, though he should make his entire neighborhood conform to his ideas of beauty and happiness, he would still have to consider the city, and the city cannot be happy if the nation is unhappy.

The task of the man who sets out to beautify his environment can be ended only when all the world is beautified.

The increasing sensitiveness of the nation as a whole was strikingly shown here in the United States when we felt ourselves impelled to demand that Spain should cease its persecution of Cuba, and this sentiment was one of the factors which finally led us into war. The same thing was seen again in the attitude of the United States toward Russia in regard to the Kishineff affair.

The happiness of the individual depends upon his being in harmony with a harmonious universe.

Socialism then is, in its higher sense, the science of placing man in harmonious relation to a perfected universe. Coming back to the concrete, it is evident that one of the first steps toward this is the harmonious arrangement of things upon this earth that man may freely participate to the fullest extent in all the possibilities of his environment. The Socialist demands that the worker shall have what he produces and sees that this demand can only come through the institution of a harmonious industrial system. But this attained he by no means considers that he has reached the end.

Socialism is only a first step toward bringing man into a more perfect relation to the whole universe.

There is no greater fallacy than to assume that because the Socialist sees that man must be fed before he can be happy, that he therefore imagines that the mere feeding of man is an end in itself.

Feeding is simply a means to an end and that end is the greatest that the mind of man can conceive—the perfect relating of perfected man to a perfected universe. The birth of the Super-Man.

The striving for this is Religion.

It is the True Worship of God.

## STRIKE TO SET THEM FREE

**T**HE secret night arrest and deportation from Colorado to Idaho of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, of the Western Federation of Miners, is an event not only of the greatest interest to the labor movement of the United States, but is an act menacing the whole fabric of our present industrial and social structure.

Society to-day is held together by the large majority of the people feeling that if substantial equity is not done to every man by our present laws and customs, at any rate the equity is about as near as can be expected, taking one thing with another.

We Socialists know and are trying to make the people know, that the present economic inequality and injustice is the direct consequence of our competitive system, and we are endeavoring to show the people that the only way to avoid inequity is to establish Socialism, but it is admittedly a long, tedious, slow process to teach the people the economics of Socialism.

But when it comes to a question of the people deciding about life or death for a man, they do not hesitate a single moment. If the people think that a man has committed a crime against an individual or the commonwealth, there is practically a consensus for his execution. If, upon the other hand, they think he is not guilty, they have no hesitancy in expressing their feelings against the carrying out of the sentence. The common instinct of humanity is aroused at the thought of killing an innocent man, no matter who he may be. But when the man threatened is one who is known to have devoted his life for the good of his fellow men, and when the people feel that not only has he committed no crime, but that he is picked out for slaughter merely because he has devoted himself to their interests, then may we expect a great wave of indignant protest to sweep the nation.

Never before the arrest of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, has such a condition as this ever been presented before to the

American nation. The nearest approach to it was probably when the Southern Confederacy threatened with execution a number of captured Union officers upon the false charge that they were spies. This so aroused the whole country that Lincoln, in response, advised the Confederacy that he would execute certain Confederate officers then held in captivity by the North, if the South should carry out its threat. This act of Lincoln's caused the South to change its mind, and the incident was over.

The execution of the Anarchists in Chicago, in 1886, was similar in certain respects to the threatened execution of Moyer and Haywood. However, the execution in 1886 did not excite any great national protest—first, because the labor movement was not developed to the extent that it is to-day, and, secondly, because the men accused had associated themselves, in the public mind, with the advocacy of bomb throwing, and the public felt that their execution, after a bomb throwing actually did take place, was only a matter of just retribution. The public felt that, even if the individuals accused were not guilty, they had at any rate incited some other man to throw the bomb, and to have deserved the hanging.

As I said before, the present Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone case is upon quite a different footing. The labor movement of America is to-day infinitely better organized than it was twenty years ago; not only is labor organized, but the people generally have had so many striking indictments of the present capitalistic system by such writers as Lawson, Sinclair, Steffens, Phillips, and others, and have seen so many of their idols fall, like Senator Depew, and have been enlightened by the insurance investigations as to how graft permeates throughout our whole political and industrial structure, that they no longer feel that keen resentment against the critics of the present system of society that they did at one time.

Instead of looking upon America as the perfection of all things, as we did in 1886, and looking upon the man who criticized us as one quite worthy of hanging, we now place our critics on the pinnacle of public esteem.

We no longer have the respect for the courts that we did have. We can no longer doubt that they are corrupt and

venial. We cannot doubt that the money interest of the country controls them. Twenty years ago the courts were still an honored institution.

Then the growth of Socialism has made such progress in twenty years that thousands of people are to-day ready for a Social Revolution, and eager to listen to the words of a Revolutionary, where twenty years ago they would have mobbed him.

The public protest of to-day about the Haywood-Moyer affair is infinitely greater and more powerful than any similar protest. The labor unions from one end of the country to the other are making the case of Haywood and Moyer their own. At this writing \$200,000 have been subscribed for the defense fund, and \$1,000,000 can be had, if necessary.

As Gov. Gooding, of Idaho, and his servile judges push onward the trial of the accused men, there is no telling how high public indignation may run. No one can say if this event may not be the spark which will inflame the American people to the inevitable Social Revolution.

The greatest crime against a free people in modern history is threatened in the trial of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone for murder. No one who knows anything about the character of the men and the circumstances of the crime, can believe that they were connected with the assassination of Gov. Steunenberg. The trial is merely an attempt on the part of the mine owners of Idaho and Colorado to intimidate the labor unions. They think that the hanging of the leaders will mean such a complete cowering of labor that capital will forever have it at its mercy. If the working class of America do not make their protest sufficiently vigorous to prevent the possibility of this judicial crime, then the execution of Haywood and Moyer may be the beginning of a series of executions of labor union leaders from one end of the country to the other.

The time for us to make our protest is now, and not after the men are in their coffins. If we wish to prevent the murder of the men who have been fighting for us, then the time for us to act is right here and now.

Let indignation meetings be held from Maine to California. Let money be collected. Let parades be made in our great cities, parades in such numbers that their immense size

will intimidate the capitalist class from carrying out their infamous program.

If the trial proceeds and if such a terrible event as conviction by the servile minions of plutocracy should follow, and if a single one of our comrades, Haywood, Moyer or Pettibone, is condemned, it should be the signal for the working class of America to rise—let that mark the date for the beginning of a Great National General Strike. Let every working man who has a heart in his breast make a mighty oath that not a wheel shall turn in this country from ocean to ocean until the verdict is set aside and every one of the accused is set free. Let our factories be closed; let our mills stop grinding flour, and our bakeries stop baking bread. Let there be a complete paralysis of railway transportation and telegraphic information. Let our coal mines close, and let us die of hunger and cold if necessary to make our protest heeded.

The working class of this country have it in their power to say to the plutocracy, "You shall starve to death if a hair on the head of either Haywood, Moyer or Pettibone is injured."

Let us show the world that the workingmen of America are not so lost to shame, not so devoid of the red blood of courage, that they will allow one of their comrades to suffer death at the hands of their enemies, when they have at their command a weapon which will set them free.

Hurrah for the General Strike!

*(Editorials From "Challenge.")*

## SALUTATORY

**T**HE CHALLENGE has been given life in order to voice for this community certain thoughts and ideas of a radical nature that are either suppressed altogether in the daily press or are published in such a desultory manner that those in sympathy with such thought suffer from the lack of continuity.

The editor of this paper thinks that a crisis in the political and industrial history of the United States is rapidly approaching and that it is of the utmost importance for the people to be informed of this fact. Society is an organism, and is governed by the same evolutionary laws determining the development of other organisms. It will be the mission of THE CHALLENGE to expound these laws.

Certain people who consider themselves scientific are ready enough to admit an inevitable and evolutionary change in society, but say that the changes of nature are so slow that it will take thousands of years before we can expect any considerable change in the form of our human society.

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THE CHALLENGE considers such views as essentially superficial. There is a critical point in all natural movements. Hydrogen and oxygen, if mixed in exact proportions of two to one and brought into contact with an electric spark, will explode and form water. When water is heated to 212 degrees it boils and becomes steam. After the hen sets on her eggs three weeks they are hatched into chickens. Apparently in each of these cases there was no outward change until the critical point was reached and then there was a sudden transformation.

We believe that society is approaching its critical point and that a transformation must ensue. That the present competitive system, embracing the private ownership of capital, is simply like the shell of an egg and is protecting the formation of a new and better society within itself. When this new

society is ready to be born it will burst its shell and step forth, Minerva-like, fully formed and completed.

With such ideas it can necessarily be seen that **THE CHALLENGE** can hardly be classed under the head of "reform" journals. A "reform" paper is one that hopes to make better present society and usually thinks we simply have to put honest men into office to secure this betterment. **THE CHALLENGE** has very little sympathy with such views. It is true we wish honest men in public life, but we also want them in private life and are rather inclined to think that honesty in private life is probably of more importance to-day to the general public than in life. We look upon the existing form of society as one would look at an old coat about to be discarded. It is not worth much patching, yet as the time for changing to a new coat is not absolutely determined it is felt that both decency and comfort demand the old one to be kept in as good order as possible until that new coat is actually finished and ready to be worn. It would be folly to spend all one's energies in fixing up the old at the expense of delaying the completion of a newer and infinitely better one.

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We think the trust is the significant sign of the approaching completion of this new social coat. We have no fault to find with the trust for sending us this message. To attempt to destroy the trust is as absurd as to batter up one's office telephone because unwelcome news comes over it. All innovations, no matter how good they may be, are usually instinctively rejected, when first proposed, by the innate conservatism of mankind. The opposition which greeted the introduction of railways in England from the educated country gentlemen, the cream of the English people, was almost as great as that exhibited to-day by the Chinese Boxers to the introduction of railways in China. The trust conveys an unwelcome message to many of us simply because we are of the conservative "Boxer" temperament and are opposed to all innovations upon general principles. The trust is the most perfect labor-saving device ever perfected by the mind of man, and to a certain extent it is opposed from jealousy simply because it is such a perfect machine, yet such a costly one that very few can afford the initial outlay to own one.

We can imagine a newspaper man opposing linotypes not

because they are bad in themselves but because he is too poor to buy one and without one he cannot meet his competitors. He will say that there will no longer be a free press when it first requires a man of money rather than of brains to establish a paper. The small business man has long been crying out against corporations on the same ground, viz.: that plenty of capital is more of a requisite for success than brains in the business world. The trust not only still further accentuates this view, but has brought him to see that not only is it difficult for the man without money to establish himself, but it is now absolutely impossible.

\* \* \*

Business to-day has assumed the monarchical form. Any man may be president of the United States, at any rate birth is not a barrier, but a man has as much chance of being the president of the Standard Oil trust as he has of being called to the throne of England. But it is not so much that the chance of advancement is closed by the appearance of the trust. Not only does the trust prevent advancement, but it insists upon the outsiders retiring altogether from the field. The trust has made the knowledge of the dynamic condition of industry too painfully apparent for it to be denied. If a man could hold his own he might consent to lose his ambition, but when he finds his very livelihood threatened by the trust he is forced into active opposition. At present it is principally the small business men and jobbers who are in opposition to the trust. They wish the trust destroyed and hope for a return to the old days of free competition. However, these are mostly men of business training, and the simple business arguments in favor of the formation and perpetuation of the trust are so convincing to them that they are ceasing to protest against the inevitable.

The workingman will be the next to feel the results of the economies effected in demand for labor by the trust. At present, owing to the industrial boom in progress, the trusts are pushed to their utmost to fill orders and hence there is no opportunity to diminish the use of labor notwithstanding the economies effected by concentration. It has simply resulted in a larger product with the same number of employees. This conditions of affairs, however, will only last as long as times are good. As soon as the boom is over the trusts will be com-

pelled to discharge unnecessary workers and then will be the time when workmen will begin to clamor against the trust. They will act the part of the dog biting a stone that hit him instead of going after the man who threw it. To-day the workmen as a class are rather favorably disposed than otherwise to the trust. It has apparently given them more employment and it certainly has given them steadier employment. Let this condition once change, and change it must, and there will no longer be a McKinley carried triumphantly to the presidential chair.

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The republicans played their trump card when they asked to be returned to power because they had made times good and upon the promise that they would continue such good times in the future. They have frankly accepted the onus now of any bad times that the future may bring, and that the future will bring such times is as sure as fate. Then will the republicans be called to their accounting.

Will the people be so foolish as to return the democrats to power simply upon a program of negation? We think not. We think that the political party of the future must have an intelligent constructive program if it is to be successful.

## THE OLD LADY'S AILMENT

THE United States is a nation approaching the throes of giving birth to a new social system. We are like an old woman who has all sorts of pains and all sorts of quacks prescribing for her. She is a foolish old thing with hardly sense enough to know the difference between a quack and a real physician, and she does not yet dare to make her choice. The quacks say she has all sorts of diseases and try to force all sorts of absurd remedies down her throat. She herself does not know exactly what ails her, but she sees the quacks don't know either, although she takes some of their medicine from time to time to get rid of them. She hears with wondering delight and surprise the theory of the Socialist as to the cause of her ill-health, but she thinks he must be a base flatterer. How could she, a miserable, beastly, selfish, ugly old thing, ever think that there was any reason for her being so delicately indisposed? She admits she rather likes the idea, but she resolutely refuses belief. "The trust certainly signifies, my dear madam," says the Socialist to her, whenever he gets a chance at her ear between so many consultants, "that you are to give birth to Socialism." "No, no," cries one of the quacks, "nothing of the sort. The trust is a dangerous foreign growth, a tumor that should be destroyed before it grows bigger and destroys the patient." Then another quack steps up elbowing the first one aside, and says, "Don't listen to him, madam, he would destroy your life. The trust is now too large a body to take from you without causing death. Let it alone and it will gradually pass away of itself. It will die a natural death." "But," says the patient, "that is just what you have been telling me for fifteen years, and I am getting worse and worse, and the trust bigger every year. Why, it seems to be actually getting to be bigger than I am myself."

"Ah, my dear madam, that is all in the course of nature, and anyway it is rather an ornament, and a useful one, too, to you than otherwise. Don't be alarmed, you would not

know what to do without it. What would become of all your life's blood if it did not go to feed that tumor? You would die of apoplexy. You would wear yourself out with natural exuberance if you should rid yourself of it. It gives steady employment to all your natural functions. Your heart, your lungs, even your brains are all now well employed keeping this tumor in vigorous health. If you should lose it your heart would only have half time work demanded of it, and it might stop beating altogether. I really think at times, madam, that this tumor, which you are pleased to call a 'foreign growth,' is quite as important to be kept alive as you yourself. You have burdened yourself so long with it that you are no longer beautiful and strong as you were when you were young and healthy, and I don't think your life worth so very much, anyway. In fact, the only reason I can see for your living at all is to keep the tumor alive." The old woman is rather shocked at such a frank statement from the doctor, but he is the old family physician and she is so ill that she has lost the courage to discharge him. The Socialist doctor is persistent, however, in whispering to her the real meaning of her pains, and while she does not take his advice in discharging her quacks, she at any rate commences to do some thinking on her own account. Every day makes her condition more and more critical, and, strange to say, it seems to corroborate both the theory of the quack and the Socialist.

The trust tumor seems more and more an inseparable part of the body, yet it drains more and more upon the resources of a physique less and less able to bear the strain. However, in such ambiguous cases a true diagnosis is but a question of time, and in this particular case the Socialist doctor knows that the time when the patient will determine for herself what ails her is rapidly approaching. Selah.

## WHY A PEACOCK?

Ventura, Cal., April 4th, 1901.

H. Gaylord Wilshire:

Dear Sir: Enclosed find order for \$1.25, for which send **THE CHALLENGE** to S. B. Bagnall, Oxnard, Cal. And send the balance to my address, Ventura, in subscription postal cards.

Why, in the name of all that's curious, don't you let up on this "Challenge of Debate" business? You certainly make yourself absurd and silly to the minds of sensible people, and the other fellow don't count.

Get in and dig after the brains. You can make **THE CHALLENGE**, by good hard work, leaving out the bombast, the greatest power for Socialism in the United States. Truly your friend,

R. E. BRAKEY.

Now, dear Brakey, you have just said exactly what I have been wondering many other old time Socialists have not already said. It has been a matter of rather delighted surprise to receive letters from nearly every leading Socialist in America singing the same song. "**THE CHALLENGE** is all right." Now you and I have been in "the movement" for many years. You were my chairman in Ventura over ten years ago when I ran as a Socialist for Congress from this district, and again a few months ago you acted in the same capacity. We both well know with what intense and rightful jealousy the Socialists beyond all other men scrutinize another Socialist's action to determine whether he is "for himself" or for "the Movement." You and I both know that nothing will kill a man quicker than for him to attempt the "leadership act." If we are consistent in any one thing it is our democracy among our own selves. I know as well as you do that conceit and bombast will never go when a Socialist talks to Socialists, but you must remember that when I talk through **THE CHALLENGE** I am not trying to teach or impress Socialists. They are not worth bothering about, their education is finished. They don't need any talk from me. It is the unconverted, the Philistines, that I am thinking about and talking to. For instance, I have offered Bryan \$5,000 to debate with me and

another \$5,000 if he can defeat me. Now you know, and I know, and all Socialists know, that he will never dare accept my challenge. You and other Socialists may be bored at my making it and more bored upon my dwelling upon it. But remember, other people are not bored. They are either astounded at my audacity or think that it is a bluff that would never be made good if Bryan should call me. I admit that such a manner of advertising the strength of the Socialist argument is sensational, is vulgar, is silly and absurd, as you say, but the question is not as to manner, but the effectiveness of the advertisement. The people generally are a lot of unthinking fools. We both agree in that estimate of them. Now these fools are the very ones who "do count," if I may differ from you. If they had the brains you and I and the Socialists, your "sensible people", generally possess, they would need no CHALLENGE or any other Socialist paper to awaken them. They would go to the polls the very next election and vote in Socialism unanimously. I, myself, never saw a Socialist paper or a Socialist book, in fact, did not know such existed when I became a Socialist. The logic of events was quite a sufficient teacher for me. However, everybody is not that smart, and so for the fellows that are not smart enough to be Socialists without teaching you often must attract their attention by very bizarre methods. I have no doubt but that those poor fanatics who beat the cymbals in the Salvation Army use precisely the same argument in their defense. They don't think cymbals make delightful music, but they think that the noise will attract the attention of the unregenerate to their talk. I recognize well enough that I am making more or less an ass of myself in making these bombastic challenges. I don't like to make a fool of myself, either, any more than you do, but I think with the Salvation Army lassie that the question of making a fool of yourself should be quite subsidiary to making a success of beguiling people to listen to your tale. In other words, in order to attract attention to Socialism, I put on the cap and bells and parade up and down the columns of THE CHALLENGE. However, while I can call myself an ass with impunity, I dare anyone, not a Socialist, to come into my columns and repeat the word. He may find a helmet underneath the cap. That the method is a good one is proven by results. We have had Socialist journals without number for years and

years that have said what I am saying quite as well, and often much better, yet they have never "caught on" with the outside public. THE CHALLENGE, on the other hand, is meeting with a most phenomenal success, both among Socialists and with rank outsiders. Whatever else may be said of me I can lay claim to having started the first successful newspaper ever printed in the English language that has an avowed, clean cut, scientific, revolutionary Socialistic policy. It is really remarkable considering the very ultra position I take in economics and politics that I should have met with such an enthusiastic reception from people who have never identified themselves with us before. I won't be so silly as to claim that these people were attracted by the "cap and bells," but at any rate they were not repelled. I would like to lay off the bells forever as I do now in talking to you behind the scenes, as it were, but I know the people generally demand a costume. You can read Hamlet in your study, but you like to see it better behind the footlights. You, dear Brakey, know the strength of the Socialist argument, you need no pictorial demonstration of it, but you are not everybody. There is many a man who will never believe that a Socialist is right until he is convinced that nobody dare argue with him. Such men are but too common. The man who relies on another to make up his mind for him is at every street corner. I am simply trying to graphically impress upon him a pictorial personal demonstration of the strength of Socialism. In doing this I necessarily bring myself into vulgar notoriety. It's an unpleasant sight to you, my dear Brakey, but I should think you might have imagination enough to understand that it is not a pure delight to me. Do you think after we have Socialism that I will continue to act the conceited pup I do today? I make a bargain with you that after we get Socialism I will never write another line nor make another speech. I will work my hour a day digging a sewer and put in the rest of my time playing golf.

In the meantime I must beg leave to pursue my own methods of "getting my name up" so that a vulgar public will be curious enough to listen to me.

I shall continue the program of challenging everybody in sight whom I consider the public will think ought to meet me. I don't challenge Mr. McKinley because it would be on the

face of it mere bombast, real bombast. It would be bombast because it would be so evident to everyone that nothing would draw him out. It would be as absurd to ask him to debate upon trusts as it would to ask the King of England to debate upon royalty. With Mr. Bryan it is quite different as it is with the college professors to whom I offer double their regular lecturing fee to meet me. The public, when they hear of such challenges, can regard them as bombastic only when they think I don't mean what I say. If I can convince the American public that there is not a college professor in the land that will debate with a Socialist, even when offered double his usual pay, and that Bryan will not dare take \$5,000 for a single night's work, it's certainly going to make them ponder a little. It is certainly going to make them think that Socialism is not to be waved aside as an iridescent dream. The chase for the almighty dollar is too serious a pursuit in this country for money to be scorned if there is no reason given for the scorn. You, my dear Brakey, know that Socialism has but to be presented properly to any American audience to carry them right off their feet. I never, in my twelve years' experience in public speaking to promiscuous audiences, have ever failed to carry them *en masse* with me as far as I could judge by the failure of opposition to develop. I never made a speech, and I have made thousands, but that I offered my platform to opponents when I closed, and I never have had a single acceptance of my offer. Now this is not owing to matchless and surpassing oratory. My friends say I am awkward, hesitating, cold and unimpassioned. There is no "cross of gold on the brow of labor" business about me. I have quite an unimpressive manner and appearance, in fact I have nothing to go on except Socialism. But that's enough for any speaker if he knows how to use it.

It is a David's sling which will enable him to prevail over any Goliath of the debating world.

Yes, I admit I am an editorial peacock, but anyway the spreading of the peacock's tail makes many people listen to a voice that otherwise would never be allowed within hearing distance.

A wise physician will sugar a needed pill rather than have his patient refuse it altogether. Now, dear Brakey, I have gone at considerable trouble to take you behind the scenes of

THE CHALLENGE to explain to you how I effect the illusion of thunder and lightning for a gullible public. It is unnecessary to say that no prestidigitateur can hope for an audience if he always explains his tricks after his performance. I now intend going back once more into my bells and cap, and I hope you and other Socialists will not force me to again change my costume outside my dressing room and in full glare of the footlights. I am not acting for "the like of you" anyway. If you don't like my play, pass THE CHALLENGE on to some one who will either take it as a comedy or a tragedy, but don't waste it on a man who can't laugh at a joke nor frown at a wrong. There is such a thing as being too "sensible." Half our life belongs to the imagination.

for mere ostentatious display. To him it is a matter of no moment whether the great Colossus Morgan borrows his insignia of power or whether it be the unknown type-writer, Bertram Cutler.

Morgan, of course, is an immensely rich man in his own right, but his wealth is insignificant compared with that of Rockefeller, and without Rockefeller at his back he would have never been able to have entered upon his conquest of the world. He not only would have been unable but would not have dared to have even contemplated such a thing. With Rockefeller at his back he can defy the world. Not only has he Rockefeller's wealth, but what is almost as valuable, he has Rockefeller's advice.

A New York writer on financial affairs says it has been made plain that J. Pierpont Morgan's real intention is to girdle the globe and capture the carrying trade of the world. All he needs, he says, is the Russian trans-Siberian road.

Morgan is planning to build railways in China. He has asked China for a permit. Last week he secured the trans-Atlantic steamers. This week he was after the South American ships and railways.

What next he will do no man knows.

Almost every kind of man who labors works for Morgan through some of his companies. Rudyard Kipling, Lew Wallace—all of the geniuses who in fine frenzy dash off poetry and write stories for Harper's are working for Morgan. The patient scientists are digging out minute facts for Morgan to scatter to the world. The artist with pencil and brush draws and paints, and Morgan pays him.

So absolute has he become that while he is personally worth perhaps not more than \$100,000,000, corporations over which he has control possess more wealth than there is gold on earth.

The total capitalization of all the companies he controls is \$5,210,993,386—and all the gold, coined and uncoined, in all the nations, including the populous East, is estimated at \$4,841,000,000.

There are in the whole known world about 1,320,000,000 human beings. Morgan controls enough to give each \$4.00.

More than a million are employed by the companies Morgan controls. This means that 5,000,000 men, women and

children are dependent on him for a living—or rather that 5,000,000 persons contribute to his comfort.

Three hundred of the largest steamships in the world and 30,000 of the best equipped passenger and freight trains take orders from them.

Fourteen steamship lines and forty-four railroad systems belong to them.

On land a mileage of 108,500 and on sea a tonnage of 1,200,000 are in their control.

This railway mileage is greater than the combined mileage of Russia, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Spain and Belgium. And more than three hundred vessels which will sail under its orders cannot be duplicated from the merchant marine of every ocean.

A world-wide transportation trust has long been Morgan's dream. English newspapers are making comically pitiful pleas to Morgan to let England come into the new trust. The fact that Morgan is addressed in tones of supplication shows that he is absolute master.

Not Alexander, in all his glory; not Caesar Augustus, not even Napoleon, with all his mighty armies, was such a conqueror as J. P. Morgan with his little "yes" and "no" that makes or unmakes.

No king is one-tenth so powerful as Morgan. Edward VII., Emperor William, Nicolas of Russia—any one of these is a pigmy in real power compared with Morgan.

Continuing he declares that Morgan and six other American citizens have now become more powerful than all the Congresses and Parliaments in the world.

All this is true enough, only Rockefeller's name should be substituted for that of Morgan.

Mr. Duke, the president of the American Tobacco Co., is another man who owes his strength, I have no doubt, to Mr. Rockefeller. The campaign that the American Tobacco Trust is now carrying on throughout the world requires a colossal sum of money, and it is certain that the earnings of the Trust itself are not affording the money that is being spent like water.

Another man whom I believe is working in the interests of Rockefeller is the Mr. Morse, who every day or so buys up a new bank. Mr. Morse, while admittedly a rich man,

has neither the money nor the motive to acquire the immense chain of banks which he is gathering under one control. In my mind he is working for Mr. Rockefeller, and sooner or later the Morse banks will fall into the ownership of the great City National Bank of New York, of which Rockefeller is the principal owner. This move is preliminary to the establishment of a great central United States Bank, with headquarters in New York and branches in every city of the Union, as well as in the greater cities of Europe. The Fowler Bill, which is now before Congress, is a sign of what is coming. At present National Banks are not allowed to have branches, so the only way for them to attain the advantages of branches is to own stock in the banks in the smaller towns. The small banks are then legally separate entities, but are in reality simply branches of the central bank, their own. The Fowler Bill simply aims to legalize actions that are already of every-day occurrence. The small bankers all over the country are up in arms against the bill, as they see its enactment means so much the quicker a finish for them. However, they are fighting against the current, and they might as well accept the inevitable now as later. Concentration is the order of the day, and the small banker must go as well as the small manufacturer.

## THE MYSTERIOUS MR. HEARST

**M**R. HEARST is more or less a mystery to certain advanced thinkers. They see him publishing a great paper, with an enormous circulation, and with a policy which is, on the whole, very Socialistic, and whose editorials are the strongest to be found in any American daily, and yet they are always prepared for the most glaring inconsistency on his part at any moment. For instance, one day they find him showing up the absolute impossibility of doing anything in the way of destroying the Trust, because the Trust represents the natural evolution of industry, and the next day he comes out with an editorial declaring for the destruction of so-called Criminal Trusts, whereas by his own analysis he has shown that the Trust cannot be criminal, because it is simply a creation of natural law. Again, he will show the impossibility of one's obtaining justice under the existing competitive system, when the machinery of production is owned by a few great monopolists, and then he follows with an editorial to the effect that all one has to do in order to get along, is to attend strictly to the employment in which God has seen fit to place him in this world. Later on, he will have an editorial showing that all the poverty on this earth is not traceable to the monopoly of the earth by the Vanderbilts and the Rockefeller's, but to the drinking of whiskey by the workingmen; and then, to cap the climax, if more were needed to confuse people as to his sincerity, he keeps on putting before the public in a delicate manner, by quoting from other papers, the great desirability of Mr. Hearst being elected President of the United States.

It seems to me that from his own standpoint, and from whatever way we may look at it, this last stroke is the worst possible policy. I can conceive how, in order to keep all classes of readers and hold his advertisers, he must give all sorts of views as to what should be done, and advocate temperance, the destruction of Trusts, national ownership of Trusts, Tariff Reform, and everything else which will bring

fish into his net, but when he utilizes his paper to boom himself for the Presidency, he immediately makes a large number of people feel that after all he does not mean anything he says, but simply says his say in order to place himself in the Presidential chair.

My own theory regarding Mr. Hearst is a very simple one. He is following an irresistible law of his nature to bring about harmony in the universe, but he is ignorant as to how to do it. He is also following an irresistible law which forces him to take care of his own individuality, and the result of his ignorance of economic laws on the one hand, together with his extreme egotism on the other, has the effect of making many people misunderstand him.

## CLASSES IN AMERICA

**W**E Americans have a great advantage over other nations in our unconsciousness of classes. That we have rich and poor is not denied, but that we have classes and class feeling is almost as vigorously denied by the poor as by the rich. And this denial of the palpable has an effect upon the social consciousness that it is hard to over-estimate.

In Europe classes are a recognized institution. The peasant never thinks that he is anything but a peasant, nor does the nobleman ever think he is anything but a nobleman. Even the very rich capitalist feels that he is hardly as good as the poor aristocrat.

In America, while differences in wealth have really made very distinct class cleavages, we refuse to recognize this condition; and there is no doubt that this refusal will sooner or later have a considerable political effect. We deny that Mr. Rockefeller's money was ever given to him except for the benefit of the whole people, and we have been insisting that the wealth of such men would be distributed by natural laws in the course of time, and the sons of other men would be quite as liable to own Rockefeller's wealth as his own descendants. This, indeed, is the stock argument of almost all opponents of Socialism. They insist that while there is great wealth in a few hands, this is simply an ephemeral condition of affairs, and that no one family will hold great wealth any length of time. So long as people generally believe this, it is not difficult to understand why it is they refuse to consider any change of society which would aim at preventing the concentration of wealth, feeling, as they do, that it will regulate itself automatically. However, we are now realizing that this concentration of wealth, and the holding of the natural resources of the country by a few immensely rich families, not only gives no sign of being an ephemeral state of affairs, but has every indication of being a permanency. Every year the very rich are becoming

more and more strongly entrenched behind their ramparts of gold, and the public are generally recognizing that under our existing social system there is no possible remedy for the inequality of wealth. It is true we have anti-Trust bills galore introduced in our Houses of Congress, having for their object the levelling of the great fortunes, but these bills are felt by every one to be of no possible avail in that direction. Concentration of wealth is an inevitable result of our economic system, and we can no more make effective laws to prevent it than we can make laws to prevent the sun shining. However, the introduction of these anti-Trust bills year after year in our Congress indicates strongly the wish of the people to level wealth and to abolish conditions which make classes. They are also a very reluctant confession that there is such a thing as a class cleavage in the United States. Our sentiments are too strongly democratic to allow any classes to remain if we can possibly prevent it, because we are fundamentally opposed to classes, and to this extent Socialism, which aims to abolish classes, will have a spiritual significance to the people of the United States which it has not in European countries where aristocracy is a recognized institution. There has never been a nation of free people, such as we Americans are, resolving year after year that they wished to do a certain thing, and having every reason to get their wish, and also having every means for carrying it into effect, but what finally succeeded in their desires. While we scoff at the anti-Trust laws as being ridiculous, yet we can see behind them the determination of the people to accomplish the establishment of an economic equality among the people of this country. One hundred years or more ago, in colonial days, and before we separated from England, there was a long period of time in which we kept on passing resolutions and having meetings, and even having physical encounters with her. It was with the greatest reluctance we ever finally considered the possibility of separation from the mother country. In fact, it was once considered rank treason to refer to independence as an ultimate outcome of the agitation against England's tyranny. We expected to make some sort of a compromise by which we would still remain colonies and yet participate in all the advantages of an independent

country. It is the same to-day. We expect to allow the Rockefellers and Morgans to own us, and yet we expect to have all the luxuries of complete independence which can only accompany self-ownership. It will finally be found to be just as impossible for us to remain free and independent under King Morgan as it was for us to remain free and independent under King George. In fact, theoretically, as has been proven by the English colonies—Canada and Australia, New Zealand, etc.—it would have been much more possible for us to remain under King George than it will be for us to remain under King Morgan. King George did not need to have been even a benevolent despot to have kept the American colonies; he needed but to have been sane. King Morgan, with all his benevolence, can never keep his American colonies, simply because the economic system will prevent him from devising a plan which can avert the great unemployed problem. He cannot feed us. Under King George the economic problem was how we could produce *enough* to give us the luxuries and comforts of life. Under King Morgan the problem is:—How can we prevent ourselves producing too much? Our fear is that we will be swamped in a rising sea of wealth.

What we must do is not to try and prevent the sea of wealth from rising, but to construct the bark of Socialism which will float us safely upon it, so that instead of wealth being a menace to us we will be borne forward upon it to the Golden Age of Man.

## THE SIPPERS OF CARLSBAD

**T**OO much eating and too little exercise does not fall to the lot of everyone in Austria. The standard of wages is not conducive to the laying up of too much adipose tissue on the bones of the ordinary laborer, nor has he such short hours of work that he fails to get enough daily exercise. However true all this may be, there are, out of the forty million population of the Austrian Empire, a good many thousands of people who are unlucky enough not to belong to the wage-earning class; consequently many of them are forced to seek an alternative to hard work and plain living in taking "die Kur" at Carlsbad.

There are about fifty thousand visitors to the springs annually. While all the world contributes, the great bulk of the visitors—four fifths—are Germans and Austrians. There are about one thousand Englishmen and a little over two thousand Americans. The season opens in May, is at its height about the 20th of July, when 12,000 are here, and closes in October. The water is just as good in winter and quite as hot, for the Sprudel spring has a constant temperature of 163 degrees Fahrenheit, but man does not live by bread alone and neither is he cured by Carlsbad water alone.

How much of the cure comes from the water and how much from the regimen will ever remain a vexed question.

Shortly, the cure consists in getting up at six in the morning, walking down to one of the various springs, where the water gushes out, dipping up a cup of water, and slowly drinking it by sips, until four or five cups are swallowed. This should take say half an hour, during which you are parading up and down a fine covered colonnade, with thousands of other drinkers, each holding his cup in hand, and taking an occasional sip. Meanwhile, the City of Carlsbad Band plays most delightful music every morning for you and the other peripatetic sippers.

When the water is all down you take a walk for one hour and then have a light breakfast, no sweets and no coffee. At

two you dine, then take another walk and at seven you sup lightly, and after another walk you go to bed. The water is only taken once a day, in the morning.

The cure takes at least four weeks and preferably six.

Carlsbad is in itself a delightful resort, beautiful shady walks and excellent hotels, with accommodations suited to all kinds of purses. For while the rich are much in evidence, it would be unfair not to state that at least half, if not more, are invalids who are far from rich. In fact, it is quite probable that poor food and over-work have driven just as many to Carlsbad as have rich food and no work. Indeed, the trouble with modern life is that it is all extremes and no middle. A man is ill either from too much work or from too little work.

Carlsbad is a good example of the possibilities of municipal Socialism. The city owns the springs, the gas and electric lights, the magnificent bath house, and one of the most beautiful and best arranged theatres in the world.

But the wages paid employees by the city are no better nor are the hours any shorter than with private employers.

Going through Belgium, I asked the guard upon the Belgium National Railway about his wages, etc. He said he was now getting \$216 a year, that he had started in at \$180 a year; that at the end of forty years service he would be getting \$510 a year, and then he could retire upon a pension of \$360 a year.

He paid \$12 for his uniform, which lasted two years. Board and lodging cost him \$11 per month.

He was liable to 13 hours work a day, 7 days in the week, but said that the actual hours of work did not average over 10 a day.

He was quite an intelligent young fellow of twenty-three, and seemed quite content; so much so that he was not a Socialist and took no interest in the subject.

## THE SEQUEL TO A MODERN ROMANCE

**C**OMING from Venice to Vienna, after a few days in the Austrian Tyrol, I had two delightful days in Munich with Mr. and Mrs. Serge von Shevitch.

Fourteen years ago, and for the ten preceding years, Shevitch, although a Russian by birth, was the leader of, and the greatest man in, the American Socialist movement, and thereby hangs our tale.

The year 1877 first saw him in the United States, a Russian nobleman, a tall, handsome young fellow of twenty-nine. With him was his bride, the world-famous beauty, Princess Racowitz, the widow of the Roumanian Prince Racowitz, the woman with whom the great Ferdinand Lasalle had been so passionately in love and on whose account he lost his life in the historic duel.

I will not go over in detail the story of that bit of romance in the development of Socialism. It has already been too fully exploited to bear tedious repetition. Shortly, I may narrate, for the benefit of the few who may be unfamiliar with the tale, that some forty years ago a young German, Ferdinand Lasalle, the most gifted man of his time, as philosopher, orator and politician, organized a great working-class party in Germany, the progenitor of the existing powerful German Socialist Party.

Lasalle's influence became such that even the great Bismarck, then at the height of his power, became terrified and made him all sorts of most tempting offers of alliance.

In the period of his political activity, Lasalle met and at sight fell violently in love with the brilliant and beautiful daughter of Count Von Donniges, a distinguished member of the old German nobility, and Secretary of State for Bavaria. His love was returned, with nothing lost in wear and tear by the transfer. It looked as if the world's dream of the union of her greatest man to her most beautiful woman, was at last, at the end of the ages, to be realized. The lady's practical and aristocratic father, however, dreamed differ-

ently and less romantically. A title and wealth were in his dream, and he saw them in material shape realized in the person of Prince Racowitz, who had long been a persistent, but hitherto unsuccessful, suitor for his fair daughter's heart and hand. The father would not listen to the idea of having a mere Socialist agitator for a son-in-law, when a Prince could be had for the word.

Before 1870 a father's power over a daughter in Europe, and especially in Germany, was greater than nowadays. His answer to Lasalle's demands and his daughter's lamentations was the practical incarceration of the obdurate maiden in the old ancestral castle.

One night, after many days of durance vile, she eluded the guard and escaped. Lasalle was in Switzerland. She flew to him and proposed immediate marriage, but Lasalle's pride had been wounded by the attitude taken by her father, and he said, "No, go back to the castle. I will not take you by stealth. I will force him to give you to me regularly and conventionally as a matter of justice and right." Of course, this was all false pride, and consciously or unconsciously must have dampened the lady's ardor.

A man doesn't improve his position with his lady-love by bringing in the question of his pride. When the lady had braved all and fled to him, it was a cruel bit of weakness and conceit for Lasalle to cast her back to her father's hands on the chance that he could force his consent.

This episode naturally enraged the old father more than ever. The second incarceration of his daughter was much more rigid than the first. His remarks regarding Lasalle were so insulting that when they were carried to Lasalle's ears a challenge to a duel was the reply.

Then the Prince Racowitz steps to the front of the stage. The father is too old and feeble to fight. Lasalle is renowned as the best shot and best swordsman in Germany. He, the Prince, the father's choice for a son-in-law, is a natural substitute, and will accept the challenge. Lasalle consents to the change. As the challenger, he must allow the Prince to select the weapons. The Prince says pistols. Swords would have been certain suicide for him.

Pistols were bad enough with such a shot as Lasalle, but there was a chance in a thousand. The duel came off and

the great Lasalle fell mortally wounded at the first exchange of shots. The Prince was untouched.

Then after many bitter days with her old father, the lady's spirit was conquered and she consented to marry the Prince. After another two years the Prince died and she was a widow.

And this is where all the other narrators of this "Romance of the Nineteenth Century" have laid down their pens.

I will now give the Twentieth Century Sequel.

Some years after her husband's death the Princess went to Paris, where she soon became a center of attraction owing to her beauty, grace and accomplishments, and above all, to her romantic history, which all the Parisian world so well knew.

Serge von Shevitch, a rich young Russian nobleman, was then a new arrival in Paris, the handsomest and most brilliant one of all the *jeunesse doree*. A few years form the university in Russia, where he and Stepniak, already a revolutionist, afterwards well known as a Nihilist and who recently was killed by a locomotive in England, had been classmates. Shevitch was a Socialist, and this at once put him on a good footing with the old sweetheart of Lasalle. The courtship was fast and furious. The United States was their dream of Utopia. Marriage ensued, and New York became the home of the young couple.

The Socialist Party of America was then in its infancy. The *Volkszeitung*, the German Socialist daily of New York, had only just been launched, and was struggling in a very stormy sea. An editor was badly needed. The appearance in New York of Shevitch seemed to the Socialists as a gift sent by the gods. He soon became not only the life of the paper, but the whole Socialist movement in New York, and New York spelled America for Socialism thirty years ago.

A brilliant writer and eloquent orator, of commanding personal appearance, equally at home in the German and English languages, Shevitch was indeed a gift of the gods. From 1879 to 1890 he was editor of the *Volkszeitung*. Possibly the best remembered event, of which he was the hero, was the memorable debate in Cooper Union, when he so completely crushed the late Henry George, the great single

taxer. Mrs. Shevitch, like her husband, became a figure in New York and is still remembered by the many American friends she gathered about her.

In 1890 the Shevitches left New York and returned to Russia, much to the consternation and sorrow of the New York Socialists. However, the change was imperative. Shevitch had inherited large estates, and the Russian law provides that if an owner remains absent from Russia over a certain fixed period of time, the estate becomes forfeited to the crown. After living quietly a few years in Russia on his estate, just sufficient to allow him to dispose to advantage of his lands, Shevitch and his wife removed to Munich, where they have been living ever since, and where I had the pleasure of visiting them the other day. Shevitch is still as vigorous and handsome as ever. He is now fifty-five, and Madam Shevitch possesses all the old charm which rendered her so irresistible in years gone by. They live delightfully in Munich—their dinners are quite the best I have had in Europe—but I am in hopes of some day seeing them back again in America—if not permanently, at least for a long visit.

Shevitch is taking little or no part in the active movement at present. The German government does not allow aliens to participate in German politics, and as they have at the same time also refused him naturalization papers, he is quite cut off from active participation in German Socialist politics.

Shevitch looks forward to the granting of a constitution in Russia within such a limited number of years that he himself will be able to return to his native land and take an active part in the rapidly growing movement for Socialism, now gaining such headway in Russia.

He says that practically all the educated men in Russia, outside of the bureaucracy, are in favor of a constitution, and that the pressure is becoming too great for the autocracy to much longer successfully resist.

He has promised to write up for WILSHIRE'S a general review of the Socialist position both in Germany and Russia, which, I am sure, our readers will look forward to with the greatest delight and interest.

## MUNICH—A PROPHECY OF THE FUTURE

I CAN quite understand how cosmopolites like the Shevitches, speaking all languages and at home in any intellectual and artistic center, should have settled upon Munich as the most delightful city in the world wherein to pitch their tent. It is the most uniformly beautiful city in Europe. There may be slums, but they are not in evidence to the stranger.

The streets are wider and better laid out, the distribution of the public buildings and parks is more convenient and effectual, and the architecture of the buildings, both public and private, in better taste in Munich than any other city in Europe.

The sad thing of it all, too, is the reflection that one must admit that nearly all of this beauty and convenience is the result of the method in the madness of the late King Ludwig, who recently committed suicide while in an insane fit.

A city can only be beautiful by becoming socially conscious and letting this social consciousness externalize itself, so to speak. To-day the European cities owe nearly all their superiority in beauty over our American cities to the fact that this social consciousness was able to translate itself into action through the medium of an autocrat, such, for instance, as Ludwig was here in Munich, and as Napoleon the Third was in Paris.

It is almost impossible for what we call "democracy" to make a city beautiful.

In the first place, it is not democracy that we have in our American cities anyway. It is the rule of the private corporations through the medium of a corrupt political machine. The aim of the private corporations is to make as much money in as short a time as possible, and the best argument to get them to allow the city to have parks or other municipal improvements, is to urge that by making the city more attractive you will draw outside capital and people to the city.

More people will make their town lots and their gas and street-car stock more valuable, and this is a final argument if anything at all will convince.

King Ludwig made Munich beautiful, not because he was looking for a raise in his kingly salary, or because he wished to increase the value of his royal palace, but because he had a love for beauty as an end in itself. He patronized Richard Wagner not because he had figured out that he was going to get his money back from the American tourists who now flock to Munich for the Wagner operas, but because he loved beautiful music.

Let us be fair and give the man his due, even though he be a king and mad.

In addition to what Ludwig did for Munich; God himself also did one or two things. It has a delightful summer climate, very like New York in early May. It is true, the winters are cold, but the cold is not the raw, biting cold of New York.

The magnificent river Isar springs from its mountain gorge, fed by eternal glaciers, only five miles from the city, and with its rushing current flowing through, gives perfect drainage and unlimited possibilities of power and water to Munich.

I doubt if any city in the world of its size (500,000) has the water power within its walls that Munich possesses. However, with the exception of furnishing power for the electric cars and light, it is not as yet much utilized. Munich is not much of a manufacturing center yet, but with its cheap water power and its cheap labor power, for wages are low in Munich, manufacturing should develop there rapidly. The common, ordinary, everyday laborer gets from 50 to 75 cents a day. I asked Shevitch the question that always bothers me: "How does the European laborer getting such low wages and at the same time paying such high prices for food, still keep himself and his family in as good, if not better, physical condition than the American, and quite as well dressed, who, with twice or three times the wages, has practically no margin for saving." Shevitch quite agreed with me as to the superior appearance, as to health, of the European laborer generally, and said the mystery as to how he managed it all was as insoluble to him as to me. Rents are lower in Europe

and that goes to explain where part of the American's wages are absorbed.

The street-car system of Munich is about to be taken over by the municipality. At present the conductors get about \$25 a month wages for a ten-hour day, and then by a peculiar and universal system of tips from passengers, they get about \$20 a month in addition to their wages, but one-quarter of this is by custom handed over to the motorman.

There is a very general impression held by Americans who have not lived abroad, that living for the average middle-class family is much cheaper in Europe than in the United States. This is all a mistake. For a man expending, say \$1,500 to \$2,500 a year on his family and taking the main comforts, it is practically the same thing, Europe and America. The American who saves money by living in Europe does so by living in worse style than he would live at home. One may save a little in rent, servant hire and clothing, but food is higher in Europe, and there are other items of increased expense to balance the gain.

The Wagner operas were being given in Munich while I was there. The Opera House, completed in 1900, is quite the best building for the purpose in a way that I have ever seen, not excepting the Grand Opera House of Paris. The orchestra is below the level of the floor and is quite hidden by an overhanging screen. There are no boxes or loges, nor any division of seats in any way, no balcony or gallery. The seats are sold at a uniform price of five dollars each, first come, first served. Now I will admit that I have never seen opera so well staged—the scenery was wonderful—nor ever heard such a perfect orchestra, nor better voices. The *tout ensemble* of the opera was as nearly perfect as can be imagined, but with it all five dollars a seat is not in consonance with the American idea of opera being so cheap in Germany that one may go with all his family every night. The Germans take their opera in heroic doses. It was "Das Rheingold." The performance began at 5 and went straight through, without intermission, to the end, the curtain falling at 7.50. I must say that while I am an admirer of Wagnerian music, still this was too large a dose for me.

The next night at the theater we saw Maeterlinck's new drama, "Monna Vanna," translated from the French into

German. It was given extremely well, and seems to me to be a play that will take well when brought out in America. Here, too, the seats were not given away for a song, as American travelers so often would have us believe. All the good seats were two dollars each. The acting, as in all German companies that I have seen, was on a decidedly higher average plane than in our American companies, with their one star performer supported by a lot of sticks.

Munich supports a daily Socialist paper, and both of its members to the Reichstag are Socialists.

It seems absurd that a city of 500,000, like Munich, should be allowed but two members, when, if there were an equitable division of seats, it would have nearly twenty. A redistribution of seats in the Reichstag will not be made because it would inure immensely to the advantage of the Socialists, who are relatively much stronger in the German cities than in the country districts.

Society in Munich is upon a very democratic basis. Its doors are open to anyone of education and refinement. There is little of that nonsense about birth which is growing so rapidly in America, and none at all regarding money.

It has a fine university—3,500 students—and magnificent art galleries, the collection of pictures by Rubens being especially good. There are also a few Murillos. I was especially struck with the picture of a young girl by Fritz Kaulbach exhibited in this year's salon and of which a half-tone is given on another page.

From Munich I took the train direct to Vienna, a ten hours' journey. I only wish our American farmers, everyone of them, could have the country intervening put under their eye as it has been before mine.

The next election time, when the Republican city politician would come out to them and ask for a return of the Republican Party to power on account of what Republicanism had done for the farmer in America, their happy position compared with the German and Austrian farmer, he would get a jolt from his audience that would shock him.

As I have said in another article, I have never seen the external evidence of comfort in farm dwellings in America that I have seen here. The houses are all, as far as appearance goes, suitable for summer villas for those of our American

city men who farm for pastime rather than profit. Where the farm laborers live in houses separate from the farmer's family, which is apparently very seldom, as the farms are too small to require much help outside the family, the standard of comfort for him is on exactly the same plan as for his employer. The buildings used by many of our American farmers in the West, and particularly those furnished for the hired men, would simply not be tolerated in any part of Europe.

Another thing that strikes one is the comfortable houses afforded by the railway companies to their employees along the line. At the smallest stations where the train stops, there is always a large two or three-story handsome stone structure. The lower part is used for a ticket office, etc., and the upper rooms for the ticket agent and his family.

There is always a nice garden plot about the house, and the windows look very home-like with their flower-boxes and lace curtains. At every little cross-road there is also a nice comfortable stone house with garden for the man who lowers the bar when the train crosses the road.

There is many a free and mighty American citizen in the west who thinks the railway company exceedingly generous when they allow him one room in the station for his bedroom. If he has a family then he must rent a private house. Sometimes, if he is lucky, he may get the company to allow him an old freight car to be lifted from its trucks and set alongside the track to be modeled into a castle suitable to him as an American voting king.

It might be remarked in passing that the railway companies in Germany and Austria that furnish these fine, comfortable houses for their employees are state railways.

We Americans are all right, but we are not exactly "it" on everything.

Vienna I reserve for another letter. I have already had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Lorenz here, the great expert in so-called bloodless surgery, who recently had such a triumphant tour through America. He went there originally, it may be remembered, to treat the little Armour child, of Chicago, for congenital hip joint dislocation. He tells me the operation on the child has been a great and complete success. His rooms here comprise a large outside flat in the centre of town, having

forty outside windows, giving light such as one rarely gets in an American city, as he reminded me.

He has a number of rooms fitted with apparatus for carrying out exercises for his patients taking his special line of treatment. He showed me one little girl of twelve that he had operated upon about six months ago for congenital hip joint dislocation, and who was rapidly progressing, but, of course, she will never be as well as she would have been if the operation had been done at a much younger age. In this case there was no excuse except the timidity of the child's parents. They had personally known Lorenz and his method for ten years, ever since the child was two years old, and yet they had hesitated from year to year, and now, when the child is twelve, they bring her in when the chances of success are so little that the doctor as a rule would have refused the case. In America Dr. Lorenz gave free treatment to hundreds of poor children at the public clinics, but in those cases he made it a practice not to take on any child who was over seven years of age, as the chances of success were so remote and the difficulty of the operation at ages over seven so greatly enhanced.

To-morrow is to be a great day for Vienna. The King of England is to arrive here and be the guest of the Emperor of Austria.

## THE AMERICAN IDEAL

**I**T is cynically remarked by many that we Americans have lost our ideals. As a matter of fact, it is absolutely impossible for a man to lose his ideals, although conditions may be such that unless he sees or thinks he sees the possibility of realizing them he feels it futile to dwell upon them. We Americans are to-day largely of the opinion that our old ideal of freedom for the citizen seems to have become an impossibility. There was a time when we all thought that individual energy and talent on the part of the citizen were all that was necessary for him to acquire an independence and be as good as anybody else.

We always realized that economic independence depended upon the possession of wealth; and now, inasmuch as a great part of the wealth of this country has passed into the hands of the Trusts, the individual acquisition of wealth has become an impossibility to the great mass of the people. We have given up hope of any distribution of the wealth held by the Trusts through the enforcement of anti-Trust laws, and but few of us yet see that this distribution can be effected by State Ownership.

Judge Grosscup, who recently made a very learned speech about the Trusts, a résumé of which has already been given in this magazine, says that the first step toward the regulation of the Trusts should be the repeal of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Of course he is right; but since he does not propose any other law to take its place, it is really a confession of a most pessimistic attitude on the part of a man who should be thoroughly competent to judge of the situation. His logic, however, is keener and clearer than that of President Roosevelt, who proposes all sorts of remedies, and each one only more manifestly impossible than the previous one, for the solution of the Trust problem. As between President Roosevelt and Judge Grosscup I prefer Grosscup's position, for he realizes the futility of things as they are, and I take it the great mass of the American people are

in agreement with him on this point. We no longer have any confidence in Roosevelt and his political conferees who talk about proceeding against the Trusts on the old lines. We have largely resigned ourselves to Grossecup's position that nothing can be done. We do feel, however, that there is a future which is going to be different from what the present is. This feeling is inborn with us. We cannot get rid of the idea that America means something more than a mere pleasure ground for a few Goulds and Vanderbilts to use as a pleasure park. That the public ownership of monopolies would be a great step toward the attainment of our ideals would hardly be questioned by any one who has given the Trust problem any thought.

I appeal to the young men of America to come forward and help toward the realization of the American ideal of freedom. It is really you who should bear the brunt of assisting in making the change from the present autocratic industrial condition to a democratic one. You realize well enough that the country is certainly rich enough to make the very suggestion of the necessity of poverty a ghastly mockery. If your grandfathers could look to a future of happiness and freedom and wealth, when they had no dream of the labor-saving machinery of to-day, then certainly it is not flattering to your intelligence if you think that poverty is necessary when we have at hand such abundant means to prevent it.

What is the young man of America doing to-day to realize the ideal which must be within his breast?

Practically nothing. Instead of paying attention to political and industrial developments he is more apt to be speculating on the result of a football game or what horse will win the race to-morrow. Instead of having pity for the poor of the country who are suffering from unnecessary poverty, he is wasting his life in pool and billiard rooms, smoking cigarettes.

He goes to school and college, and his main idea is not to acquire culture or learning, but to get sufficient credit marks to graduate him with the least possible work, that he may have the greatest possible amount of time to devote to dissipation. This is certainly no flattering picture; and it has a very depressing effect upon those people who, as they

view the country, do not see any reason for a change in the sentiment and conduct of our young men. However, I can see that the mode of life of the young man of America to-day, while most deplorable, has not quite succeeded in utterly destroying his ideals. The trouble is simply that the conditions which may look to their realization seem so impossible to him that he is now dissipating energies which would under other conditions be turned into better and nobler channels. It is not that the young American does not wish to control his own country and his own destiny, but simply that he does not see how to do it. It is the mission of the Socialist not only to inspire these young men with the ideal of commanding their own destiny, but also to show them how this command can be attained. The "reform" school of politics, some twenty-five years ago, attempted to appeal to our young men by holding up to them the ideal of honesty in office as the great ultimate. This movement has failed of its purpose, and in consequence a great many of the men of the Carl Schurz type, and those whose views are represented by the editorials of the New York Evening Post, are becoming exceedingly pessimistic. After all, this is but natural. The average young man of to-day has no property. He knows if he goes into politics he loses caste with his business associates, the general theory throughout the country being—and it is a well-founded one—that "politics ruin a man." This, of course, refers to going into politics with one of the old parties; for no one goes into politics with one of the old parties except with the idea of getting an office or bettering his *individual* condition. Going into "reform" politics has no attractions, because it only means that certain men are elected to office who pretend to be more honest than the "old party" men, and if elected experience goes to show that they do not make good; and, even if they did, the benefit accruing from an honest administration falls largely to the few who own property, rather than to the great mass of the people.

Thus it is easy enough to see why neither "old party" politics nor "reform" politics attracts the young man. Socialist politics would attract him if he had given it sufficient thought to know what Socialism meant, but he hasn't. He regards the Socialist as a crank with some wild visions of

an impossible Utopia that is to be reached some time after the next thousand years. He does not understand that the Trust is the greatest argument the Socialist uses to prove the inevitability of Socialism; and the chances are that he will not realize the force of this argument until the Trust itself finally throws him out of his job. There is no doubt that we are now rapidly approaching a great unemployed problem. When this occurs, these young Americans, who now give no attention to Socialism, will give it plenty of attention when they find their own bread-and-butter is at stake.

All mankind has an ideal of a paradise on earth; and if we analyze our idea of paradise it resolves itself into a condition of existence where every one is on an economic equality, where there is no danger of starvation, where there is not too much work and where everybody is happy. Now, in order to banish fear of starvation it is necessary to have the earth on which to raise the food, and to raise food with ease it is necessary to have machinery. We Americans certainly have provided the earth with machinery in a larger degree than has ever been done before. We know how to produce the greatest quantity of wealth with the least amount of human labor that has ever been required in the world's history. We have made the first great step toward our Earthly Paradise. The only thing that remains for us to do now is to devise a plan by which we can distribute this wealth which we so easily produce. When we achieve that end, we shall realize the American ideal.

Our work is to make the young American see that his ideal can only be reached through the advent of Socialism.

## THE TRUST OVERSHADOWS ALL ISSUES

**T**HAT the Trust would sooner or later be the great issue in American politics I have never once doubted for the last fifteen years. My surprise to-day is not that it has suddenly become so important an issue, but that it has been so long in becoming such. In 1884 I was managing director of the Riverside Rolling Mill Co., of Cincinnati, Ohio. The price of iron was steadily falling and there seemed an end to things. If we wished to sell our iron we must meet a market that already forced us to manufacture at less than cost, and there seemed no prospect of the future being any better than the present. There was no way that we could lower the cost of producing. We bought our ore and coal at the lowest market price, and our day labor was at a price that only too obviously admitted of no reduction. The men were already at the margin of starvation. Our skilled labor was paid upon the scale of the Amalgamated Iron Workers that allowed us no option about reduction. We must either pay the scale or shut up shop. I was young in business in those days, fresh from Harvard College, and I used to puzzle over the question of how long the world could get along on the basis of everybody losing money. For after finding out there was nothing in the iron business I naturally looked into other businesses and my inquiries showed me that the iron business was in no exceptional condition. Every manufacturer that I talked with had the same story to tell of the impossibility of making a living with the existing low prices. I was so discouraged with the outlook for making money in ordinary business that I made up my mind that the only thing to produce that seemed to be sure of a market at a standard price was gold. Therefore I decided to go into gold mining. When you got your ounce of gold it was always worth your \$20 and this sort of a business seemed infinitely better than the iron business where you had to sell your iron ten per cent. less every three months than you originally expected for it.

It is true that Mr. Rockefeller and his Standard Oil Trust had already even in that early day shown me and the rest of the world how to prevent over-production and get a fixed price for our product, but I did not see how I could ever wait long enough for the iron men to get sense enough to follow Mr. Rockefeller's example.

It is well, too, that I did not wait. It took those iron manufacturers eighteen years, from 1884 to 1902, to do what they should have had the sense to have done at once. How they ever managed to survive all those eighteen years has been a great surprise to me, although I know that it has not been four years since a good many of them, who are now on Easy street through the forming of the Morgan Trust, were on the verge of bankruptcy.

While I was investigating gold mining prospects, which, by the way, did not prove to be particularly rosy because the uncertainty of your product fully offset the certainty of your selling price, I happened to be chucked off a fractious horse in the mountains of California and suffered a broken jaw. Although I was not an "agitator" in those days, nevertheless I felt my jaw an important enough member of my ego to justify a trip to Southern California to allow it an opportunity to consolidate, to form a little trust of its own, so to speak. While there, the real estate boom came on and I, at last, saw an opportunity of buying something—land—which looked as if one could be sure of selling it for more than he paid for it. I gave up my determination to go in for gold mining and became a real estate shark. It was possible for a year or so to buy land and sell it at a considerably larger price than you paid for it; then the "boom busted" and as far as I could see, the problem of selling for more than you gave was as impossible of solution as ever, unless you could form a trust. This was in 1888. Since then there have been ups and downs in business, principally "downs," though, for most men, and the "downs" had all the game to themselves, apparently, until after McKinley's first election, when the Cuban war stirred up trade so much by the destruction of property and the consequent demand for things of all kinds, that ever since the "ups" have been very much in evidence for most American business men.

However, a little prosperity has not made them blind to the advantages a trust has in making assurance doubly sure. If we had not had the war, the trusts would certainly have been formed as a matter of absolute necessity. As it is, they may possibly have been formed as a matter of expediency in some cases, although I think most of the insiders on the trusts of to-day would admit that they had in forming their trusts only forestalled an inevitability.

I think my own experience in business life in America since the year 1884 is more or less typical of all other business men. We all realize that the only way to make money is to get into a monopoly, and if that cannot be done then the best thing is to stay out of business. However, there happen to be so many people who must make a living somehow, that neither get into a trust nor stay out of business, that there is considerable dissatisfaction in the land among these outsiders. They may be very rude to make their weeping and wailing such an offence to the eye and ear, but we must take men as they are.

Man is primarily and above all things an eating animal, and after all an animal is simply an intelligent automobile carrying around an ever greedy stomach. If a man cannot feed himself he is sure to make unpleasant remarks. If to feed oneself one must own a trust, and there are not enough trusts to go around, then those fellows who fail to draw a trust are sure to become ill-natured and generally inconsiderate. However, the mere matter of men being inconsiderate would be of no particular moment,—men are usually that way anyhow, some people think,—did it not happen that these fellows propose to take their inconsiderateness into the political field.

It so happens that the fellows who draw blanks in the trust lottery are so far in the majority of those who draw prizes that if it came to a matter of voting there is not the remotest doubt as to who would win out. However, while the winners of the trust prizes are few in number they make up in brains what they lack in numbers, and they also have brains enough to know where to hire other brains to do some of their thinking for them. What they are mortally afraid of just now is that the business men who are not in on the draw will throw down their cards and demand a

new deal. Hence the main object of the winners is to persuade the losers to continue in the game by feeding them with fairy stories of how, by some change in the rules, they will be able once again to win back their losings.

In the present stage of the trust problem the workingman is largely a disinterested onlooker. The people who are objecting to trusts are not the workingmen, but the capitalists who have been squeezed by the trusts. It is true that the beef trust has called attention to itself by the high price of beef and many workingmen have suddenly become aware of their interest in the trust problem on that account who hitherto had regarded the trust problem as one of simply academic interest with no immediate application to their daily life. However, the price of beef will fall or wages will adapt themselves, and that episode was and is simply an accidental note in the song of monopoly. The merchants and manufacturers who have lost their power to conduct an independent competitive business alongside of the trust, however, are naturally up in arms against an invasion which threatens their commercial existence. Thus, when the trust problem is represented as overshadowing all other issues of to-day what is really meant is that the smaller capitalists, and they are vastly in the numerical majority, are demanding legislation to curtail the growth of monopoly. So far in the United States political issues have always been simply clashes between the different interests of certain capitalists. It is true that the interest of the workingman and the country as a whole has always been the ostensible interest in concern by both parties, but this has always been a palpable mask used for the purpose of gaining votes. For instance, take the tariff issue. The manufacturers wanted a high tariff to increase their profits, but they said they wanted it in order to pay higher wages. On the other hand the farmers wanted a low tariff in order to reduce the cost of the various articles they required and the price of which was raised by the tariff, but they said they wanted a lower tariff in order that the workingmen could buy the necessities of life, including farm products, at a lower price.

So it is to-day the smaller capitalists want the trusts crushed because if they are not crushed, they themselves will be crushed. It would never do for these capitalists to

go before the country with such a purely selfish cry that they wanted legislation simply in order to protect their own particular class, so they add to the causes which impel them to attack the trust on their own account the additional ones which they think will make workingmen and the country at large rally to their support.

First, they say the trust, by holding a complete monopoly of the sources of life, is putting the whole country at its mercy.

Second, they say that by reason of the undoubted economies the trust introduced in the production of goods it is threatening the working class with a huge unemployed problem.

Of course both these indictments are correct, but what I wish to call attention to is that the smaller capitalists would never have paid attention to the "country as a whole," nor the working class in particular, unless they had seen their own interests in jeopardy and wished to call to their political support other interests outside of their own particular circle.

I am not blaming them for this course. It is simply a natural human phenomenon. Men never look much after other people's interests; they are usually too busy looking after their own.

However, just as these same smaller capitalists could never be induced to take action until the trust had actually compelled them to look financial death in the face, just so will the working class never take action until they, too, are placed in the same relative position that these capitalists are in. The appeal to the working class to rally to the support of the smaller capitalists will be in vain. The workingman will vote just as he has been voting until an economic condition presents itself directly to him, that will compel his attention.

Judging from the following editorial the *Detroit Tribune* thinks that such a condition has already presented itself.

#### THE ALARM OF LABOR IS NATURAL.

Trust control of any industry means the application of trust methods. Trust method means the systematic elimination of every item of cost that can be dispensed with. It means the substitution of cunning mechanism for human handiwork as far as possible. It means the substitution of women and children for men in every department where men can be thus displaced. It

means a reduction of prices just to the exact point that will squeeze out competition. Then follows absolute control of price and product.

A case that is very much in the public eye is that of the Brown cigar factory. It was operated under a system by which young girls became competitors of men in cigar making. Their product went out in competition with that of skilled laborers. Now another step is being taken which will multiply the effectiveness of the trust operative. The displacing of a certain number of girls from their employment in a given factory is the lesser evil, although that is bad enough for those who are dependent upon such employment and are the support or partial support of a family. Trust control must by its constant reduction in the cost of production seriously affect the independent factories and their workmen who make a specialty of hand work. It is possible that the future of such industries may not be as bad as it looks, but the operatives cannot be blamed for exhibiting serious alarm for their jobs and hostility to the new system.

Passing by the complacent manner with which the *Tribune* regards a system which forces girls to support their families as a perfect natural and satisfactory one, and that anything which tends to prevent the perpetuation of such a system must be viewed with abhorrence, I would deny the general proposition that the working class as a class are ready to take any decided stand against the trust in its present stage of development. I say this simply because the problem of unemployment is not sufficiently large to induce any considerable part of them to think. The capitalist's political brains are found in his pocket-book; the workingman's brains are in his stomach. The capitalist is finding the trust emptying his pocket-book. I have been warning him that this event was sure to happen, warning him for fifteen years or more, but he would never listen. In fact now that his pocket-book is actually being emptied, while he is kicking hard enough, he has hardly yet come to listen to the advice I offer him. He still wishes to destroy the trusts; I tell him, "Let the Nation Own the Trust."

This is too radical a solution yet for him to adopt, although, judging from the editorials appearing in the Hearst papers demanding National Ownership of Trusts, I should judge that the tide is setting pretty strong in that direction now-a-days.

Mr. Hearst has too much good newspaper sense to run

very far ahead of public opinion. Mr. Hearst gives his readers such ideas as he thinks are in commercial demand, albeit he usually selects the more radical kind. I, on the other hand, give my readers the kind of ideas they ought to like. I am like a temperance bar-keeper, who, when a customer asks for whiskey, puts him off by giving out ginger-ale. This is not usually a good commercial policy, and, in fact, is so unheard of that when Mr. Madden refused me the use of the United States Post-office to carry on such an unusual business of selling my own hand-made ideas instead of the ordinary ones manufactured in quantities for the general newspaper trade, he had the endorsement of President Roosevelt and the whole tribe of American politicians, together with the daily press. In Canada all manufacturing processes are somewhat backward compared with the United States and home-made articles are still in demand, hence, owing to this primitive state of affairs they let me publish and manufacture home-made ideas and send them through the mails to a degree of liberality that must be quite shocking to the firm of Madden, Roosevelt & Co.

However, while the small capitalist is shilly-shallying with the trust problem and letting President Roosevelt fool him with ridiculous feints through palpably impossible actions in the United States Supreme Court against the beef trust, the steady march of economic evolution goes on apace and conditions are fast becoming so ripe that they will force the working class to act.

The small capitalist is at present praying to the workingman to come to his aid and destroy the trust in order that he, the small capitalist, may once more go into business. The promise made to the workingman is that the waste of labor engendered by this going back to the methods of production on a small scale will be sure to make his labor much more in demand than at present. He will have good wages and a steady job if he destroys the trust. That there is something in this argument cannot be denied. There was something in the logic of the hand-weavers who in 1838 tried to destroy the machinery that was taking away their livelihood. The proposition, viewing it politically, is simply this, "Can there be a sufficient number rallied to the support of a movement to prevent an economic development?" If not, then

the movement must proceed. The growth of the use of machinery has never yet been stayed, because men were thrown out of employment by its use, and there is no reason why the future should differ from the past. A boy may wish to remain a boy, but he grows into a man all the same.

I referred to the steady growth of the process of economic evolution finally forcing the working class into a very pronounced attitude on the question of the trusts.

The stage in which this event will occur is not during a stage or period of so-called prosperity such as we are now enjoying. It will come during a time of depression. Depression will only come when the demand for new machinery has so decreased that the demand for labor to build such machinery falls off to a degree to create an unemployed problem. The trust presages that such a condition is rapidly approaching.

The trust is primarily simply a device on the part of the capitalists to prevent price-cutting as the result of over-production. Over-production is caused by the competitive wage system limiting wages to approximately what it cost the workingman to live. We have by the use of machinery largely augmented the product of the workingman, but he has shared hardly at all in this increased productivity. The increase has gone to the capitalist who has used it in the production of new machinery. He has had finally piled up for him more capital in the shape of new machinery than he can use, and therefore he has been compelled to form a trust to prevent over-production. The first economic effect of the trust is to force the surrender of other *manufacturing* capitalists engaged in the same line of production. The next point of attack is the capitalists engaged in *distributing* its products. For instance, the American Tobacco Trust first captured most of the competing establishments manufacturing tobacco. After that it went after the wholesalers and jobbers and forced them to abandon handling any competitive brands. By this means it forced the surrender of those recalcitrant competitive manufacturing establishments who would not surrender on direct assault. They were starved out by a siege. Their sources of supply were withdrawn by taking away from them the avenue by which they sold their goods and derived their profits.

It is thus seen that the first people to be up in arms against the trust are naturally those first attacked, namely, the smaller competing establishments and the distributive establishments, that is, they are capitalists and not workingmen. These are the men who are now doing most of the howling, and from them very largely comes the cry for workingmen in particular, and the public in general to rush to their aid and destroy the trust in order that they, the capitalists, may live.

When the people at large and the workingmen do not respond with that alacrity which they supposed they would show, these small fry capitalists throw up their hands to heaven and cry that the country is "going to destruction."

They confuse their own petty interests with those of the country at large.

We can dispense with these little capitalists and we can see the jobbers and wholesalers enslaved by the trust and still see how the country can live. It is the usual process of nature to eliminate the unnecessary. Years ago the farmer cried that the middle man must go. He is going. However, the day will come, and it is rapidly approaching, when the trust will say to the working class, "*You have built up the manufacturing plants of this country to such an extent and to such perfection that we do not require your service to build any more and we do not require many of you to operate those already built, so automatic has your ingenuity made them,*" then may we expect the working class to at last awaken to the real significance of the trust. The workingman will only vote for the Public Ownership of Trusts when lack of employment will force him to do so in order to preserve his existence. The smaller capitalists never made a move when they simply had the *theory* of the trust expounded to them. We had to see the trust actually throttle them before they could realize their danger. Why should the working class be any clearer sighted than those capitalists? There is no reason to expect it. They, too, will decline to move until conditions force them to, and the only hope I have of soon seeing any movement from them is simply because I foresee conditions where they will have but one chance of escaping starvation from an unemployed problem. That chance will be the adoption of the Co-operative Wage System, Public Ownership of the Trusts and Means of Production.

The co-operative wage system will do away with the over-production, for over-production is simply the result of the competitive wage system preventing the laborer buying back what he produces. By the aid of machinery the worker produces far more than he gets. The surplus has been handed over to the capitalist, who in turn has used it up in the production of more and more machinery. He has been "building up the country." As long as the capitalist could use this surplus in this manner there would never be any permanent unemployed problem, because when the laborer had produced enough to feed himself the capitalist would set him to work producing more machinery.

But now comes the trust as the sign that this production of new machinery must come to an end for the simple reason that no more machinery is needed.

This is why the Trust signifies an Unemployed Problem.

However, until this problem of unemployment is right upon the laborer as a fact, and not as a theory in "Wilshire's Magazine," history teaches us that he will do nothing. I therefore do not look for any great political movement as the result of the trust until this unemployed problem actually makes its appearance. When this event does occur, and it cannot be many years away, then it is evident that a solution *must* be found.

I myself take the scientific Socialist stand that no solution can be found other than the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

However, while I declare that this catastrophic theory is the only true theory from a scientific economic standpoint, yet I admit that from the purely political standpoint there are many reasons why I should favor trying to make steps toward the co-operative commonwealth, even though I do not think those steps will ever be built, or, if built, will be ever used to assist us in gaining the aforesaid co-operative commonwealth.

I do not believe there will ever be a single trust or a single railway nationalized in the United States before the whole of industry is nationalized, yet I know that there are many people who can never see how we can nationalize all industry until they are first convinced of the good and the practicability of nationalizing railroads. For such people we need a kinder-

garten method of teaching, but because a kindergarten is needed is no reason for us to refuse to educate children at all. The man is only the outcome of the child, both physically and mentally, and many a man has the frame of an adult, concealing the brain of a boy, and especially is this true of his capacity to absorb a theory in economics. We must take men as they are, and not as we would have them. Just as I know the small capitalists will never be able to rally the working-class to their support on any theory of economics, so do I know that until those same capitalists see that their economic salvation depends upon the nationalization of the trusts they will never favor such legislation. However, the day is now at hand when such capitalists will favor such a measure, and they will be enforced in their demand by the farmers. There will also be a number of workingmen who will join them in this demand. It is true that these people will be demanding nationalization simply as a reform of our present competitive system, and with no thought of its leading to the co-operative commonwealth, but even so, that, to my mind, is no reason why I should not do all I can to help them along with their movement, and utilize their platform to affirm the necessity of still further steps in order to introduce what will be finally necessary, viz., the Abolition of the Competitive Wage System.

Let us get down to Earth in our dealings with men, and always remember that you can do much more toward teaching a man a new idea if you start out by humoring his prejudices rather than by antagonizing them.

This magazine is published for the purpose of extending the idea of the Necessity of Socialism. I am lucky to be in Canada when I say this, because in the United States you must declare you publish a paper to make money, otherwise the Madden-Roosevelt Post Office will rule you from the second-class privilege because your primary object is not to make money but to advertise ideas. This sounds funny, but it's simply a solemn fact. I say this for the information of my foreign readers who have been accustomed to think America free.

However, this magazine is published to advertise the theories of Socialism, and that being its primary object, I regard any honorable means justified to attain my end.

One of those means is the use of people who will help it along because it gives voice to their ideas as to the practicability and desirability of Public Ownership, of some Public Utilities.

I consider any movement toward nationalization of industry an unmixed good, and will do all I can to push it along without qualification.

I regard every step taken in that direction in the United States as of almost certain good to the people, and in any case, of great value as an object lesson in the practicability of complete Socialism. I say this, too, after full experience of the brutalities that may exist from a Post Office owned and operated by the People.

I say, frankly, however, to my Public Ownership friends, that I do not look for any measure of success from their program simply because I do not think the people generally will move until an unemployed problem forces them to move, and that when this occurs no measure of Public Ownership will be of any avail short of complete Public Ownership of All the Means of Production and Distribution, and this program necessarily carries with it the introduction of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

## A HEART-TO-HEART TALK

THE CITY OF CLEVELAND

MAYOR'S OFFICE

TOM L. JOHNSON, MAYOR

CLEVELAND, OHIO, August 1, 1902.

MY DEAR MR. WILSHIRE:—

After the thundering challenge of last year I was agreeably surprised to receive your very warm letter of the 29th ult. and am answering it in the same kindly spirit.

I haven't the slightest doubt of your earnestness and sincerity in advocating the Socialist program. I don't agree, however, with the Socialistic doctrine which seeks to destroy competition. We, the followers of Henry George, see in the denial of competition the evils that you charge to one of Nature's laws.

The ownership of public utilities we agree about, but our reasons are different. I understand that the Socialists would have the people own and operate municipal monopolies so that the State should become the sole employer, while we advocate it as the means of destroying monopoly and only desire the State to control and operate those utilities in which competition cannot well enter.

But I did not intend to write you this sort of a letter when I began. I merely wanted, in a friendly way, to point out to you that I did not write articles; my field of usefulness being in a different direction.

While the Socialists and ourselves are antagonistic in our ultimate aims, a part of our program lies along the same road. To this extent, I hope we shall be able to co-operate and I always welcome the aid of men, called by any name, who desire to break down the power of privilege; that is, to take away the advantages conferred on some men by law that all men cannot enjoy.

Very truly yours, TOM L. JOHNSON.

It is said to be hard to forgive a man whom you have insulted. I exemplify the truth of the rule by being a brilliant exception. I always forgive people whom I insult, but I am never sure they will accept my forgiveness, no matter how freely offered.

Some moons since I insulted Mr. Bryan by offering him \$10,000 to debate with me. By rights I should never have spoken to him again, but I did. I sympathized with him in

his little trouble with the Post-office where they threatened him with suppression if he did not stop sending out a "few" papers to Congressmen and then refused to tell him how many constitute a "few." I never have any animosity, but I must say that I feel that I must sometimes give to others what I do not have myself, and when I find that men like Mr. Bryan and now Mr. Johnson are broad-minded enough to forget and forgive such grievous insults as they received from me, I feel that the Brotherhood of Man is nearer than I ever hoped—and this is saying a good deal for me.

I have much more hope of converting Mr. Johnson to Socialism than I have Mr. Bryan. Not that he is more of an idealist or that he will trim his political sails to the growing Socialistic breezes more quickly, but because he is a business man, while Mr. Bryan is a lawyer. Being a business man, Mr. Johnson is conversant with facts in business life that to Mr. Bryan are simply unproven theories. His business experience has cultivated and prepared Mr. Johnson's mind for the sowing of seed that would be entirely wasted upon Mr. Bryan. This is no reflection upon Mr. Bryan's native ability, but simply upon his misfortune in being a lawyer rather than a business man.

This is no joke, let me say, but is said in all seriousness. I have had a great many talks upon the Trust question with lawyers and business men and it has been almost my universal experience to find that the lawyers simply cannot understand that the reason the Trust exists lies in overproduction. They are apt to regard the Trust as simply a conspiracy of capitalists, voluntarily formed to limit production and raise prices.

For instance, last August I had the pleasure of talking on the Trust problem with the Hon. Chas. E. Littlefield, at his home in Rockland, Me. He it is who has been selected by President Roosevelt to formulate new anti-Trust legislation for the next sitting of Congress. With such a commission one might consider Mr. Littlefield as being prepared to say the last word for the Roosevelt administration upon the Trust problem. I can only warn the Trusts to stand from under if they have any fear of Mr. Littlefield having his way with them, for if he does there will be ructions to pay and no mistake. However, he will never have his way, for, although he

is a lawyer, and an honest one too, so the Rockland people all say, he will never be able to draft any legislation that will ever have enough force after it goes through the Supreme Court to hurt any Trust or make Mr. Morgan lose any sleep. Mr. Littlefield did not agree at all with me that over-production was at base the cause of the Trust. He thinks Mr. Rockefeller was not compelled to form his Trusts and that a good strong anti-Trust law can be drawn up that will end all such pernicious combinations.

In fact, Mr. Littlefield has apparently not learned a single lesson from the industrial history of the United States in the last ten or fifteen years.

It is one of the delightful ironies of our present political and industrial situation that the man who is called upon to solve the mightiest problem ever set before the world has not the first inkling of the necessity of public ownership. It was rather funny that when I suggested public ownership Mr. Littlefield declared that public ownership of wealth meant practically the annihilation of wealth. Wealth to him was non-existent unless in the hands of private owners.

However, to go back to Mr. Johnson, as I have no doubt that Mr. Littlefield's views will be sufficiently aired in a few months.

Now Mr. Johnson, you are an eminently practical business man. You want facts and not theories. You are quoted as saying that the present system gives capitalists opportunities to exploit the public and that you take advantage of those opportunities and exploit them, although at the same time you are advising the public not to be such fools as to tolerate being robbed by you or anyone else. This is a perfectly consistent attitude. It's my own position, so naturally it is right.

You and I both seek to abolish special privileges. Our difference is that you would nationalize and municipalize certain industries and leave others in private hands and then let competition work its way; and you hope that then labor will get its just rewards.

I, on the other hand, would nationalize and municipalize everything and would institute co-operation instead of competition.

This you regard as Utopian.

Brushing aside the glory of my ideal of the future of so-

ciety, where all men have plenty and are in a vast brotherhood of love, and yours, where they spend their time—when they have any to spend apart from your competitive struggle—in determining how much to tax each other, let us consider co-operation from the viewpoint of necessity, not as a luxury. If it becomes a necessity, then of course you must become a Socialist.

Now, Mr. Johnson, I never flatter anyone, so you know, when I say that you are worthy of having time spent upon your conversion, I must have a good opinion of you. You are today doing a greater work and probably a more useful work in your sphere of directing attention to the advantages of municipal ownership than anyone in the United States. I may include also the work you are doing for the equalization of taxation. However, when you have finished there is the greater problem to solve for the nation and you are as likely as not to be called upon to have a great hand in the settling of it.

If the Democratic Party had any brains they would nominate you for President, but they haven't, and if they should nominate Hill or Gorman you will have but one refuge, namely the Socialist Party.

I have in my hand the New York Commercial of today's date, August 18th. The Commercial is a good reliable business man's paper, and I would like to call your attention to the tremendous lesson that can be drawn from its pages of a single issue. You want facts and not theories and I will give them to you. If you will not admit that co-operation is soon to become a necessity, you do admit that you have no doubt of my sincerity in advocating Socialism. Of course you have no doubt of it. No more have I of Mr. Littlefield's honesty in advocating anti-trust laws, or Mr. Bryan and his free silver, or you and your single tax. The question of the individual honesty of the advocates of certain remedies is unimportant when compared to the honesty of the remedies themselves.

You no doubt think I am a dreamer of dreams that might be realized if all men were angels. Let us see how the dreams are being realized today when men are just as "good devils" as Mary MacLane could wish for.

My position is that we are now producing so much wealth

that we cannot distribute it under our competitive wage system. Let us see what the Commercial says about the production of wealth. I take this from its editorial:

The productiveness of our agricultural industry was nearly doubled within a decade. This fact is fine evidence of the energy and progressiveness of our farmer population. No such record would have been possible to any but a people imbued with a spirit of modern progress and determined to take advantage of every discovery in science that could add to the fruitfulness of their fields. There is no such thing as rigid conservatism having a place in modern industry.

The American farmer understands this necessity, and it is because he understands it that he has made such a magnificent record in the last decade. He stands at the head of the agricultural world, and he will continue to hold this proud position so long as he stands firmly on the principle that has placed him there. We are almost feeding the whole world to-day. It is by no means impossible that in the future we may be the absolute source of supply for the foodstuffs of the globe.

This looks as though the United States should be able to provide for its people. However, it appears as if the little fellows in fruit raising were being crowded pretty hard by the big ones. Single tax would not help the small farmer, because the big one, while he would pay more taxes, would be able to pay more owing to decreased cost through larger production.

I quote the Commercial again, showing this tendency to farming on a big scale:

Hartville, Mo., Aug 17.—A contract has been closed by a Des Moines syndicate for a 5,000-acre tract of land lying north of here on Bear Creek for a mammoth fruit farm. The syndicate has contracted with the Frisco to build a spur, leaving that road three miles west of Sleeper station, in Laclede county, and running through the orchard.

Orders have been received for the manager to employ hands and clear off 1,000 acres of the land, which the syndicate proposes to put in apple trees next Spring. A steam stump-puller will be used in clearing off the ground, and a disk gang plow operated by an engine will be used to plow the land.

Two thousand additional acres are to be ready for planting during 1904, and the remaining 2,000 acres a year later.

Now, of course I could have made my facts much stronger had I not determined to limit them to the issue of a single day. We have had statistics showing how much more we are

producing, and how we are doing it. I will now show some of the results of this tremendous production. Again I quote the Commercial:

San Francisco, Aug. 17.—In Napa Valley there are a great many prune orchards in which the fruit is falling from the trees and rotting on the ground. The low price makes it hardly worth while to attempt to handle the crop.

So you see, Mr. Johnson, it is one thing to produce and quite another thing to sell. Those poor prune growers might have their land presented to them tax free and yet they would go bankrupt because prices are less than cost, owing to over-production. There is no use of your saying that they might have raised something else, because if they had they would have been just as likely to have been swamped by over-production. There is not a single agricultural product raised in California that is not liable to over-production, and none that have not in the past been, during certain years, absolutely valueless from that cause. One year it is barley, another cabbages. This year it is lemons and prunes, two years ago it was oranges, a little before that it was walnuts.

You may think the farmers ought to have gone into some other business than farming. It's all overdone. Even those capitalists who, like yourself, were clever enough to have gone into transportation sometimes lose their heads and ruin themselves with competition. Of course they usually combine; they can combine easily enough because they are few in numbers. Farmers cannot. Too many to get together. However, sometimes even railway men fight and lose money. Once more I go to my ever faithful Commercial:

Houston, Tex., Aug. 17.—Five hundred tickets were sold to Chicago yesterday at startling prices as the result of a war of ticket brokers, the outgrowth of the fight of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, the International & Great Northern, the Cotton Belt and the Santa Fé for Northern passenger business.

The lowest rate before yesterday was \$18.00 for the round trip. One broker cut it to \$8.00. Another broker at once cut it to \$4.00. Yet another announced Houston to Chicago, 30 cents; Houston to St. Louis, 20 cents; Houston to Kansas City, 10 cents.

Another met the cut and offered a \$5.00 box of cigars with each ticket.

But it is not the war of the capitalists that I am counting upon to cause over-production. It is the war between work-

ingmen to get a job that will do the trick. The capitalists soon get over their foolish disposition to fight, and form a combine, as you will see once again in our Commercial:

Chicago, Aug. 17.—Following the International Harvester Co.'s public declaration that economy in the manufacture and distribution of agricultural machinery was the motive for effecting the \$120,000,000 merger, several of the Chicago companies in the combine have issued letters to their agents throughout the country ordering a reduction of about three-fourths in the number of employees representing them in the field. The other companies in the combine are preparing to follow their example. Ten thousand men in all are expected to lose their jobs.

The men whose services are to be dispensed with are the canvassers and traveling salesmen, whose work has been to solicit orders from small dealers and farmers. The reduction is also expected to lessen materially the volume of correspondence and thus render unnecessary the employment of as large an office force as heretofore.

But you will also notice that at the very same time it gives a notice of a cessation of war between the capitalists it shows how by the discharge of ten thousand employees or more that the war between workingmen redoubles in fury. If this item is not sufficient to show you, Mr. Johnson, that we can have a great production and yet have it neither benefit the farmer who raises prunes nor the workingman who makes farm machinery, possibly this interesting little item may awaken your interest. Again from the Commercial:

Chicago, Aug. 17.—The employees of the First National Bank are said to be in revolt because the bank has a rule which prohibits employees from marrying until they receive a salary of at least \$1,000 a year. This obstacle is said to have barred the way to many weddings recently. The bank officials deny the existence of the rule, but employees say that matrimony on less than \$1,000 a year is almost certain to result in dismissal. An open protest was made and a strike was threatened yesterday.

Now you know pretty well, Mr. Johnson, that a thousand dollars is very little for a bank clerk to keep a family on. He must for the sake of the good name of the bank dress himself fairly well, and by the time he feeds himself there is very little left for the family. The bank doesn't want a lot of shabby looking half-starved clerks in its palace of marble and brass rails. It's much cheaper to make a rule of firing a clerk that enters a course of starving himself by getting married than

it is to raise his salary. There are plenty of men who will be glad to take the \$1,000 and stay single. But it is this very competition that keeps the clerks and workmen generally down to the point where they can't even buy prunes.

It seems to me I have shown pretty well by my facts from one issue of the Commercial the cause of over-production and the necessity of the Trust, and I have at the same time shown how the Trust does not in the least prevent an unemployed problem, although it may for the time being solve the problem of the capitalist of how to avoid bankruptcy.

But while there is so much food in the land that the bankers are unable to allow their clerks to marry, it would seem from this item that the state can arrange to feed its citizens well enough and make money into the bargain.

Jackson, Miss., Aug. 17.—The report of the warden of the penitentiary for the first six months of the present year shows that the total cash receipts from the farming system were \$190,436.32, against expenses amounting to \$89,004.28, leaving a net profit on the labor of the convicts of \$101,432.05.

Of course, you may reply that you would rather be a dead free man than a live convict, but I don't think you would, my dear Mr. Johnson, stoop to such an argument to win applause from an unthinking audience. Certainly, if the State can take its most unwilling, ignorant and vicious citizens and by co-operation not only give them employment, but make money, while the farmer in California, working under private ownership and initiative, loses money, there is some argument for public ownership of even that most difficult business, farming.

But it is not only the competition between workmen, limiting demand for products, that is causing over-production. It is also the approaching completion of the machinery of production that is causing trouble by throwing men out of employment. I showed how it was working in the Harvester Combine. The machinery necessary to build new harvesters is more than enough, therefore a combine is a necessity, and out go 10,000 men. Here is another item from the same old mine, the Commercial:

Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., Aug 17.—The great water power canal of the Soo, which has just been finished, after four years of con-

struction and an expenditure of \$5,000,000, is regarded by engineers as one of the most magnificent works of its kind in the world.

Everything is now in readiness for the final stroke by which the waters of Lake Superior will be turned into the broad, deep, smooth channel, and soon thereafter the wheels of immense industries will begin to turn under the power of the mighty flow. This will be accomplished in a few days after the work shall have been thoroughly inspected by F. H. Clergue, president of the Michigan Lake Superior Co. Like a river, 220 feet broad, and deep enough to float the biggest vessel that sails the lakes, it divides Sault Ste. Marie into a city of two parts, with the island portion now for the first time completely surrounded by water.

It is the completion of our great industrial plants the world over that presages the great world problem of the unemployed. It is upon this, Mr. Johnson, that I base my theory of the necessity of public ownership in order that we have a co-operative wage system to distribute the enormous wealth now being produced.

As long as this wealth could find its way into new machinery, new canals, railways, etc., even though the laborer did get but a small wage there was no over-production. I insist that the facts of today show that this method of disposing of our surplus wealth is now about ended and that the laborers' share of the product must be enormously increased to absorb the wealth that formerly went into the building of new machinery.

You say you don't write, Mr. Johnson. Well, you read the papers. I wish you would see if events are not shaping themselves my way. I am counting on you later on when this country gets into a tight box and wants men to show her how to get out of it.

I am sure you will not find that the capitalists will ever take up again with competition, and I am equally sure that the laborers are not going to starve in order to prove the value of a theory that you single taxers uphold, viz., the desirability of competition. The people of America are going to say that they want America for themselves and that they are tired of giving up all they produce to Morgan & Co. simply for the pleasure of starving in their own country because they produce too much to eat.

## SCIENCE BENEFITS THE RICH

OUR good clergymen and professors of political economy never weary of telling us that Rockefeller and others have their great incomes as the reward of what they have done for the public in organizing the labor of society. They would have us infer that a man is paid pro rata with his ability. They never give us a glimmer that the immense mass of humanity are not paid according to their product, but according to how little they can live upon. It is strange that Mr. Hearst, with all his zeal for the toiling masses, should not take a moment of time, while he is twirling his cap on high for his new friend, Parker, and explain to his readers the impossibility of the working-class ever being able to better their condition as long as the competitive wage system lasts. However, Hearst does see some things correctly. For instance, he takes note that Professor O. F. Cook, by the introduction of the Guatemalan ant, which destroys the boll weevil, saving the nation forty million a year to the cotton planters, will get nothing for his labor above and beyond his regular government salary. If Professor Cook were to be paid on an interest basis he should be given two thousand million dollars worth of two per cent. government bonds. As it is he gets merely a living, and when he gets old in the service he will be turned adrift without a pension. He had better been a Filipino killer. It is to be noted that Professor Cook made his discovery when working, not for a competitive capitalistic corporation, but for the State. The same remark applies to Professor Koerberle, the man who discovered a remedy for the white scale bug which was destroying the orange groves of California some ten years ago. Koerberle heard that while there were scale bugs in Australia, yet they did not seem to bother the oranges there. He rightly guessed there must be some countervailing influence. He found it to be in a lady bug, the *vedolia cardinalis*. This little insect makes a business of eating the white scale. Koerberle sent over a colony of the Australian lady bugs to California, and

the little chaps thrive so well in their new home and ate so many white scales that in a few months California was rid of the pest. What Koerberle did for the orange crop Cook now promises to do for the cotton crop. These two men have saved the country millions of dollars, and yet neither will benefit personally to the extent of one cent. And yet I doubt if either of them would not feel completely rewarded if they could only have a guarantee from society that they would be supported while they could continue to make scientific discoveries for the benefit of man. However, it is also noteworthy that as long as the competitive system and private ownership of property continues all these and other great discoveries do not inure to the benefit of society as a whole but merely to the rich. The extinction of the boll weevil will not add much to the pay of the negro cotton pickers, but it means much gain to the owners of the cotton fields and much more gain to the railways which have a monopoly of the cotton carrying. Similarly, the extinction of the orange scale in California gives the railways, which carry the oranges, the bulk of the gain. Competition keeps the rate of wages and the price of oranges so low that neither the orange grower nor the orange picker get much of anything. But the railways get ninety cents on every box of oranges that California exports, and this price has remained uniform for twenty years, although the price of oranges has decreased from \$5 a box to less than \$1.50. The railways have advanced sufficiently to know the beauty of combination, while the ordinary people are still working along on the old starvation competitive basis. The evolution of the human mind is a slow process.

## WHAT IS RELIGION?

**A**S long as commercial success is generally thought to be synonymous with rendering the earth better adapted for man, so long will commercial success, generally speaking, be a pleasure to the individuals making it. It is only when the commercial success of the individual becomes generally incompatible with the welfare of the race that the pursuit of wealth will become unendurable to those engaged in it. It is freely admitted that a great deal of the business success of to-day depends upon the obstruction rather than the production of wealth. A Trust insures profits by its ability to curtail production. But this is the accident of business rather than its normal course. However, accidents of this nature are sure to become increasingly frequent as, owing to the workings of the competitive system, the capacity to consume becomes more and more limited compared with the capacity to produce.

As this condition of affairs becomes more and more evident it will come to pass in the natural course of events that men who have formerly been devoting their lives to the accumulation of wealth will have their energies diverted to the socialization of wealth. That this is the case may be seen already in the actions of a certain part of the capitalists of the United States. It is said that during the last year over \$90,000,000 were distributed in various benefactions and charities, and it is well known that Mr. Carnegie himself has given away nearly a hundred million dollars to date. Of course all this charity and philanthropy is only a feeble indication of a social tendency, but it is a very striking one and should be appreciated at its full value.

That the individual can only attain complete happiness by being himself in perfect accord with his environment is axiomatic. The individual, no matter how harmonious he may be in himself, cannot be happy unless he has an environment which is harmonious.

The boundary lines of one's environment are illimitable. A rich man's house may be pleasant and his family agreeable, but if his neighborhood is disagreeable it is evident that he is not in a favorable position for happiness. Again, though he should make his entire neighborhood conform to his ideas of beauty and happiness, he would still have to consider the city, and the city cannot be happy if the nation is unhappy.

The task of the man who sets out to beautify his environment can be ended only when all the world is beautified.

The increasing sensitiveness of the nation as a whole was strikingly shown here in the United States when we felt ourselves impelled to demand that Spain should cease its persecution of Cuba, and this sentiment was one of the factors which finally led us into war. The same thing was seen again in the attitude of the United States toward Russia in regard to the Kishineff affair.

The happiness of the individual depends upon his being in harmony with a harmonious universe.

Socialism then is, in its higher sense, the science of placing man in harmonious relation to a perfected universe. Coming back to the concrete, it is evident that one of the first steps toward this is the harmonious arrangement of things upon this earth that man may freely participate to the fullest extent in all the possibilities of his environment. The Socialist demands that the worker shall have what he produces and sees that this demand can only come through the institution of a harmonious industrial system. But this attained he by no means considers that he has reached the end.

Socialism is only a first step toward bringing man into a more perfect relation to the whole universe.

There is no greater fallacy than to assume that because the Socialist sees that man must be fed before he can be happy, that he therefore imagines that the mere feeding of man is an end in itself.

Feeding is simply a means to an end and that end is the greatest that the mind of man can conceive—the perfect relating of perfected man to a perfected universe. The birth of the Super-Man.

The striving for this is Religion.

It is the True Worship of God.

## STRIKE TO SET THEM FREE

**T**HE secret night arrest and deportation from Colorado to Idaho of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, of the Western Federation of Miners, is an event not only of the greatest interest to the labor movement of the United States, but is an act menacing the whole fabric of our present industrial and social structure.

Society to-day is held together by the large majority of the people feeling that if substantial equity is not done to every man by our present laws and customs, at any rate the equity is about as near as can be expected, taking one thing with another.

We Socialists know and are trying to make the people know, that the present economic inequality and injustice is the direct consequence of our competitive system, and we are endeavoring to show the people that the only way to avoid inequity is to establish Socialism, but it is admittedly a long, tedious, slow process to teach the people the economics of Socialism.

But when it comes to a question of the people deciding about life or death for a man, they do not hesitate a single moment. If the people think that a man has committed a crime against an individual or the commonwealth, there is practically a consensus for his execution. If, upon the other hand, they think he is not guilty, they have no hesitancy in expressing their feelings against the carrying out of the sentence. The common instinct of humanity is aroused at the thought of killing an innocent man, no matter who he may be. But when the man threatened is one who is known to have devoted his life for the good of his fellow men, and when the people feel that not only has he committed no crime, but that he is picked out for slaughter merely because he has devoted himself to their interests, then may we expect a great wave of indignant protest to sweep the nation.

Never before the arrest of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, has such a condition as this ever been presented before to the

American nation. The nearest approach to it was probably when the Southern Confederacy threatened with execution a number of captured Union officers upon the false charge that they were spies. This so aroused the whole country that Lincoln, in response, advised the Confederacy that he would execute certain Confederate officers then held in captivity by the North, if the South should carry out its threat. This act of Lincoln's caused the South to change its mind, and the incident was over.

The execution of the Anarchists in Chicago, in 1886, was similar in certain respects to the threatened execution of Moyer and Haywood. However, the execution in 1886 did not excite any great national protest—first, because the labor movement was not developed to the extent that it is to-day, and, secondly, because the men accused had associated themselves, in the public mind, with the advocacy of bomb throwing, and the public felt that their execution, after a bomb throwing actually did take place, was only a matter of just retribution. The public felt that, even if the individuals accused were not guilty, they had at any rate incited some other man to throw the bomb, and to have deserved the hanging.

As I said before, the present Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone case is upon quite a different footing. The labor movement of America is to-day infinitely better organized than it was twenty years ago; not only is labor organized, but the people generally have had so many striking indictments of the present capitalistic system by such writers as Lawson, Sinclair, Steffens, Phillips, and others, and have seen so many of their idols fall, like Senator Depew, and have been enlightened by the insurance investigations as to how graft permeates throughout our whole political and industrial structure, that they no longer feel that keen resentment against the critics of the present system of society that they did at one time.

Instead of looking upon America as the perfection of all things, as we did in 1886, and looking upon the man who criticized us as one quite worthy of hanging, we now place our critics on the pinnacle of public esteem.

We no longer have the respect for the courts that we did have. We can no longer doubt that they are corrupt and

venial. We cannot doubt that the money interest of the country controls them. Twenty years ago the courts were still an honored institution.

Then the growth of Socialism has made such progress in twenty years that thousands of people are to-day ready for a Social Revolution, and eager to listen to the words of a Revolutionist, where twenty years ago they would have mobbed him.

The public protest of to-day about the Haywood-Moyer affair is infinitely greater and more powerful than any similar protest. The labor unions from one end of the country to the other are making the case of Haywood and Moyer their own. At this writing \$200,000 have been subscribed for the defense fund, and \$1,000,000 can be had, if necessary.

As Gov. Gooding, of Idaho, and his servile judges push onward the trial of the accused men, there is no telling how high public indignation may run. No one can say if this event may not be the spark which will inflame the American people to the inevitable Social Revolution.

The greatest crime against a free people in modern history is threatened in the trial of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone for murder. No one who knows anything about the character of the men and the circumstances of the crime, can believe that they were connected with the assassination of Gov. Steunenberg. The trial is merely an attempt on the part of the mine owners of Idaho and Colorado to intimidate the labor unions. They think that the hanging of the leaders will mean such a complete cowing of labor that capital will forever have it at its mercy. If the working class of America do not make their protest sufficiently vigorous to prevent the possibility of this judicial crime, then the execution of Haywood and Moyer may be the beginning of a series of executions of labor union leaders from one end of the country to the other.

The time for us to make our protest is now, and not after the men are in their coffins. If we wish to prevent the murder of the men who have been fighting for us, then the time for us to act is right here and now.

Let indignation meetings be held from Maine to California. Let money be collected. Let parades be made in our great cities, parades in such numbers that their immense size

will intimidate the capitalist class from carrying out their infamous program.

If the trial proceeds and if such a terrible event as conviction by the servile minions of plutocracy should follow, and if a single one of our comrades, Haywood, Moyer or Pettibone, is condemned, it should be the signal for the working class of America to rise—let that mark the date for the beginning of a Great National General Strike. Let every working man who has a heart in his breast make a mighty oath that not a wheel shall turn in this country from ocean to ocean until the verdict is set aside and every one of the accused is set free. Let our factories be closed; let our mills stop grinding flour, and our bakeries stop baking bread. Let there be a complete paralysis of railway transportation and telegraphic information. Let our coal mines close, and let us die of hunger and cold if necessary to make our protest heeded.

The working class of this country have it in their power to say to the plutocracy, "You shall starve to death if a hair on the head of either Haywood, Moyer or Pettibone is injured."

Let us show the world that the workmen of America are not so lost to shame, not so devoid of the red blood of courage, that they will allow one of their comrades to suffer death at the hands of their enemies, when they have at their command a weapon which will set them free.

**Hurrah for the General Strike!**

*(Editorials From "Challenge.")*

## SALUTATORY

**T**HE CHALLENGE has been given life in order to voice for this community certain thoughts and ideas of a radical nature that are either suppressed altogether in the daily press or are published in such a desultory manner that those in sympathy with such thought suffer from the lack of continuity.

The editor of this paper thinks that a crisis in the political and industrial history of the United States is rapidly approaching and that it is of the utmost importance for the people to be informed of this fact. Society is an organism, and is governed by the same evolutionary laws determining the development of other organisms. It will be the mission of THE CHALLENGE to expound these laws.

Certain people who consider themselves scientific are ready enough to admit an inevitable and evolutionary change in society, but say that the changes of nature are so slow that it will take thousands of years before we can expect any considerable change in the form of our human society.

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THE CHALLENGE considers such views as essentially superficial. There is a critical point in all natural movements. Hydrogen and oxygen, if mixed in exact proportions of two to one and brought into contact with an electric spark, will explode and form water. When water is heated to 212 degrees it boils and becomes steam. After the hen sets on her eggs three weeks they are hatched into chickens. Apparently in each of these cases there was no outward change until the critical point was reached and then there was a sudden transformation.

We believe that society is approaching its critical point and that a transformation must ensue. That the present competitive system, embracing the private ownership of capital, is simply like the shell of an egg and is protecting the formation of a new and better society within itself. When this new

society is ready to be born it will burst its shell and step forth, Minerva-like, fully formed and completed.

With such ideas it can necessarily be seen that **THE CHALLENGE** can hardly be classed under the head of "reform" journals. A "reform" paper is one that hopes to make better present society and usually thinks we simply have to put honest men into office to secure this betterment. **THE CHALLENGE** has very little sympathy with such views. It is true we wish honest men in public life, but we also want them in private life and are rather inclined to think that honesty in private life is probably of more importance to-day to the general public than in life. We look upon the existing form of society as one would look at an old coat about to be discarded. It is not worth much patching, yet as the time for changing to a new coat is not absolutely determined it is felt that both decency and comfort demand the old one to be kept in as good order as possible until that new coat is actually finished and ready to be worn. It would be folly to spend all one's energies in fixing up the old at the expense of delaying the completion of a newer and infinitely better one.

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We think the trust is the significant sign of the approaching completion of this new social coat. We have no fault to find with the trust for sending us this message. To attempt to destroy the trust is as absurd as to batter up one's office telephone because unwelcome news comes over it. All innovations, no matter how good they may be, are usually instinctively rejected, when first proposed, by the innate conservatism of mankind. The opposition which greeted the introduction of railways in England from the educated country gentlemen, the cream of the English people, was almost as great as that exhibited to-day by the Chinese Boxers to the introduction of railways in China. The trust conveys an unwelcome message to many of us simply because we are of the conservative "Boxer" temperament and are opposed to all innovations upon general principles. The trust is the most perfect labor-saving device ever perfected by the mind of man, and to a certain extent it is opposed from jealousy simply because it is such a perfect machine, yet such a costly one that very few can afford the initial outlay to own one.

We can imagine a newspaper man opposing linotypes not

because they are bad in themselves but because he is too poor to buy one and without one he cannot meet his competitors. He will say that there will no longer be a free press when it first requires a man of money rather than of brains to establish a paper. The small business man has long been crying out against corporations on the same ground, viz.: that plenty of capital is more of a requisite for success than brains in the business world. The trust not only still further accentuates this view, but has brought him to see that not only is it difficult for the man without money to establish himself, but it is now absolutely impossible.

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Business to-day has assumed the monarchical form. Any man may be president of the United States, at any rate birth is not a barrier, but a man has as much chance of being the president of the Standard Oil trust as he has of being called to the throne of England. But it is not so much that the chance of advancement is closed by the appearance of the trust. Not only does the trust prevent advancement, but it insists upon the outsiders retiring altogether from the field. The trust has made the knowledge of the dynamic condition of industry too painfully apparent for it to be denied. If a man could hold his own he might consent to lose his ambition, but when he finds his very livelihood threatened by the trust he is forced into active opposition. At present it is principally the small business men and jobbers who are in opposition to the trust. They wish the trust destroyed and hope for a return to the old days of free competition. However, these are mostly men of business training, and the simple business arguments in favor of the formation and perpetuation of the trust are so convincing to them that they are ceasing to protest against the inevitable.

The workingman will be the next to feel the results of the economies effected in demand for labor by the trust. At present, owing to the industrial boom in progress, the trusts are pushed to their utmost to fill orders and hence there is no opportunity to diminish the use of labor notwithstanding the economies effected by concentration. It has simply resulted in a larger product with the same number of employees. This conditions of affairs, however, will only last as long as times are good. As soon as the boom is over the trusts will be com-

pelled to discharge unnecessary workers and then will be the time when workmen will begin to clamor against the trust. They will act the part of the dog biting a stone that hit him instead of going after the man who threw it. To-day the workmen as a class are rather favorably disposed than otherwise to the trust. It has apparently given them more employment and it certainly has given them steadier employment. Let this condition once change, and change it must, and there will no longer be a McKinley carried triumphantly to the presidential chair.

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The republicans played their trump card when they asked to be returned to power because they had made times good and upon the promise that they would continue such good times in the future. They have frankly accepted the onus now of any bad times that the future may bring, and that the future will bring such times is as sure as fate. Then will the republicans be called to their accounting.

Will the people be so foolish as to return the democrats to power simply upon a program of negation? We think not. We think that the political party of the future must have an intelligent constructive program if it is to be successful.

## THE OLD LADY'S AILMENT

THE United States is a nation approaching the throes of giving birth to a new social system. We are like an old woman who has all sorts of pains and all sorts of quacks prescribing for her. She is a foolish old thing with hardly sense enough to know the difference between a quack and a real physician, and she does not yet dare to make her choice. The quacks say she has all sorts of diseases and try to force all sorts of absurd remedies down her throat. She herself does not know exactly what ails her, but she sees the quacks don't know either, although she takes some of their medicine from time to time to get rid of them. She hears with wondering delight and surprise the theory of the Socialist as to the cause of her ill-health, but she thinks he must be a base flatterer. How could she, a miserable, beastly, selfish, ugly old thing, ever think that there was any reason for her being so delicately indisposed? She admits she rather likes the idea, but she resolutely refuses belief. "The trust certainly signifies, my dear madam," says the Socialist to her, whenever he gets a chance at her ear between so many consultants, "that you are to give birth to Socialism." "No, no," cries one of the quacks, "nothing of the sort. The trust is a dangerous foreign growth, a tumor that should be destroyed before it grows bigger and destroys the patient." Then another quack steps up elbowing the first one aside, and says, "Don't listen to him, madam, he would destroy your life. The trust is now too large a body to take from you without causing death. Let it alone and it will gradually pass away of itself. It will die a natural death." "But," says the patient, "that is just what you have been telling me for fifteen years, and I am getting worse and worse, and the trust bigger every year. Why, it seems to be actually getting to be bigger than I am myself."

"Ah, my dear madam, that is all in the course of nature, and anyway it is rather an ornament, and a useful one, too, to you than otherwise. Don't be alarmed, you would not

know what to do without it. What would become of all your life's blood if it did not go to feed that tumor? You would die of apoplexy. You would wear yourself out with natural exuberance if you should rid yourself of it. It gives steady employment to all your natural functions. Your heart, your lungs, even your brains are all now well employed keeping this tumor in vigorous health. If you should lose it your heart would only have half time work demanded of it, and it might stop beating altogether. I really think at times, madam, that this tumor, which you are pleased to call a 'foreign growth,' is quite as important to be kept alive as you yourself. You have burdened yourself so long with it that you are no longer beautiful and strong as you were when you were young and healthy, and I don't think your life worth so very much, anyway. In fact, the only reason I can see for your living at all is to keep the tumor alive." The old woman is rather shocked at such a frank statement from the doctor, but he is the old family physician and she is so ill that she has lost the courage to discharge him. The Socialist doctor is persistent, however, in whispering to her the real meaning of her pains, and while she does not take his advice in discharging her quacks, she at any rate commences to do some thinking on her own account. Every day makes her condition more and more critical, and, strange to say, it seems to corroborate both the theory of the quack and the Socialist.

The trust tumor seems more and more an inseparable part of the body, yet it drains more and more upon the resources of a physique less and less able to bear the strain. However, in such ambiguous cases a true diagnosis is but a question of time, and in this particular case the Socialist doctor knows that the time when the patient will determine for herself what ails her is rapidly approaching. Selah.

## WHY A PEACOCK?

Ventura, Cal., April 4th, 1901.

H. Gaylord Wilshire:

Dear Sir: Enclosed find order for \$1.25, for which send **THE CHALLENGE** to S. B. Bagnall, Oxnard, Cal. And send the balance to my address, Ventura, in subscription postal cards.

Why, in the name of all that's curious, don't you let up on this "Challenge of Debate" business? You certainly make yourself absurd and silly to the minds of sensible people, and the other fellow don't count.

Get in and dig after the brains. You can make **THE CHALLENGE**, by good hard work, leaving out the bombast, the greatest power for Socialism in the United States. Truly your friend,

R. E. BRAKEY.

Now, dear Brakey, you have just said exactly what I have been wondering many other old time Socialists have not already said. It has been a matter of rather delighted surprise to receive letters from nearly every leading Socialist in America singing the same song. "**THE CHALLENGE** is all right." Now you and I have been in "the movement" for many years. You were my chairman in Ventura over ten years ago when I ran as a Socialist for Congress from this district, and again a few months ago you acted in the same capacity. We both well know with what intense and rightful jealousy the Socialists beyond all other men scrutinize another Socialist's action to determine whether he is "for himself" or for "the Movement." You and I both know that nothing will kill a man quicker than for him to attempt the "leadership act." If we are consistent in any one thing it is our democracy among our own selves. I know as well as you do that conceit and bombast will never go when a Socialist talks to Socialists, but you must remember that when I talk through **THE CHALLENGE** I am not trying to teach or impress Socialists. They are not worth bothering about, their education is finished. They don't need any talk from me. It is the unconverted, the Philistines, that I am thinking about and talking to. For instance, I have offered Bryan \$5,000 to debate with me and

another \$5,000 if he can defeat me. Now you know, and I know, and all Socialists know, that he will never dare accept my challenge. You and other Socialists may be bored at my making it and more bored upon my dwelling upon it. But remember, other people are not bored. They are either astounded at my audacity or think that it is a bluff that would never be made good if Bryan should call me. I admit that such a manner of advertising the strength of the Socialist argument is sensational, is vulgar, is silly and absurd, as you say, but the question is not as to manner, but the effectiveness of the advertisement. The people generally are a lot of unthinking fools. We both agree in that estimate of them. Now these fools are the very ones who "do count," if I may differ from you. If they had the brains you and I and the Socialists, your "sensible people", generally possess, they would need no CHALLENGE or any other Socialist paper to awaken them. They would go to the polls the very next election and vote in Socialism unanimously. I, myself, never saw a Socialist paper or a Socialist book, in fact, did not know such existed when I became a Socialist. The logic of events was quite a sufficient teacher for me. However, everybody is not that smart, and so for the fellows that are not smart enough to be Socialists without teaching you often must attract their attention by very bizarre methods. I have no doubt but that those poor fanatics who beat the cymbals in the Salvation Army use precisely the same argument in their defense. They don't think cymbals make delightful music, but they think that the noise will attract the attention of the unregenerate to their talk. I recognize well enough that I am making more or less an ass of myself in making these bombastic challenges. I don't like to make a fool of myself, either, any more than you do, but I think with the Salvation Army lassie that the question of making a fool of yourself should be quite subsidiary to making a success of beguiling people to listen to your tale. In other words, in order to attract attention to Socialism, I put on the cap and bells and parade up and down the columns of THE CHALLENGE. However, while I can call myself an ass with impunity, I dare anyone, not a Socialist, to come into my columns and repeat the word. He may find a helmet underneath the cap. That the method is a good one is proven by results. We have had Socialist journals without number for years and

years that have said what I am saying quite as well, and often much better, yet they have never "caught on" with the outside public. **THE CHALLENGE**, on the other hand, is meeting with a most phenomenal success, both among Socialists and with rank outsiders. Whatever else may be said of me I can lay claim to having started the first successful newspaper ever printed in the English language that has an avowed, clean cut, scientific, revolutionary Socialistic policy. It is really remarkable considering the very ultra position I take in economics and politics that I should have met with such an enthusiastic reception from people who have never identified themselves with us before. I won't be so silly as to claim that these people were attracted by the "cap and bells," but at any rate they were not repelled. I would like to lay off the bells forever as I do now in talking to you behind the scenes, as it were, but I know the people generally demand a costume. You can read Hamlet in your study, but you like to see it better behind the footlights. You, dear Brakey, know the strength of the Socialist argument, you need no pictorial demonstration of it, but you are not everybody. There is many a man who will never believe that a Socialist is right until he is convinced that nobody dare argue with him. Such men are but too common. The man who relies on another to make up his mind for him is at every street corner. I am simply trying to graphically impress upon him a pictorial personal demonstration of the strength of Socialism. In doing this I necessarily bring myself into vulgar notoriety. It's an unpleasant sight to you, my dear Brakey, but I should think you might have imagination enough to understand that it is not a pure delight to me. Do you think after we have Socialism that I will continue to act the conceited pup I do today? I make a bargain with you that after we get Socialism I will never write another line nor make another speech. I will work my hour a day digging a sewer and put in the rest of my time playing golf.

In the meantime I must beg leave to pursue my own methods of "getting my name up" so that a vulgar public will be curious enough to listen to me.

I shall continue the program of challenging everybody in sight whom I consider the public will think ought to meet me. I don't challenge Mr. McKinley because it would be on the

face of it mere bombast, real bombast. It would be bombast because it would be so evident to everyone that nothing would draw him out. It would be as absurd to ask him to debate upon trusts as it would to ask the King of England to debate upon royalty. With Mr. Bryan it is quite different as it is with the college professors to whom I offer double their regular lecturing fee to meet me. The public, when they hear of such challenges, can regard them as bombastic only when they think I don't mean what I say. If I can convince the American public that there is not a college professor in the land that will debate with a Socialist, even when offered double his usual pay, and that Bryan will not dare take \$5,000 for a single night's work, it's certainly going to make them ponder a little. It is certainly going to make them think that Socialism is not to be waved aside as an iridescent dream. The chase for the almighty dollar is too serious a pursuit in this country for money to be scorned if there is no reason given for the scorn. You, my dear Brakey, know that Socialism has but to be presented properly to any American audience to carry them right off their feet. I never, in my twelve years' experience in public speaking to promiscuous audiences, have ever failed to carry them *en masse* with me as far as I could judge by the failure of opposition to develop. I never made a speech, and I have made thousands, but that I offered my platform to opponents when I closed, and I never have had a single acceptance of my offer. Now this is not owing to matchless and surpassing oratory. My friends say I am awkward, hesitating, cold and unimpassioned. There is no "cross of gold on the brow of labor" business about me. I have quite an unimpressive manner and appearance, in fact I have nothing to go on except Socialism. But that's enough for any speaker if he knows how to use it.

It is a David's sling which will enable him to prevail over any Goliath of the debating world.

Yes, I admit I am an editorial peacock, but anyway the spreading of the peacock's tail makes many people listen to a voice that otherwise would never be allowed within hearing distance.

A wise physician will sugar a needed pill rather than have his patient refuse it altogether. Now, dear Brakey, I have gone at considerable trouble to take you behind the scenes of

THE CHALLENGE to explain to you how I effect the illusion of thunder and lightning for a gullible public. It is unnecessary to say that no prestidigitateur can hope for an audience if he always explains his tricks after his performance. I now intend going back once more into my bells and cap, and I hope you and other Socialists will not force me to again change my costume outside my dressing room and in full glare of the footlights. I am not acting for "the like of you" anyway. If you don't like my play, pass THE CHALLENGE on to some one who will either take it as a comedy or a tragedy, but don't waste it on a man who can't laugh at a joke nor frown at a wrong. There is such a thing as being too "sensible." Half our life belongs to the imagination.

## A MODERN "ABBOT OF UNREASON"

New York, April 30, 1901.

Dear Mr. Wilshire:—

I send you a dollar with pleasure, to pay for "The Challenge." It is certainly unique, and I like a great deal in it immensely. Typographically and artistically (as well as in size) it is almost perfect. Most, though by no means all, of the matter you put in the paper is excellent. I find your egotism, however, at times insufferable! And why do you fill your pages with empty screeds and fulsome eulogies of capitalistic notabilities of the Earl Russell, W. S. Caine and James Bryce type! In addition, all this stuff about "America's Economic Supremacy" is merely the ordinary plutocratic cant and braggadocio, unless it is clearly related to Socialism. In your articles on this subject you have generally failed to clinch this point, the only essential one. And what does the Socialist care about Bishop Potter's windbag "fraternallism"? Everybody knows that Bishop Potter is a humbug, and his name should not appear in a Socialist paper, without this fact appearing there, too. And why do you commend the "Bellamy Review," which stands for a "no-party" Socialism and general muddle-headedness a la Mayor Jones!

You know that you would have done better and more solid work for the cause of Socialism if you had put your money into the "Advance," and made one splendid, clear-cut Social Democratic organ for the Pacific Coast.

Now that I have had my growl, I may add that you are really doing a great work; that I handle with pleasure, and read with avidity, every number of "The Challenge"; and that in some respects you have made a new era in Socialist journalism.

Yours fraternally,

LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

The organ of the single-taxers, The Public, is really not a bad paper considering its creed, but it's too modest a violet. It plaintively announces that it lays no claim to infallibility. Now this is where "The Challenge" scores. We are the greatest sunflower in the patch; we are quite confident of it, and as for infallibility, it would be supremely ridiculous to deny it. Of course we are, and we will, moreover, bet on it. This always settles it. When a man offers to bet on himself

and can find no takers, he is simply "it." There can be no question after that. "The Challenge" is "it." Now, Mr. Leonard D. Abbott, put that in your pipe and smoke it.

You don't like my egotism, eh? Well, read my article on "Why a Peacock." If you don't like it any better after that, then I cannot prescribe anything that will break you of the habit of reading "The Challenge" "with avidity."

However, as you come up on bended knee to partake of the bread of knowledge from my editorial altar, I will tell you why I talk about my dukes and other "capitalistic notabilities."

Before I start in I would like to know why you call them "capitalistic." Earl Russell, W. S. Caine and James Bryce, the three men you mention, are none of them rich, and certainly none of them could be called capitalistic on the score of any particular proclivities. They are not Socialists, it's true; but simply not being a Socialist confers no title of "capitalistic notability." I simply gave a most condensed account from the book "Who's Who?" of what and who they are. There was nothing fulsome nor empty. It was the barest account possible. However, you are a little hot, as a good and true Social Democrat, that I should have published a letter from the Earl which indicated we are on dining terms. Well, I must explain. You are an Englishman, my dear Abbott, and have not been over in this snob-ridden country long enough to understand and properly appreciate the great advantage it is to an editor, and particularly a Socialist editor, to be in position to blow about having dined with a peer of England. You see, most editors feel that the people think them very small potatoes—a Socialist editor doesn't even dare assume the people know he exists—and if an editor can drop a remark in a very casual way about having had a drink with Lord Montmorency, he feels he can impress his auditors more by that little remark than he could by a mile of editorial writing. Now, that was my idea. Some jackasses might read my editorials all their lives and wind up by thinking me a jackass myself. But let them hear that Earl Russell had me to dine with him at his club, and then I am really quite the brainiest man they happen to know, you know. Then there are some people who hold themselves quite above the influence of an aristocracy of birth but readily pay defer-

ence to what they consider the aristocracy of intellect. Now, to such people James Bryce, by virtue of his authorship of the *American Commonwealth* is a "top-notch" You know the breed of "intellectuals" I refer to—the editors of *The Nation*, of *The Atlantic*, the members of *The Century Club*, the college professors, etc. Now, those chaps would give their eyes for a letter to them such as Bryce wrote to me. Again, I might write acres of editorials and they would never consider it worth reading until they happened to hear that the great James Bryce had pronounced it worth while. Then they would read "The Challenge" as a kind of religious duty, and as I try to make its editorial columns very easy to understand, and use as few big words as possible, I have no doubt that some of them are commencing to know what I say even if they don't quite comprehend what I mean. Now this explains how I sugar my Challenge to catch both the aristocratic and the intellectual snobs.

The same argument applies to my using Bishop Potter to catch the religious snobs. As for *The Bellamy Review* and *Mayor Jones*, I don't agree with them, but I consider them useful, nevertheless. I don't care who speaks a truth, whether it is Hearst or Karl Marx. If it suits my purpose to quote him with credit I will do so. Very often the fact that Hearst says a thing poorly is of more use to me in a quotation than to use what Marx says much better. I have not the fear that some Socialists have of booming people who don't agree with us and, in fact, who spit upon us. I myself am uninsultable. I know, as well as you fellows in New York do, what manner of a man Hearst is. He is like all men; has several sides to his character, and he seems to take great delight in exhibiting his meanest sides to the organized Socialists in New York. However, you will never hurt him by ignoring him. That is simply following Hadley's policy of ostracizing the Rockefeller family. Some day I will show you how to prod Mr. Hearst where he will feel it. I have it up my sleeve all right, and also something there for several other fellows who labor under the delusion that I am too mild a scoundrel to say what I think.

Now, about my "braggadocio" regarding America's economic supremacy. I won't again lay it to your being an Englishman that you don't like it, but you do need some excuse.

In my January number I delivered myself editorially as follows:

When we give an item indicating the industrial supremacy of America in the world's industrial field, we are not guilty of spread-eagleism. We simply wish the moral to be drawn that America will be the first to embrace Socialism, because of this industrial supremacy. It means so much the greater hiatus between what the laborer produces and what he gets. The greater this hiatus, the greater the surplus for the capitalists, the greater the surplus the greater the difficulty of profitable investment. It is more difficult, first, because there is more capital, but principally because the very presence of this enormous surplus has enabled the American capitalist to perfect his machinery of production to a higher degree than any other capitalist, and to this extent has satisfied his wants for new machinery that much the sooner. Machines are used to make machines. The better machines you have, the quicker and better you can make more machines. When we give an item showing the enormous amounts of capital lying in the banks of America, we are proving our case. When we show that American capital is a drug on the home market, and is being lent in Europe, we are proving our case that the machinery of production in America is so nearly finished that there is no longer any opportunity for profitable investment at home, and therefore it naturally is sent abroad, where machinery has not been developed to the same degree of perfection.

I have a number of readers of "The Challenge" who seem to remember what I say from week to week, and I don't wish to bore them to death by senseless reiteration of the moral to my facts. They know and you know that I don't talk about America's economic supremacy in order to blow about my native land. I regard the growing predominance of America in the world's industrial field of most absorbing interest to the scientific Socialist mind. In fact, it is "the" fact of facts to me. It is the very fact that will usher in the social revolution. We are the Samson of the world's industrial temple. We destroy Europe and in her fall we ourselves are buried in the ruins. Europe will soon be bankrupted, and her inability to buy of us will bankrupt us.

And finally, you say that if I had given my support to The Advance of San Francisco instead of starting "The Challenge," that I would have done a greater work. Now, in the first place, I suppose it will be admitted that no one has done more for The Advance financially than myself. It

is now a really first-class paper in every respect. I can suggest nothing more for it to properly fulfill its function of a party organ. It is set up on the "lino" and is printed on good paper. There is always plenty of good matter for a Socialist paper—that's the least trouble an editor encounters. However, I feel assured that a man might spend a million dollars upon a "party organ" and yet fail to reach many people that I can with a "personal" organ like "The Challenge." You yourself are a living demonstration of my theory. You admit you read "The Challenge" with "avidity." Now, why? Simply because of its personality. There is nothing new you wish to read on theory. You know it all. The facts likewise I give are stale to you. The only thing you can read with "avidity" is the personal part. Now, consider if you, with all your work and the thousands of papers that pass through your hands every week in the pursuit of your profession of editing the Literary Digest; I say if you nevertheless, in all this disgusting surfeit of newspapers, find the time to read "The Challenge," you must admit that I have a fine lot of bait for gudgeons.

If I were editor of The Worker or The Advance, with all the money of Rockefeller, and Morgan, too, for that matter, I could not get up a paper that you would read with "avidity." Your story is the universal one. Everybody reads "The Challenge" with "avidity." I will bet odds there is no paper of any description published today that is read so thoroughly by its readers as "The Challenge." You ask people who get it, and see if they don't bear me out. I know one fellow who reads it with "avidity," but he will never tell about it. It is William J. Bryan.

## NOT STRIVING FOR "GOOD FORM"

**I**N one of my preceding issues I spoke of the attitude of a Socialist pressing forward his own individuality, his printing his picture for instance as I am doing upon the title page. I said with him it was simply a question as to whether he was the better advertising his article—Socialism, he wished to draw to the attention of the public. The matter of whether he was in good form himself was entirely secondary. It is not a question of principle. It is simply a question of judgment. I again print my challenge to Mr. Bryan for a debate, and I confess to a certain lack of dignity in the manner of its presentation that may shock the more elegant of my readers. All this challenging and offering a thousand dollars for Mr. Bryan to get on the platform with me smacks strongly, possibly, of a modern Bombastes Furioso; but the excuse for it lies in my belief that it is the simplest and quickest way to get the general public to understand that he must have a very weak case if he refuses me attention. Of course if, as it has been intimated to me, I am making the matter in this paper so largely personal and so disgustingly egotistical, that intelligent people will refuse to read it, then I have overdone the matter. However, let me ask these people who would stickle for good form even if stickling meant the fall of a nation, if they think that if I would gain the attention of the public as well by sedate conservative methods as I do by the one adopted?

I am not endeavoring to conform to convention. This paper is published for the one and single purpose of drawing the attention of the world to the social effects which must follow from the concentration of industry in America. Its mission has been somewhat simplified from that announced in the first number some few months ago. Then I proposed first to draw attention to the imminence of important combinations in industry and to convince the public of the inevitability not only of such combinations, but of their result. Since I began to publish this paper the combinations in railways and steel

have been of such tremendous importance that the task of convincing the public that such combinations are to occur has been practically done for me by the actual fulfillment of my prophecy. All that remains for me now is to show the logical inevitability of the result.

The Vatican sagaciously employs an *advocatus diaboli* to paradoxically prove the sanctity of a candidate for canonization by alleging every possible unsaintly episode in the candidate's character. For the want of a better one I will now act as my own *advocatus diaboli*, not so much to prove that I am a fit subject for canonization—that goes without saying; but that I am justified as the editor of this paper in adopting more or less spectacular methods in attracting the attention of the public.

It is horribly bad form to force one's self upon the public. No gentleman would ever do such a thing. If the gentleman should accidentally be a cog in the wheel that performed some meritorious act in life, and his name was mentioned in connection therewith, that would possibly be excused. A gentleman will not do anything simply for the sake of being conspicuous, and in fact, some think that a gentleman should never do anything, no matter how good it may be if it may by any possibility render him conspicuous. To this I simply answer that I am not striving to get up a reputation of being a gentleman. I am endeavoring to warn the public of an impending social and economic crisis. A gentleman will not wear clothes that render him ridiculously conspicuous. I would willingly wear a cap and bells and parade down a city's thoroughfare delivering my message on the trust at every street corner if I thought such a method would accomplish my end. It is not because I am ashamed to make such an exhibition of myself that I do not do it. It is simply because I do not consider it would accomplish my purpose.

It is "bad form" to talk about one's self. It is worse than "bad form"—it's "uninteresting." I would say to that that it depends upon what you say about yourself. It has been said that anybody could write an interesting autobiography if he would tell the whole story. Now I do not propose to tell the whole story and make a test of that proverb, but I do intend injecting whatever there is of my own personality that in my opinion will serve to elucidate my economic argument. One

cannot get away from one's self. My own experiences are of more value to me for illustrative purposes than any second-hand ones.

I disarm my critics by acknowledging the justice of their criticisms when looking from their own standpoint, but our standpoints are different. I would even be more patient with my Beau Brummels if the cause of Socialism as it is now presented to me would brook patience. If I were exploiting my own peculiar views as some have taken me to be doing, and if these peculiar views were to be taken up at some distant time in the future after people had read *THE CHALLENGE* for a century or so, I might reconcile myself to conform to the usages of polite journalism.

When P. T. Barnum intended to exhibit his circus in a town he knew that he must let everyone know that he was coming, and that he must let them know at once. There would be no profit nor use in letting people hear about his show the day after it was over.

On the other hand, if Barnum had been a young doctor intending to settle in the same town and spend the rest of his life there building up a regular practice, he would not advertise his entry into town the same way he would coming with his circus. In the circus case he must let people know at once or his efforts would be fruitless. In the case of the young doctor he had his life before him to do his advertising.

If Socialism were a doctrine that depended solely upon educating people up to it and I had a life time to do it in, then the more sedate and regular methods of advertising it might be logically used. But Socialism today is nothing of the sort. Socialism is not only an inexorable and inevitable necessity, but it is a necessity that is now about to burst immediately upon us.

I say this because I consider the great transformation scene in industry now being engineered by Pierpont Morgan must inevitably reflect itself in a social transformation. How long did it take Morgan to take over the great Carnegie steel plant? About one short month after he made up his mind the time was ripe. How long did it take him to take over the great railway systems? About the same time.

Why should it take longer for Uncle Sam to take over the same properties when he makes up his mind?

Did not people who admitted that some day or other there would be a unity of interests in railways in this country always say that it would take years to accomplish it? The best posted men said this. Even shrewd old Uncle Russell Sage did not think Morgan was going to do it in such a jiffy.

It was not that Morgan was such a wonderful man. He is no more wonderful than is the man who takes the kettle off the fire when the water is ready to boil over. The point had been reached in railroading when consolidation was a necessity and he was at hand to take advantage of it. Morgan did not create the conditions which led to consolidation. He simply was a natural agent.

Every editorial hen coop in this country is in a great turmoil of fuss and feathers. All the old editorial hens are clucking in a most bewildered way over Morgan's vigorous brushing aside of their old saws about the permanence of competition and the equitable distribution of wealth in this country. The chorus of clucks has no one single note of accord except that of bewilderment. Some say with a bold front that if Morgan keeps up his career he will make the people actually restless. Most of the wiser papers, however, cluck so unintelligently that nobody can make out what they think and none of them cluck intelligently enough for us to see that the editor understands that Socialism is an inevitability.

Whatever else may be said of **THE CHALLENGE**, I think that at any rate its interpretation of the meaning of the trust is not easily misunderstood. We may be wrong, but at any rate we are not covering up our meaning in unintelligible clucking.

As to the question of good taste displayed in these columns, we think that that is quite a subordinate issue. The main question is whether what we say is true or false. Some men are more disturbed at being accused of wearing a made cravat than they are of being called a liar.

## CAPITALISM BREEDS NO HORATIOS

**M**Y experience with men has taught me that in regard to the fundamental realities of life there is little difference between them which can be traceable to education or environment. Given certain situations and men will act very much alike, no matter what their condition of life. If a vessel is stranded on a lone island in the Pacific ocean, and the survivors have every reason to believe that their stay upon that island may be indefinitely prolonged, then all will set to work together to provide the necessities of life in very much the same way and without much reference to their previous social or economic condition. The rich and the poor, men, women and children all will do their share, and if there are any shirks it will not be any more likely to find them among the ones who were formerly rich than among the poor.

Today if a poor man unexpectedly falls heir to a fortune, he likewise falls into the ways of the rich in living a life of doing nothing beyond vainly striving to amuse himself, notwithstanding that before his windfall his life may have been that of most strenuous exertion. Men first do what they *must*; secondly, they do what they like, if they can. The poor man *must* do almost everything he does, the rich man has practically nothing he must do in life except perform certain natural functions. I say all this because some people seem to think that because a man is rich, therefore he necessarily is a very different sort of an animal, owing to his economic condition. Some people who, either poor in spirit, or health or wealth and from one or all of these reasons being unable to enjoy life after the same manner as their more fortunate brothers are often inclined to flatter themselves that this is an evidence of superior virtue on their part. They are like the wicked old lady who prided herself on forsaking vice when in reality vice had forsaken her.

There are any amount of men who don't drink whiskey

simply because their livers don't allow them to do it, and such men are not unusually the ones who parade their enforced abstemiousness as a great virtue, and will sometimes join others to obtain the passage of legislation to prevent the consumption of whiskey. I am not intimating by this remark that the possession of a disordered liver is the necessary equipment of a thorough-going prohibitionist, as I readily admit that most prohibitionists have healthy livers, but I must say that most of the men I have known who like whiskey have certain fundamental differences in physique from those who do not, and that this difference is inherited and not acquired.

When one is aboard ship and sea-sick it is very easy to be abstemious, and it is also very natural to look with great disgust at the gross materialism of some old sea-dog who prides himself on never missing a meal.

All the foregoing is *apropos* of determining how the rich are going to act when the time shall arrive for the transfer of their wealth to the nation. The only way for a poor man to determine how they will act is to put himself in the boots of a rich man and imagine the revolution is palpably at hand, and then think what he would do himself if he were the rich man in whose boots he is standing. Most men who have never had money, think rich men have one grand round of pleasure; that the rich man regards this world's life as a regular snap. As a matter of fact, most of them regard it as a bore. This is particularly true of the rich American. His whole life is artificial. He has no friends in the true sense of the word, male or female. Travel seems a wonderful and never-ending source of amusement to those who cannot afford it, but to those who can, it soon loses its charm when long pursued. He makes the pursuit of pleasure a business, and as a result he loses the very end he aimed at. The pursuit of art is too tedious and involves too much hard work to attract many of the rich, and unless one does give it the labor it demands there is no real charm in its pursuit. The rich man who gives his life to art is almost unknown. Even the pleasure of children is marred by the inevitable frivolity of the daughters and the dissipation of the sons. A man's pride in life is to have a noble son. Tell me the rich men of America who have sons that you think they can take pride in. The rich read the same classical literature that is the

common heritage of all of us. "Horatio at the Bridge" is just as much a hero with the Rockefellers and Vanderbilts as he is in any poor family. Regulus is not the private hero of a class. All the heroes of history are just as much the heritage of the rich as they are of the poor, and the failure of an Astor or a Morgan to see any traits of the hero in his son makes him feel that he has lost just that much of the possibilities of life. I don't think Mr. Pierpont Morgan spends many days in regretting that conditions do not favor young Ponty being a modern Horatio, but, nevertheless, the fact that young Ponty knows it, to that very extent weakens the idea that either old or young Pont will spend much time at any bridge holding back the great army of disinherited Americans when they come marching along to claim their own. In the first place, neither one of the Ponts will think there is much worth fighting for, anyway, and besides they will say that they will be d—d if they see anything in it fighting for a lot of Rockefellers, Astors and Vanderbilts. When Horatio battled at the bridge he was not only a hero, but he was of a race of heroes, and was fighting for heroes. There were plenty of Horatios in those days. Conditions bred Horatios. The every-day life of the Roman was to exercise at arms and imagine himself a hero and in the position that Horatio actually found himself. Now, old Ponty never thinks of such life for him or young Pont. They fight battles at the stock exchange, but that's not exactly the same thing as the Horatio kind of fighting.

Men do not change, but conditions do. The Morgans and Vanderbilts have nothing to fight for, and they have neither the desire to fight themselves, nor have they anyone who will fight for them. Some of my enthusiastic friends who look for rivers of blood, etc., when Uncle Sam and Uncle Ponty swap railroads and trusts may exhibit courage by making up their minds for barricades, but they are exercising their imaginations more than their reason. There is no man who will know quicker when to lay down than Pierpont Morgan or John D. Rockefeller when the time comes. They are the unbeaten generals, because they have never underestimated their antagonists. When Carnegie saw what he was up against he laid down his cards without a murmur. Rockefeller took the pot, and gave Carnegie his I. O. U.,

two hundred million five per cent. bonds. Uncle Sam will simply do the same thing to Rocky that Rocky himself has just done to old Skibo Castle. I won't say what kind of an I. O. U. Uncle Sam will issue to Ponty, Rocky & Co., but I will bet my hat when it comes to a show-down, there won't be any scrapping over the terms.

## BEARDING THE NEBRASKA LION

**D**EAR Mr. Bryan: I have engaged the Oliver Opera House in Lincoln, Nebraska, for the evening of the 21st inst., and it occurred to me that you might be kind enough to say you will be on hand to hear me. I shall take great pleasure in reserving a stage box for yourself and family, and, in fact, would be only too delighted if you would consent to be my chairman. I think you know more about me than any one else in Lincoln, and your introductory speech could not help being most felicitous.

From Lincoln I am going on to the Detroit Conference, where I am to hold forth at Philharmonic Hall upon the third of July. I did intend having your successor, Mr. Tom L. Johnson, have a debate with me that evening, but inasmuch as he is "too busy," as you will see by his "very polite" telegram, I would suggest that you come along on the train with me and hear me say what I would have said to Tom. I put the "very polite" in inverted commas, not for the sake of irony, for I wish to cast no such undeserved insinuation at Mr. Johnson, but simply to show how much a tenderling like myself likes the slightest recognition from the great ones of the earth. You, Mr. Bryan, should not crush young patriots anxious to get before the public, like me, by failing to answer their beseeching letters to you.

Now, I could, of course, make a great flourish of this coming to Lincoln and bearding you in your den, but candidly I hate making myself ridiculous to myself. Perhaps you don't understand this feeling. I will explain: If I talked like you do I would feel myself a fool, but at the same time I would know that in the eyes and ears of many in my audience I would be the wise man from California just as you are thought by them the wise man from Nebraska. In other words, what people think of me has practically no effect upon my feelings comparable with what I think of myself. This, however, is true of all great artists. I have heard great opera

singers, who have told me that they have sung most wretchedly certain evenings, yet the crowd would howl themselves hoarse with applause and the papers next day would have nothing but panegyrics, yet the diva would have no satisfaction in it at all. The only person worth satisfying is yourself in any real analysis of life.

With such a theory you can see that I must regard you as of particularly inferior intellect. If you are satisfying yourself by making your absurd speeches, then very little satisfies you. If you think you are satisfying your audiences, although you really believe as I do, then you are acting the part of a hypocrite, denying your soul its rightful demands for its self-realization, and generally starving your spiritual self and making a donkey of yourself. Hence no matter how I may view your performances, you can see that from my standpoint you are living a very meager life, a false life.

Therefore, if I should blow about bearding the lion in his Nebraska den, I should feel myself an ass if I did not let everyone know that I really felt that I was more like the city scavenger who has been sent for to drag out a dead mule to the crematory than a gladiator leaping into an arena. However, what I think is not always what other people think, unfortunately for them, and therefore I am going to Lincoln to make a speech in your Opera House, and I herewith present to you the freedom of the house that evening to do as you please with it: pack it with your friends, take the platform yourself, take the chair yourself or appoint your own chairman, make as long a speech as you like. I only stipulate that I may have a half-hour's time for reply. If I cannot carry that audience in your own town and under your own management against you, I will—well, I don't know what to say I will do, for no matter what I offer, I know you will never accept. A thousand dollars would be a mere bagatelle for me to give or you to take, but it's yours for the asking. I would give you almost anything you might ask. What do you want? Confide to me your heart's desire. How would you like me to further extend that porch on your house built to receive "visiting statesmen"?

Of course, all this is insulting, and I myself feel like I am the donkey kicking the dead lion. [How does that suit you?] However, it's a foregone conclusion that you will not appear

in any public function at the Opera House on the 21st of June. Will you come privately? I dare you to take the box I offer you. I dare you to come in and stand behind the orchestra chairs. I dare you to stay in Lincoln town that night. I prophesy, and I have some regard for my reputation for infallibility, that "business" will take you not only out of town that night, but out of the State of Nebraska. I might be wrong, however, as your son and heir, Baby Bryan, might have the croup and you would be compelled to stay at home and rock the cradle. You see I am anticipating your excuses. I wish there were a "man" in the Democratic party. There ought to be some way of getting you into debate. A man that cannot be stung with an insult, nor coaxed with flattery, nor bribed with money, nor urged by ambition, nor led by duty, nor impelled by honor, is too great a curio for me to credit Nebraska with producing. It must be a great soil to grow such a wonderful plant. However, Mr. Bryan, I think you are "IT."

## HOW HEARST WASTES HIS GOOD MONEY

**I**T shows how hard up the case against Socialism is when Mr. Hearst, with his unlimited millions to command the best talent in the world to argue against it, is forced to fall back on Jim Creelman to champion competition. Now, I am not decrying Jim's talents as a general practitioner in journalism, but when Hearst puts him up against writing upon economics, it serves more to illustrate Jim's courage than his knowledge. Yes, Jim has courage, all right, and it is mean of Hearst to put him to the test again by asking him to take up the cudgels against the Socialist. The last time I saw Jim was on the roof-garden of the Waldorf-Astoria, the summer of the Spanish war. Jim and I and my old Harvard comrade Jack Follansbee (Jim Keene's nephew) and Jim Keene's brother were dining there together. Follansbee and Hearst are great cronies, and he had just returned from off Santiago, where he had been with Hearst to see the scrapping and to bring back in Hearst's yacht, Creelman, who had been wounded at San Juan while acting as a reporter for Hearst. Jim did not then have much to say about Socialism; nobody did, in fact; war was the absorbing topic. Jim had the distinction of being the first man to get within the Spanish fort which was taken by assault at El Caney. It really was a splendid piece of recklessness to run up that hill in a shower of bullets, away ahead of the American troops, and jump into the hostile fort armed with a lead pencil. He was shot in the shoulder, however, as a reminder that not every Spanish bullet was made of wood, and what with his wound and his fever he was in anything but fit condition. However, all this is past, and evidently he must think himself in the very pink of condition to tackle Socialism. I feel sorry to slaughter such a brave fellow and, withal, not without pretensions in directions other than economic. The cause is inexorable, however, so here goes the guillotine. I will relieve him for

a moment to tell another story of our dinner that is worth the telling for its amusement, although there is a hidden moral, too. Mr. Keene, who, it is unnecessary to say, is not bothered with the vulgar necessity of considering the cost of things, called up the waiter after dinner and told him to bring a certain brand of cigars. Now, there was no excuse for the waiter not recognizing Keene as a millionaire, simply by his looks. He wears those peculiar earmarks that a good digestion and plenty of money always seem to impress on the New York variety of millionaires. However, the waiter was evidently unobservant, and quite probably a new hand on the roof, for he leaned over to Keene and, in a most audible stage whisper, said, "Beg pardon, sir, but do you know those cigars will cost you fifty cents each?"

Now, Mr. Creelman, I have given you time to make your peace with the world while I went off into these diversions before proceeding to your execution, and I hope if we ever meet again across the Stygian pool I may make my peace with you by offering you one of "them fifty-centers," although possibly there will be too much smoke about us to incite us to the desire of augmenting it. However, Jim, we both have been used to "hot times" on top the earth, and it might make us homesick to be deprived of our accustomed pleasures when we go under it. But good-by, Jim, you die in an ignoble cause. Now, for the sake of amusing the public, I have decided to torture you to death with slow fire. I don't get many victims, and I cannot afford to waste them by any method of happy dispatch. I must make you go as far as I can, for God knows when I will ever get another sacrificial lamb. I am offering \$10,000 just now for one, and can't touch him; so if this price of mutton is to keep up, I will be forced to let Hearst always find my sheep, like you, for me, and then take them second-hand like, as cold victuals. However, Jim, if you are well deviled and hashed fine, I think the delicate palates of my readers will be able to stand it for once.

I give you the first say, and you head your article in bold type "The Fallacies of Socialism," take up a half column to say nothing, and only redeem things by inserting in the middle of it a lovely picture of your own dear self.

The war of the trusts upon the competitive system in the United States has at last directed the attention of the country

to State Socialism as a refuge from the strangling effects of private monopoly.

There is not an observant political leader in America to-day who does not see the Socialistic idea spreading among persons who, five years ago, were staunch advocates of the competitive system under which the American people have grown and prospered.

By State Socialism I do not mean the movement for the public ownership of street railways, water systems and lighting plants in cities and towns. These forms of local monopoly may be justified by considerations that would not apply to the nationalization of the steel, sugar, oil, tobacco, leather and other similar industries.

Not even the monstrous power of the billion-dollar steel trust should frighten American citizens from continuing the struggle in defense of the competitive system, the only system under which individual liberty and progress is possible. It is the only path to individual and national safety.

State Socialism is as unsound as the trust system. They are both hatched out of the same false philosophy. They are both enemies of freedom and progressive civilization. They are the most damnable heresies of the time, pregnant with endless misery for the human race. They are steps backward, not steps forward.

You say Socialism and trusts are both hatched out of the same false philosophy; that they are both damnable heresies and are steps backward. Inasmuch as it would involve unnecessary discussion as to connotation, I will pass over your adjective "false" and simply agree with you that trusts and Socialism do spring from the same philosophy. But what is this philosophy, may I ask? It is the philosophy of necessity. Of course, Jim, we know you are merely a newspaper man, ready to write on any subject, at so much per, but to make our discussion seem more real, I will assume you know something of the laws of business and what is actually the state of things industrially in the United States today. It is one in which the machinery of production is far greater than is needed to supply the normal demands of the market. There is constantly a threat of over-production unless means are taken to prevent all the machinery being operated that is possible of operation. Now the owners of this machinery have no more liking to produce iron, or sugar, etc., and not be able to sell it except at a loss owing to over-production, than would you, Jim, like to write articles for Hearst and get nothing for them. Business men, Jim, strange to say, don't care any more about working simply for their health

than do newspaper men. They are sordid souls like you, Jim, and they want the dough every time. Now, since overproduction is the cause of their getting no dough, they naturally have devised a plan to prevent it, hence the trust. The trust is primarily a device to prevent the production of goods beyond what the market can absorb, although, secondarily, and to a certain extent incidentally, it is a labor-saving device also, owing to the natural economies effected by production on the largest possible scale. Now you know, Jim, that you cannot find fault with men for doing that which necessity compels them to do, and, therefore, Jim, now that I have explained the necessity the capitalist had for the trust, you must give up finding fault with him for creating it. But if you forgive the capitalist for adopting the trust, you must logically forgive the people for adopting Socialism, because the same reason, viz., necessity, will force the people to adopt Socialism. You ask Why? I will tell you. The capitalists have been hiring a large part of the people making these very machines, that they now find they have too many of. When the capitalists form their trust to prevent the making of any more machines, they are simply hanging out a notice to those of the people whom they had formerly been employing in making the machines, that their labor is no longer wanted. Now, then, these poor devils are out of a job, and the problem is, how are they going to get another? You can't answer this, Jim; nobody can answer except a Socialist. The capitalists certainly cannot, for have they not just told us that they cannot hire them? The Socialist says, let the nation own these machines and let these poor devils who are out of a job step up to the machines and relieve those fellows, who are now operating them, for half the time; everybody would then have a job. You will naturally say, "Oh, yes, that's very fine, but they would only get half pay if they only worked half time, and that would be very hard to live upon." You, Jim, would say that you would prefer the present system, under which, while there may be a lot of devils who get nothing, there are at least a few lucky devils like you and me and Jack, who can go up on the roof of the Waldorf, have a good dinner and top it with a cigar, the cost of the latter alone being more than the poor devil has for his whole day's work. Now, Jim, I am just as much of a Sybarite as you are. I

don't know whether I would want Socialism or not if I thought that the equality we would have under it would mean all hands on not simply equal rations, but half rations. I would not be such a fool as not to see that Socialism was just as much an inevitability, all the same, but I might not have the ideal to inspire me to work for it that I have at present. I know that with even the present machinery already existing, that we can produce enough to give everybody the luxuries as well as the necessities of life. Simply from the purely material standpoint, I consider that there is no man who will not have the opportunity to enjoy life more than he does today. What fun does Ponty Morgan have, cooped up in his glass cage all day? What fun does John D. have? What fun does Willy Wally Astor have, an outcast in Paris? The only fellow, to my mind, who can have any fun in this world, as it is constituted today, is a Socialist like myself, who is fortunate enough to have the brains and money to run a paper like "The Challenge." I would not trade places with any man on earth. The trouble is that it is more or less a monopolistic kind of a position. There are not many places open for such editors, and a man to be happy must feel that everybody else can enjoy life as much as he can, and I know nobody can compete with me, hence I am unhappy after all. Happiness has the peculiar faculty of increasing by division.

First—One great fallacy of State Socialism is the idea that competition is wasteful. That is also the defense of the trust system. Nothing is wasteful, nothing is extravagant which develops individual ambition, individual capacity, individual courage or individual character. Human nature is so constructed that the average man will not exert his full powers of mind and body, will not bring to his work the passionate energy of which he may be capable, unless he sees before him some great individual prize.

It is not necessary to look at your neighbor to understand this. Look at yourself. Is it not true that your greatest efforts have been inspired by the hope of wealth or power greater than that of your fellow men? Be honest with yourself. Is it not a fact that whatever development you have made in your abilities has been the direct result of your struggle for personal wealth or personal influence?

The genius of Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan was awakened by the competitive system, which gave to them the opportunities which they now deny to others on the ground that competition is wasteful.

Nothing is wasteful which preserves individual liberty. All the

wars that have been waged for human freedom since the world began are justified before God and man. Even war is not wasteful when its purpose is the enlargement of human rights. Money and material count for nothing against the development of the race.

Now, Jim, dear, we will start out with your firstly. By the way, it must seem funny, Jim, for an old soldier like you to fall into the ministerial firstly, secondly, etc. You say that it's a great fallacy for Socialists to think that competition is wasteful. Now, Socialists are not the only fellows who have wheels in their head on that subject. Of course, Ponty Morgan and Carnegie have long ago delivered themselves upon the economies that can be and are effected by co-operation, you may think them prejudiced, however, but anyway they have the power just now, of making us eliminate competition whether it prevents waste or not. Just as long as they think competition is wasteful and say it must go, you, Jim, might as well say good-by to the old lady. When Ponty says a thing is to go, you can bet it goes, good or bad. However, it happens that a chap named James Creelman, who is held up as a great authority on economics by Mr. Hearst, also says competition is wasteful. You ought to read your own articles, Jim, for at times you do speak the truth without its being a typographical error. Here is what James Creelman says: "Under the competitive system, a large part of wealth produced went to managers, clerks, agents and other employees who are eliminated by the trust system." Now, by your own admission, Jim, you say that competition, then, is wasteful, but you excuse it by intimating that the waste goes to poor devils who need it a good deal more than Rockefeller, Morgan & Co. do, who get it when it is saved by the trust. The question as to who gets the saving is not to the point just now. The question is, is competition wasteful, and, as James Creelman says it is, I suppose you, dear Jim, had better lay down and come into camp. As to your objection to Rocky getting the saving, I am with you in that, but I say that the best way is to let the saving be made for the benefit of the people, by their owning the trust; while you say, let the waste continue, in order to give people a job.

The trust, Jimmy, dear boy, is simply as you suggest yourself, a labor-saving device; and as you would not destroy the

linotype machines or trolley cars, why should you destroy the trust? Of course, Jim, you know all this is a joke, my asking you these questions. Hearst simply has hired you to write upon a certain subject in a certain way, and you are doing the best you can; that's all any man can do. When next we meet, we won't be discussing trusts or socialism. If I should start on that, you would say, "For God's sake, Gay, give me a rest. Don't talk shop during dinner."

Second—Another fallacy of State Socialism is the theory that men collectively are superior to men individually. The Socialist in the United States to-day tells you that if all the great industries in the country were owned and operated by the government the workers would be protected from injustice.

But if there is not enough virtue, intelligence and courage in the masses to induce them to prevent the evils of the trust system now by voting out of office men or parties controlled by the trusts, where will the masses get virtue, intelligence and courage sufficient to prevent the Rockefellers and Morgans from dominating the Socialist commonwealth? If the great leaders of the Republican party can influence and organize a majority of the people to support the trust system at the polls, what miracle will avert similar combinations under any form of popular government that can be devised?

The people of the United States are free now, and have always been free to control their own affairs. Why don't they do it? Will they be any wiser under a system of common ownership?

Then you continue, secondly: Socialists make a mistake in thinking that men are superior collectively to men individually. Well, that depends, I will admit, on what we are talking about. I think that men collectively can probably run the railroads of this country somewhat better than they can individually. You, Jim, are a great man, but you would hardly attempt to get out the N. Y. Journal all by yourself, would you? I mean you would not go up into the Maine forests, cut down the trees, grind them into pulp, make the pulp into paper, carry the paper on your back to N. Y., take it down into the cellar, hoist it on to the great Hoe presses, turn the wheels yourself, do everything, write all the news, the editorials, the cablegrams, and after all is done, go out on the street corners and sell a million copies a day. No, Jim, on a program of such a nature you would probably admit that the Socialists are right in their contention that there are circumstances in which collective labor would beat out individual

effort. However, Jim, if it were a question of Whistler painting a picture, the Socialist would say that he could paint it alone better than he could with ten men to help him. I think Edwin Markham can write his poems alone and unaided better than he could with an editor to help him. You must explain yourself, Jim, when you lay down your dogmas. You are not always and necessarily wrong. Yes, Jim, I quite agree with you in your low estimate of the intelligence of the masses in not voting out of office men controlled by the trusts. The first fellow I would vote out of office would be Ponty Morgan, and the next would be John D. Rocky. Or, rather, I would say to them, "Now, Ponty and Rocky, you are nice, bright boys, and know a good deal about trusts and railways; more than anybody I know. However, you have had nobody to hold you down. You are spoiled. I am now going to make a new rule. You are to run the trusts for the benefit of the people instead of for yourselves. You are to clear out whenever the people tell you to 'git.' You are, in fact, to become the servants of the people instead of their masters. I will give you one chance to keep your job, simply because I think the man in the place who has already shown his capacity for management should not be fired before he has had a chance to show if he will conform to the new rules. You lived up to the old competitive rule, all right enough. You never lost a trick. Now, if you play the new game of co-operation as well as you played the old one of competition, you can hold your job; but, if not, then the people will press the button and you get the sack." Ponty and Rocky might say that they did not care to hold the job on any such terms. They might truly say that, inasmuch as at present their functions are financial rather than industrial, that under Socialism their experience would not be of much value, anyway. They have both reached the age limit, so if they preferred a pension with no work, I think, Jim, you and I would not kick about letting them retire in peace and play golf for the rest of their lives.

**Third—Still another fallacy of the State Socialists is the theory that the trust system has demonstrated its right to live by its superior facilities for producing wealth.**

I absolutely deny this. The individual and small incorporated industries of the United States produced, relatively in the same number of working hours, as much wealth when they existed

separately as they do now combined under single managers. That is a statement that no well informed man will dispute.

The real difference between the wealth producing power of individual industries is to be found in the profits of the proprietors or stockholders. Under the competitive system a large part of wealth produced went to managers, clerks, agents and other employees who are eliminated by the trust system. But the wealth was produced. It was simply distributed more among the workers. The trust system dazzles the public by total figures.

The only material advantage which the trust system has brought to the United States is to be found in the growth of our export trade, and that is an advantage which must disappear with the hostile tariffs which all the great commercial nations are getting ready to levy on our foreign trade.

I will not dwell upon your thirdly, Jim, because James Creelman has disposed of you, as heretofore related.

Fourth—The State Socialist's supreme plea just now is that the trust system cannot be controlled or destroyed, and therefore the only thing to do is to encourage the concentration of industrial wealth until it has reached a stage of national monopoly that will make the transfer of ownership to the people easy and natural.

If this were true I would be a State Socialist. But it is not true. It is a falsehood born of laziness and cowardice. It is the argument of the man who is tired of the struggle, of the man who shrinks from the firing line of human progress. The same man would have told you a hundred and twenty-five years ago that it was useless to attempt to resist the authority of George the Third.

As between private monopolies and public monopolies, I am in favor of public monopolies. To that extent the argument of the State Socialist is sound. But national monopolies are a curse, only to be tolerated when they are unavoidable. A man has only to travel through France, Italy, Germany, Russia and other European countries to see the damning effect of national monopolies upon human endeavor and human progress.

The people of the United States are free to change their national constitution and laws. If they wish to be rid of industrial monopolies they have the power to do it. It is absurd to say that they are controlled by the trusts. How can the trusts prevent them from casting their ballots for whom they please? If they do not preserve their individual liberties, they do not deserve freedom and are incapable of securing happiness or safety in any state, Socialist or otherwise.

As to your fourthly, I would say that you and that distinguished statesman, the Honorable William Jennings Bryan, of Lincoln, Nebraska, editor of the Commoner, Refuser of

\$10,000 for one speech, Colonel of the Nebraska Musketeers, etc., etc., are the only two men on earth who publicly have the temerity to contend against the world for the possibility of the destruction of trusts. I again admire your courage, Jim, but it's a shame, Jim, that you should be in such straits that you are forced to make a jackass of yourself at so much per from W. R. Hearst. You would have been the man, Jim, a hundred years ago, telling us it was useless to resist George the Third, if you, today, sincerely are telling us it is useless to resist Ponty the First. Yes, the people are free to vote for whom they please. Just now they vote year after year to keep Ponty on his throne, but some day, Jimmy dear, they may vote to enthrone themselves.

Fifth—The State Socialist argues that there is no ground upon which laws restraining or abolishing private monopolies can stand in the present state of government. That is another hallucination.

It is a well recognized principle of government that it is the supreme right and duty of organized society to preserve the rights of each individual against any or all individuals.

If the trust system takes away from the individual American citizen the opportunity to compete—not the assurance of success, but the opportunity to engage in business on his own account—if it destroys the citizen's hope of independence, then it is the duty of society, its highest duty, to pass laws that will prevent the trespass of corporate wealth upon private right, to reopen the gate of opportunity. No nation can be greater than the individuals of which it is formed. If the individual is cramped and dwarfed, if all incentive to mighty endeavor is taken from him, the nation must wither.

Let no American citizen accept or encourage this Socialist gospel of sloth and despair. Paternal governments are for children, not for men.

Fifthly: I will only touch upon your last fling at Socialism being "paternal." Now the very best example of paternalism, Jim, is your own story of yourself and your dear old daddy on the farm. You remember, you had a disagreement about milking the cow. You thought the old man might do it himself; he thought otherwise. Finally, he said, "Jim, if you don't like things on this farm, you can lump them. Please remember that I am not only your father, but, what is more to the point, I *own* the farm. Now, you can either get up at five o'clock to-morrow morning and milk that cow, or you can get off the farm." Now, Jim, that was paternal-

ism with a vengeance. Later on, when the old man died and you and your brother inherited the farm, neither one of you could order the other to milk the cow or "git off." You arranged things on a mutual basis of justice and right. Well, that was fraternalism. Now, today, Jim, old Daddy Morgan owns this great American farm, and you and I are living on it under sufferance. He can order most of us off any day he gets huffy simply because his liver disagrees with him. This is the kind of paternalism that I and other Socialists don't want. We want to come into our inheritance at once; we don't want to wait till old Ponty dies, for if he did die today, it would simply mean young Ponty would take his place.

We wish to institute, at once, a fraternal management and ownership of our national farm. Competition, Jim, is the "real thing" in paternalism, with old Ponty as our dad. Socialism, Jim, is fraternalism with all men as brothers and nobody as "dad."

## A CHANCE FOR PROF. LAUGHLIN

*To J. Lawrence Laughlin, Esq., Professor of Political Economy, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.*

Dear Professor:—You do not remember me, but I remember you all right. I was in your class in Political Economy at Harvard University in 1881 and 1882. Twenty years ago seems quite a time, but it seems but yesterday to me when you were up on your professorial platform laying down the laws of industry to us infants. You were a fine, young, cock-sure professor in those days, just over thirty. I thought you a world-beater on such busted theories as the now defunct “wages fund” which you used to delight to parade before our awe-struck eyes. If some one had told me then that twenty years later I would be the “parader” and that you would be the “awe-struck” one, I would have thought him as crazy as you now affect to think me. It’s really amusing to think how political economy was taught in those days. You began at the beginning of the art and taught as truth all the old played-out theories, and then the second year you had what you called an “advanced” course when you knocked out most of your first year theories. Just think of the absurdity of this method; and I have no doubt that dear old Harvard, with its delightful conservatism, is still pursuing it. It’s like teaching a class in astronomy during the first year that Ptolemy was all right, and the next year having an “advanced” class in which you tell them that Copernicus was the real thing. Most men never heard you correct your errors, as very few of the men in the “polycon” class had any inclination to spend another year on an “advanced” course. The result was that I never knew until years afterward that what I was taught about the “wages fund” was simply rubbish and that you knew it all the time, but intended to correct my ideas the following year and never did so, as I never came back to you. Your system of teaching political economy reminds me of the story of the editor short of copy and ordering his reporter to invent a “horrible murder” story to do two days’ issues, the first day for the story and the second for its denial.

Some years after I left Harvard I found out what a fool you had been making of me and wrote you for explanations.

You answered very crushingly that you "were happy to relieve my anxiety by informing me that advanced students were allowed an option reading Karl Marx." I can imagine how much good Karl Marx would do the poor devils who would have it explained to them by such sympathetic "know-it-alls" as you.

Now, my dear Professor, if I have not made myself safe by insulting you, I would propose we have a little test while I am in Chicago, this summer, to see whether a Chicago audience will think you or I know the most about political economy. I will hire the Auditorium and will pay you to deliver a lecture there any day you name. I will pay you, don't fear. I don't know what you get a month from the University—about \$5,000 per year, I guess. I have no doubt but that whatever it is, you spend it all. It's so expensive living in Chicago. Now, suppose I give you a chance to pay for your holiday outing? I will pay you for one night's lecture an amount equal to your whole month's salary, call it \$500 in round figures. That's pretty good, is it not, to take down in a single night as much as you earn in a month? The only condition I make is that you are to allow me equal time with you, at appropriate intervals during the evening, to explain to the audience why I think you don't know as much as you think you do. Your subject for the night shall be "The Evolution of Monopoly in America, and the Outcome."

I suppose you may say you think it will be a loss of personal dignity for you to appear as I propose. I quite agree that before the evening is over that you will be thoroughly convinced that you have lost your dignity, for I would make the same "monkey of you" as I have seen you make of other men when they argued with you in the class. Before the performance begins I will deposit in the hands of the chairman—said chairman being your own appointee—the sum of \$1,000. If the audience, at the close of the remarks, votes that you have demonstrated to them that you know more than I do on the subject that you are paid by Mr. Rockefeller to teach, then the chairman is to hand over to you the \$1,000. This means that you will get \$500 in any event, and if you have the ability you think you have, you will get \$1,000 in addition, or \$1,500 in all.

In conclusion, I would say that I know perfectly well that you know that I know that you will never pick up the gauntlet. However, there are people in this world who don't know as much as you and I do. We are both trying to enlighten them about various things, and the particular subject I am trying to enlighten them upon is what hollow shams you college professors are. They know it about their politicians; they guess it about most of their preachers; but it's wonderful what erroneous ideas they still retain for the knowledge and earnestness of purpose that you professors have. I can understand well enough that the *esprit de corps* among you professors allows you to excuse yourself from debating with outsiders upon subjects which you profess to have more or less a monopoly of the knowledge.

If you debated with me I would show to the world what a ridiculous pretender you are. I would not only demolish you, but I would at the same time create a doubt among the people as to the honesty and knowledge possessed by the whole lot of your learned brethren. Your ignominious defeat before a crowded audience in the great Auditorium hall in Chicago would have a great effect in shattering the false ideals held by many as to the omniscience of college professors. It's true that I am making excuses for you to ignore my challenge, and if I had the slightest idea you would accept if I were more polite, I assure you that I would cease my insults. But I know too well that wild horses would not drag you to the Auditorium, and hence I feel serene in saying what I think about you to your face, with no misgivings about my scaring away the game.

However, Professor, I am sorry to make you feel uncomfortable. It's too bad, but you will have some consolation in reflecting that some people may never see "The Challenge," and that you will be able to play your part with comparative safety if you are only careful to arrange a properly selected and restricted audience. I hope now I have "relieved your mind" as you relieved mine some years ago.

Faithfully yours,

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

P. S.—You can address me at Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, after the 22d inst. G. W.



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