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Introduction

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JANUARY, 1910 FIVE CENTS

WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

UNCLE SAM'S KATZENJAMMER KIDS

It is equally a matter of common knowledge that under the régime of President Zelaya, republican institutions have ceased in Nicaragua to exist, except in name; that public opinion and the press have been throttled, and that prison has been the reward of any tendency to real patriotism. —Secretary of State Knox to Nicaraguan Minister at Washington.

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Special Report on Bishop Creek Mine

By ERNEST UNTERMANN

BISHOP, INYO CO., CAL., Dec. 3, 1909.

To the Directors and Stockholders of the Bishop Creek Gold Company, 200 William Street, New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN:

The roads to the camp from the town of Bishop are in good condition, and the grade is easy, so that the problem of transportation offers no difficulties. The roads from Bishop to the railroad station at Laws are level and smooth.

The Camp.

The camp is situated in an ideal place, close to the water supply, which furnishes plenty of power for all the machinery of the establishment and satisfies all present and future needs of the mine.

The following buildings are now occupied: Two bunk houses capable of accommodating 32 men; a boarding house, consisting of a large dining room, kitchen and one living room; a large cellar and store room are connected with the boarding house; the office building, containing on the first floor the main office, a private office, a laboratory and assay room, and on the second floor four sleeping rooms and a bath; a barn, a stable large enough to accommodate eight horses, and an additional store room; two small dwelling houses.

The plant consists of a compressor plant in a building 25 by 60 feet, in which the following machinery is installed: One three-drill Leyner Compressor and one eight-drill Duplex Sullivan Compressor, both of which are driven by a five-foot Pelton wheel, a sixty light generator driven by a twelve-inch Pelton wheel.

The large Pelton wheel is driven by water supplied by a twelve-inch pipeline with a 410 foot head, the water being taken a distance of about one-half mile from North Lake.

An up-to-date and complete blacksmith shop is erected close to the shaft. Close to it stands the shaft house with a hoisting plant with a 6 by 8 Leyner hoist and accessory equipment.

The Mine.

A double-compartment shaft, each compartment measuring 5 by 5 feet in the clear, timbered in square sets, is driven to a depth of 310 feet.

The mouth of the shaft is situated on the Rising Sun Claim, almost in the center of this claim. Approximately 14 feet east of the collar of the shaft is the point at which was started Drill Hole No. 2, which tapped the ore body in the main ledge.

At a depth of 188 feet from the mouth of the shaft the first level is driven to a length of 159 feet south and 83 feet north. This level taps the ore body at the station and follows it up on both sides of the station north and south. The average dimension of this level is about 5 by 7 feet, and it shows the size of the ore body to be six to eight feet wide at the station. Fifty-eight feet south of the station this ore body widened to sixteen feet, as shown by a cross cut at that point. The ore extends about 30 feet north of the station on this level and has about the same average width as at the station.

The ore consists of a hard quartz heavily charged with sulphites, which yields readily to the drills in spite of its hardness and offers no difficulties to the cyanide process.

A second level is driven at a depth of 290 feet from the mouth of the shaft to a length of 90 feet in a southerly direction. It taps the ore body at a distance of 50 feet from the station. At a point 50 feet from the shaft a north drift is blocked out, which has now reached a length of 20 feet. The ore at this station is of the same general character as that of the first level. At the tapping point the ore body is about eight feet wide and is intersected by a small basalt dyke about three feet in width, along which the ore feeds from the main body in both directions. Going south the ore body so far has held its width. The indications are at present that it will also hold its width in a northerly direction.

There are other and smaller cross cuts made in both levels for the purpose of testing the width of the ore body.

This approximately represents the mining development completed up to the present date. The principal development work is being pushed on the second level, and ore is accumulated on the dump from this level. This dump also contains the ore taken so far out of the first level.

The Values.

For the purpose of testing the actual values in this ore, the undersigned went into both levels and selected samples at random from all parts over the whole width of the ore body. These samples were chipped directly from the ore body itself. Four samples were taken from each level and one from the dump. The stations selected by the undersigned in both levels were the following:

Sample No. 1, face of first level south.

Sample No. 2, 100 feet south of shaft on first level.

Sample No. 3, 58 feet south of shaft on first level.

Sample No. 4, station on first level.

Sample No. 5, 76 feet south of shaft on second level.

Sample No. 6, 65 feet south of shaft on second level.

Sample No. 7, 55 feet south of shaft on second level.

Sample No. 8, entrance to fourth drift on second level.

Sample No. 9, dump.

It was impossible to pick out any particular spot of the ore body by its color or surface indications because the whole body is covered with a gray slime and mud, which gives it a uniform color throughout. In order to ascertain the actual extension of the ore body, frequent assays are necessary. Its limits are not clearly defined by the different colors of the dyke matter. Under these circumstances some of the samples were probably taken very close to the outer edge of the ore body.

Each sample was placed in a separate ore bag by the undersigned himself and labeled. All the samples were taken by him to the office and there crushed and quartered in his presence. The pulp was then divided in half. One-half was left in the hands of the company's chemist, the other taken to the assay office of A. M. Strong in Bishop. Each chemist assayed the samples independently of the other.

The results of both assays are as follows:

	Office Chemist.	Mr. Strong.
Sample No. 1.....	$1.03 per ton	$2.12
Sample No. 2.....	4.34 per ton	3.38
Sample No. 3.....	15.30 per ton	15.85
Sample No. 4.....	6.61 per ton	5.05
Sample No. 5.....	39.05 per ton	34.85
Sample No. 6.....	21.91 per ton	19.94
Sample No. 7.....	2.27 per ton	1.70
Sample No. 8.....	12.40 per ton	10.04
Sample No. 9.....	17.15 per ton	18.30
General average...	$13.45 per ton	$12.36

The vast bulk of this value is gold, with but an infinitesimal fraction of silver.

General Conclusions.

The development done so far demonstrates the actual existence of a strong and practically uniform ore body of great width and strength, which extends downward to an unknown depth. The increase of the values on the second level is a fair indication of a continuation of this ore body to a far greater depth. Whether the values will continue to increase with depth cannot be said with as much certainty as it may be said that there is an almost certain probability of their continuing at the same average for a great depth.

Taking these interior results in connection with the exceptionally favorable surface indications it may be said without exaggeration that this mine bids fair to excel any that have been discovered in this section of the country.

It is far easier to become enthusiastic over it than to estimate its possibilities with a calm and cool judgment.

But leaving aside all calculations of probable better showings than those made so far I feel perfectly safe in recommending the installation of a stamp mill with a capacity of about 30 to 50 tons of ore per day, which quantity can now be supplied from the mine in its present stage of development. At the same time the development should be continued to a greater depth.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

NOTE.—*Ernest Untermann has had many years' experience in gold mining in all parts of the world. He is a well-known Socialist of long standing, and served several years as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. He is a highly educated man, being a graduate of the University of Berlin, and is the author of many high-class treatises on Socialist economics and philosophy, among which may be mentioned: "The World's Revolutions," "Marxian Economics," "Socialist Dialectics," and many others. Untermann has done an enormous amount of the most valuable translation work also, including the second and third volumes of Marx' "Das Kapital," Engels' "Origin of the Family," and several volumes of the Philosophical Essays of Joseph Dietzgen. By many Socialists, and those best able to appreciate his work, Untermann is considered as one of the very foremost Socialist scholars of the world.*

G. W.

FROM DR. McQUEEN, OF BISHOP

Bishop, California, Nov. 24, 1909.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, ESQ., New York.

Dear Sir:—Quite a party of us went up to the mine last Sunday and went through it and took samples from the first level, 168 ft., and across the ledge of 15 feet we got an average of $11.27. On the second level, 268 feet, we took samples across the face of the drift which is 8 feet, and it assayed $34.38. We also took one sample from the bucket. That went $7.50. The samples were taken by my friend, U. G. Smith, a competent mining man.

Everyone in the party was more than pleased with the appearance of the mine and the manner with which it is managed, and when they saw the returns they all agreed that the Bishop Creek mine was past the prospect stage. Everyone around town today is talking Wilshire Mine.

Allow me to personally congratulate you on the good fortune that seems inevitable to come to the mine and to you.

Yours truly,

J. S. McQUEEN.

NOTE.—*Dr. McQueen is about the most prominent Socialist in Bishop.—G. W.*

WARNING!

Buy no Bishop Stock from irresponsible and unauthorized brokers.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

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"LET·THE·NATION·OWN·THE TRUSTS"

WILSHIRE'S

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
·Editor·

Vol. XIV No. 1 NEW YORK, JANUARY, 1910 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

"JOHN D." AN ADVENTURE

By UPTON SINCLAIR

CHARACTERS: "JOHN D."
THE AUTHOR.
A CHAUFFEUR.

SCENE: *A lonely place upon a beach in Southern California. Round about are sand-dunes—the ocean in the background.*

AT RISE: *The sounds of an automobile heard, off left a horn also.*

CHAUFFEUR. (*Off*). Be careful, children! Let that horn alone!

JOHN D. (*Off*). This seems to be a very pleasant place.

CHAUFFEUR. (*Off*). Yes, sir.

JOHN D. (*enters, followed by chauffeur carrying a canvas "beach-chair" with canopied top, and a valise. John D. is the most greedy-looking, most lonely-looking and the most unhappy-loking old man in the world. He is inconspicuously dressed, and has a deprecating, shambling manner—gazing behind him nervously now and then. He is bald, with a brown wig.*) This will do very well, Pierre.

CHAUFFEUR. Yes, sir.

JOHN D. Put it this way—that s right. The bag over here.

CHAUFFEUR. Very good, sir.

JOHN D. Thank you. (*Sits in chair and sighs.*) Ah!

CHAUFFEUR. Is that all, sir?

JOHN D. That's all—I'll read a while now. And oh, by the way, Pierre, when we go home we'll run over to the depot first. I am to meet some one there.

CHAUFFEUR. Very good, sir. (*Stopping.*) Oh—no! I forgot sir——

JOHN D. Hey?

CHAUFFEUR. I did not know that you intended to take a long ride. I fear we haven't enough gasoline.

JOHN D. Oh dear me! How is that?

CHAUFFEUR. You spoke only of the run down the beach, sir. And I thought——

JOHN D. You should *never* start without a full supply, Pierre.

CHAUFFEUR. Yes, sir—it was very careless. But the supply at the garage was low, and there was no time—it won't happen again, sir.

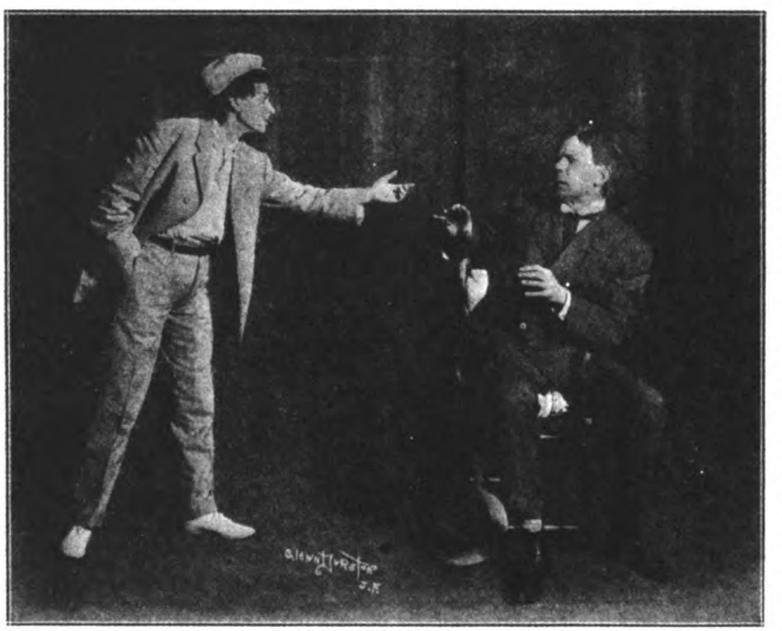
JOHN D. How annoying! What can I do? (*Hesitates.*) I simply must go to the depot to meet someone there. I suppose we'll have to go back for it.

CHAUFFEUR. If you will pardon me, sir——

JOHN D. Well?

CHAUFFEUR. It won't take me but half an hour to make the run and get a supply——

JOHN D. (*nervously*). No, no! You know I never like to be left alone. (*Gazes about.*) But—I don't know—it seems a quiet place——



"And I—I am the Author"

CHAUFFEUR. There is not the slightest chance of your meeting anyone here.

JOHN D. (*continues to peer about in every direction*). I don't like it. But I simply must meet that man. It's very trying. What is that over there, Pierre?

CHAUFFEUR. It's just a dead stump, sir.

JOHN D. Oh, yes. Well—perhaps—I guess it's all right. You'll be quick, will you?

CHAUFFEUR. Yes, sir.

JOHN D. Permit no delay!

CHAUFFEUR. No, sir.

JOHN D. And if anything should happen, get another car at once.

CHAUFFEUR. Very good, sir. You may trust me.

JOHN D. And tell mademoiselle not to let the children go far away.

CHAUFFEUR. Yes, sir. (*Exit.*)

JOHN D. Ah me! Ah me! (*Settles himself in chair.*) My! my! It *is* warm! (*Mops face, then takes off wig and mops head. Opens grip, takes out newspapers and magazines. As an afterthought takes out revolver and slips into pocket. Gazes about nervously. Takes up paper and reads; shakes head despairingly.*) Think of it! Think of it! (*Striking paper with his hand.*) Twenty-nine million dollars! Twenty-nine million dollars! (*Drops paper, stares into space.*) The world is going mad! (*Takes up another paper.*) "The Senator admits that he was paid the fifty thousand dollars by the Company, but declares that it was a perfectly legitimate fee for legal services." (*Shaking his head.*) Oh dear me! That was a terrible blunder! These over-zealous subordinates! (*Drops paper in despair; takes up magazine and gazes long.*) John D., by Ida T. (*Shakes head.*) Deliver me! (*Reads.*) "This man has been the greatest single corrupting force in American political life. A sinister and corroding influence——" Upon my soul! Can't I find anything at all to read? (*Takes another magazine.*) The latest discoveries of investigators in the Egyptian pyramids. Well! I guess that'll do all right! (*Settles himself to read, and sighs.*) Ah!

THE AUTHOR (*enters L., strolling. He is young, and of pleasant aspect, with fine sensitive features, and all those desirable qualities which the Author would fain persuade himself that he possesses. He wears a careless outing costume, and stands watching*). Good afternoon.

JOHN D. (*starts violently*). Oh! (*Claps hand to revolver in pocket.*)

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THE AUTHOR. Good afternoon, sir.

JOHN D. (*agitated*). Ah—oh! I had no idea there was anyone about.

THE AUTHOR. I was lying back there among the trees—dreaming over a book. (*Pleasantly.*) This is a favorite lounging place of mine.

JOHN D. Oh—really! I—that is—I hope I have not intruded——

THE AUTHOR. Oh—quite the contrary! It was pleasant to watch the children playing. They make a charming picture.

JOHN D. (*with a nervous gesture*). Er—yes—very.

THE AUTHOR. They are your grandchildren, I presume?

JOHN D. Yes.

THE AUTHOR. I though so. (*A pause.*) And you are John D., are you not?

JOHN D. (*hesitatingly*). I am.

THE AUTHOR. I thought so! I saw you at the hotel. And I—— (*With a genial smile.*) I am the Author!

JOHN D. Indeed.

THE AUTHOR. Yes. It is a most fortunate encounter! (*He seats himself, leaning against a mound of sand. The other never takes his eyes from him.*) You know, John D., I have often thought that I should like to meet you—to meet you in a quiet way—like this.

JOHN D. Ah?

THE AUTHOR. Really, I don't know that there is anyone in the world I should be more interested in talking with.

JOHN D. Indeed, sir!

THE AUTHOR. I don't know if it would be possible to make you understand it. But see! All your life you have been a man of action. You have lived among concrete facts — done practical things. On the other hand, my concern is with the imagination. My own self—that is nothing. My interest is in life—*all* life. My business is with human souls. (*Eagerly.*) Don't you see? I meet a man—a creature in this or that environment — and I begin to imagine about him—to put myself in his place. I say: He would feel this or that—he would act thus and so. And I become fascinated by the problem. I forget everything else. I really become another person—his inmost, deepest self, I mean—that nobody but his God is acquainted with. For, of course, I have nothing to do with shams or superficialities—the thousands of wrappings and disguises we keep about ourselves, the fictions we build up out of ourselves. I want the real man—I won't be put off with anything else. I track him out—as you might track a wild animal. I follow him over hill and dale until at last I come upon him, in his inmost lair, and surprise him there—asleep! He leaps up—but he's cornered! I have him at last—ha, ha, ha! Do you see?

JOHN D. Yes—I see. It's—er—rather disconcerting.

THE AUTHOR (*laughing*). Oh, don't be afraid! All I want to do is to look at him. That's all I ask of life, you know—just to behold it, and to wonder at it. Life is such a strange thing. It comes and it goes—we don't know why, nor how, nor where. Here it is, and then—that's all! And we have only this flash of recognition—this realization—this bit of interest, of excitement. Why not make the most of it, John D.—and exchange a greeting across the abyss?

The Masters of Men

By HARRY H. KEMP

We are the masters of men, before us the laws stand dumb;
We order, "Go,"—men go. We whisper, "Come,"—men come!
Ours is the lumber camp where the wood-road's devious track
Goes winding past the pines and the gloomy tamarack,
And great-stacked mills we hold, where clouds of black smoke pour
And fiery snakes of steel race over an iron floor,
And packing houses huge where kine and swine are slain,
And the thousand thousand ships that plow the barren main,
And elevators tall where farmers sell their wheat,
And long far-vistaed rails which roar with iron feet,
And great department stores where many counters stand
Laden down with stuffs as soft as a woman's hand. . . .
For we are the masters of men: we bend the world to our will,
And ever our magic touch hath golden virtue still,
And ever the people slave that they might live and eat. . . .
And we fill them with party lies. . . . And still continue to cheat!

JOHN D. This is really very curious!

THE AUTHOR. Yes, but you happen to be one of the souls that I have imagined—that I think I know. I have even fancied that I know more about you than you know about yourself; that I might serve to interpret you *to* yourself. For you are a very ignorant man, you know. Please don't misunderstand that—I say it in a perfectly friendly way. Your life has not given you time to roam and to speculate; so you might be interested to know what the imagination would have to say about you.

JOHN D. (*frightened, yet fascinated*). Why—er—yes.

THE AUTHOR (*gravely*). You are, unless I am mistaken, a very unhappy man. Aren't you?

JOHN D. (*startled*). Unhappy?

THE AUTHOR. You are profoundly and terribly unhappy. So unhappy that you don't dare to acknowledge it to yourself. You are thoroughly cowed before the fact—you wake up in the night, and it's like a black fiend sitting at your bedside. You can't bring yourself to face it—it would blast your faith in life. (*Gazes intensely; a silence.*) It is as if you were tormented by furies—as if a curse were hanging over you. You are in the grip of some colossal force—something elemental, blind, atheistic—quite beyond the power of your petty little religious ideas to explain. The fruit of life has turned to ashes in your mouth. (*A pause.*) You wished to express yourself, to accomplish things in the world; and you sought for the power—and the power has come to you. More than to any other man in the world! And instead of joy it has brought you misery unutterable—fear and loneliness. You can't use this power—you dare not even try. It is using you—it is overwhelming you. And here you are—the real you—crouching in a corner—amid all the din and confusion—a helpless little soul, craving sympathy. If men could only see you as you are, they would weep for you; and yet not all your money would buy you a voice to tell them.

JOHN D. (*lost in thought*). No! No!

THE AUTHOR. Would you like me to explain all this? (*A pause.*) You don't need to answer. I can read it in your eyes. I said you were lonely. You are the loneliest man in the world. And all because of this power which you can't use, and which you can't let anyone else use. Stop and think a moment. All this money that you own—what does it mean? It is the oportunity of life to millions of human beings. The young man who wishes to marry—the old man who wshes to keep out of the poor house—the mother who is struggling to escape from the brothel. All of these human impulses, these hungers and agonies, are dependent upon the money you have, and which they have not. And they see it, and they hate you—because you thwart them! Don't you see?

JOHN D. (*weakly*). I—how——

THE AUTHOR. It doesn't depend upon you. It doesn't matter what sort of man you are. It doesn't matter whether you gamble and play the races, or whether you sing hymns and teach Sunday-school. If the Angel Gabriel himself owned a half-billion dollars he would be an object of execration. And particularly if he'd had to get it in the world of business. They say that you have half a billion dollars. Let us phrase it more clearly—let us say that you have half a billion life opportunities. And other people must have them; and you must guard them! So you have the secret of your loneliness—the force

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that separates you from your fellow men—you are besieged by greed and trickery—by parasites and plunderers!—people who flatter you and fawn upon you—seeking your favor! Trying to get their hands into the treasure-chest—where the life opportunities are kept! And so you become suspicious and solitary; you learn to read evil in every advance. You see all your relatives, seated about like vultures, waiting for you to die. You wonder even if your own son be not eager for the time when the reins of power will be his!

JOHN D. (*shrinkingly*). Oh!

THE AUTHOR. Ah! That was a home thrust, was it! Well,—we won't pursue it. But you see what I mean. This money of yours—it's the most terrible burden in the world.

JOHN D. (*eagerly*). Yes! Yes!

THE AUTHOR. And you'd get rid of it if you could.

JOHN D. Yes!

THE AUTHOR. Ah! But would you? Do you think that you could really bear to give it up? Why, what would there be left of you? (*A pause.*) I thought so! But anyhow—you can't give it up. It's like a bull that you have by the horns. What I'm trying to point out to you is that it's an unnatural state of affairs—something monstrous and unbearable—that one man should own and control the life opportunities of so many other men—and that without having the least idea what to do with them!

JOHN D. But, my dear sir——

THE AUTHOR. Mind, brother! I'm not blaming you for it. I'm not blaming anybody. You find it a terrible thing—to face the execration of the public!

JOHN D. (*in excitement*). Yes! It is! Really——

THE AUTHOR. And it's so unfair! Those things that you had been doing all your life—everybody else had been doing them! And now to take them, and hold them up in the daylight—in all their raw and hateful ugliness. The fact that you had bribed and corrupted——

JOHN D. (*quickly*). Ah! But I didn't.

THE AUTHOR. Oh! (*A pause.*) Listen, John D. I don't expect you to make any confessions to me—that wouldn't do, obviously. But on the other hand, you mustn't talk to me as if I were a fool. Let us compromise. I'll speak what I know—facts that don't admit of question. And you—you just listen!

JOHN D. (*hesitatingly*). I see.

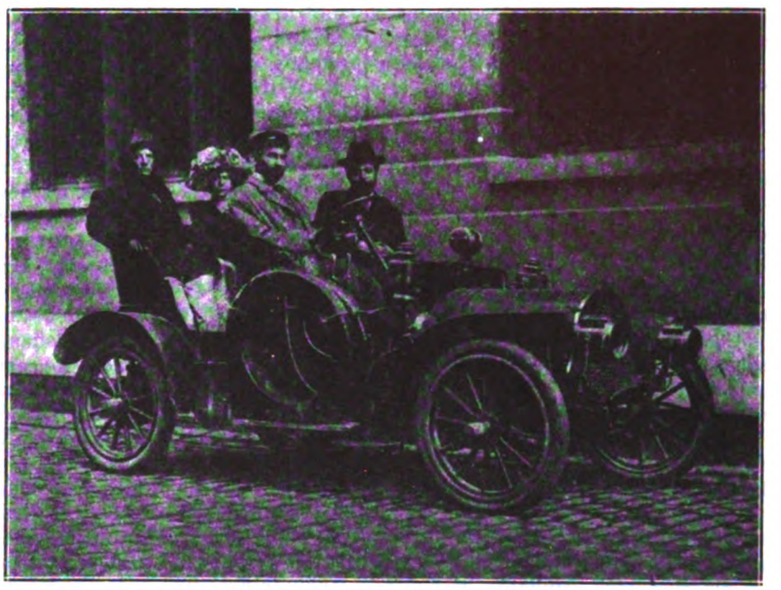
THE AUTHOR. Very well. I said that you bribed and corrupted. You bought the employees of your rivals—you bought the officials of railroads. And you did it, not casually and occasionally, but deliberately and systematically, as your business policy. You bought courts and legislatures and political parties—you corrupted the whole machinery of government of your country to keep yourself in power. And it was you who did it—it was not any attorney or subordinate. You make oath to the contrary, but you can't deceive the public—for the public has you with the goods on. If any other man had planned the bribing—*that* man would have had the money. But *you* have the money. (*A pause.*) And now, as I said before, this enormous mass of wealth—this half a billion of life opportunities—it's gotten away from you. You can't control it any longer. You are like the magician's apprentice who started the gnomes to fetching water, and then couldn't stop them, and so the whole house was flooded. This money goes on piling up. It goes on smiting its rivals. It goes on bribing and corrupting—it goes on crushing and destroying! It depresses wages; it increases prices. It wrecks lives; it destroys fortunes. It wipes out credit, precipitates panics, provokes wars. It is a juggernaut of destruction—leaving a swath of ruin behind it. And you, the driver—sitting there helpless and terrified upon the seat! Powerless to stop it! Powerless even to realize it!—shudering—stunned! And all these maimed and trampled lives, crying out upon you in a frenzy of execration—of grief and anguish and despair!

JOHN D. (*half rising*). No! No!

THE AUTHOR (*vehemently*). The climax of the game—the great game of the century! And you are the victor—the supreme conqueror! The champion of champions! The richest man in the world! It is you who have ventured to command the storm—and now behold yourself—the sport and plaything of the whirlwind! Behold the cyclone of Capitalism, rushing onward to its last collapse! And you, John D.—ah, if only some madman rushes in and kills you—if only you become the martyr of your own régime—what a figure you will be for the imagination of posterity—what a theme for the artists and the dramatists of the new time!

JOHN D. (*horrified*). My goodness!

THE AUTHOR (*laughing*). Yes! Martyrdom is painful—before it happens. But then, John D.—nothing lasts forever. Even the rose loses its petals in the end—the great American beauty rose, for which all the buds were sacrificed!



The Wilshires in Chicago with Arthur Morrow Lewis.

The gumbo roads of Iowa after a heavy rain are not particularly conducive to a successful itinerary for a lecture tour by automobile transportation. When there is a well-paved road from ocean to ocean, I may try it again, but just now I must content myself with having achieved Grinnell, Iowa, from New York City, before having given up the trip. My last speech was at Davenport.

JOHN D. (*rises and recedes about*) Really, my dear sir, this is a most extraordinary conversation!

THE AUTHOR (*watches him and laughs*) Yes. No doubt you find it unusual, perhaps, to meet an outsider who does not blame you for what you have done. Those who serve you and profit with you—they defend you, of course—your partners and your lawyers, your clergymen and your college presidents. But most others blame you, I fear.

JOHN D. Yes, that's true. It's lamentable—terrible! They blame me.

THE AUTHOR. You might have given up the game, of course. Thousands did that. But you chose to play it. And you did what competition made you do—what millions of dollars will do of themselves—automatically—inevitably—to protect themselves against attack! (*A pause.*) There were your competitors. I remember one of them who talked to me, and in a moment of frankness he said: There are two kinds of rascals in the oil business—first, those who could trust each other, and they are in the monopoly—and, second, those whom the devil himself couldn't trust, and they are the independents.

JOHN D Oh dear me! (*Laughs.*) Oh say, that is pretty good! (*Pauses—then chuckles again in deep enjoyment.*)

THE AUTHOR (*laughing with him*). Yes. And they set traps for you. But you got the best of them. They couldn't down you.

JOHN D. (*with eagerness*). Yes sir! I did! can tell you, sir—you'd hardly believe some of the things I've had to face. But I was there every time—I was ready for them! And I came out ahead! Ha, ha!

THE AUTHOR. And then when they found that you had them beaten on the business field, they went into politics. They tried to pass laws against you!

JOHN D. Exactly, sir. That's what they did!

THE AUTHOR. But you fought them in politics! You beat them there as well!

JOHN D. I did!

THE AUTHOR. They wanted to break your monopoly. They are trying to do it still.

JOHN D. They can never do it. It would mean ruin and anarchy in the business. That monopoly is founded upon a fundamental necessity. You may not believe it, sir——

THE AUTHOR. On the contrary, I do believe it. As a practical man, you perceive the insane extravagance of competition.

JOHN D. I perceived that by combining a number of small businesses into one great business I could effect enormous economies—clerical, administrative, advertising, and what not.

THE AUTHOR. And you had the courage and the will to go ahead and do it, regardless of all opposition. You gave the

(*Continued on page* 10.)

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IT is with the sincerest satisfaction that WILSHIRE'S notes the recent fiat of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals ordering the dissolution of the Standard Oil Trust, and more satisfactory still is the general indifference and skepticism, with which the public received the announcement. For years we have insisted on the impossibility of destroying or dissolving the Trust, and have repeated this so often that it has in a manner become stale and wearisome to ourselves. However, we are glad to think that it has had some effect perhaps in promoting this skepticism. Ten years ago the possibility of Trust destruction was an essential part of the popular political creed. Today it is practically abandoned.

There are some, however, not yet convinced, and for them these court decisions are of great educational value. The inability of the law to collect the twenty-nine-million dollar fine from Standard Oil—a fact now patent to all—and the certain futility of this recent order of dissolution afford actual demonstrations much more convincing than conclusions drawn from theorizing on economics.

These court decisions play a part analogous to that recorded of old King Canute, when he set his chair by the seashore, and in the presence of his credulous courtiers, ordered the tide "thus far and no farther." Had he merely pretended that he possessed the power to command the tides and attempted no actual demonstration of it, it is possible that his majesty's power would have remained unquestioned. In like manner the experiments attempting to demonstrate the possibility of Trust destruction by fiat of law, by their palpable failure carry conviction to the dullest and most ignorant, and prepare public opinion for the final acceptance of the only possible solution, "Let the Nation Own the Trust."

FROM Chicago, that paradise of capitalism, comes a story of man's inhumanity to man, so revolting as to be almost incredible. It seems that for the past few months some ten thousand of the poorest of her sovereign citizens eked out a precarious subsistence by searching the garbage piles of the city for scraps of food. It was an industry in which children largely figured, and was allowed to proceed undisturbed until the attention of the Board of Health was attracted. That body promptly ordered the city dumps to be sprayed with a poisonous chemical, thus making their contents absolutely inedible, and destroying at one fell stroke the only sustenance of upwards of ten thousand men, women and children.

The press of the city was silent upon this outrage; not a word of protest came from the pulpits either, though both teemed with Thanksgiving editorials and sermons in which Mr. Taft's Thanksgiving proclamation had a prominent place. Yet amidst this unparalleled prosperity, and at a period when the nation expresses its universal gratitude for benefits received, not one word of protest is heard when ten thousand human beings are thus suddenly deprived of their natural rights under capitalism, on the paltry subterfuge of sanitary necessity. Adulteration of foodstuffs may be a necessity under our present system, but when carried to the point of completely destroying all nutritive values, it becomes in the highest degree reprehensible, and calls for the sternest remonstrance from an outraged public opinion, a remonstrance which would surely be forthcoming were not the American public at present obsessed with an unaccountable apathy and indifference to the general welfare.

CARLO DE FORNARO, John Kenneth Turner, and other muckrakers, who have recently made Mexico their specialty, are not to be allowed an undisputed monopoly of their subject. Already rebuttal of their views is making its appearance from various quarters. Money talks, and talks to much more effect than the muck-raker, so it is not surprising to find the entire November issue of the *Bankers' Magazine* devoted to the rehabilitation of Diaz's empire as a "come-on" for American investors. One, Mr. E. S. Smith, occupies the entire issue with an article entitled, "The Truth About Mexico," in which the exposures of Fornaro, Turner and others, have, according to Mr. Smith, "been proven untrue by an authoritative denial." The falsity of their narratives having been thus substantiated, Mr. Smith proceeds to discredit their qualifications for the task. Turner is described as getting his information from "a criminal"—De Lara, the revolutionist refugee—and as lacking in judgment and knowledge. Mr. Smith also takes pride in quoting from a letter he declares he sent to President Taft, urging that the United States mails refuse to carry the copies of the *American Magazine* in which Turner's articles appeared, and questioning whether that gentleman "ever really visited Mexico." Fornaro is treated in a similar fashion. Because the Mexican government wouldn't adopt his ideas, he wrote a book telling of the "fancied inequalities" he found there. Mr. Smith disposes of this by asserting that Mexico has attained an extreme height in establishing the "brotherhood of man," and has merely punished a few of the type known us as "undesirable citizens."

However, if these proofs are not satisfying, Mr. Smith brings forward a billion others—hard, solid and tangible proofs—in the shape of the number of dollars invested in Mexico by American capitalists, and makes them talk to effective purpose. This appeal to "the mammon of unrighteousness" is conclusive evidence why we should make friends with the Mexico of President Diaz, and we feel that no banker or investor can read it without the profoundest emotion. Those who remain untouched—prospective investors included—are undoubtedly what Mr. Smith describes as undesirable citizens.

A WRITER in the London *Financial Times,* takes up the question of why it is that while twelve years ago England exported three times as much iron and steel as Germany, the exports now are about equal, though raw material is higher, and labor cost fully as high in Germany.

His conclusions, quoted in the *Saturday Evening Post,* are thus summarized:

> Germany's advantage comes from a highly developed organization of the industry. The iron and steel trade there is closely consolidated—not in the same way ours (The U. S. Steel Trust) is, but through syndicates embracing practically all the mills. Orders for products are allotted by the syndicates in such a way that each mill will do the work that it can handle to the best advantage, regard being had to its location and special facilities, freight charges and so on. In a word, the wastes of competition are eliminated. The syndicate also systematically cuts prices on products for export, especially when the home market is slack. To this thorough organization *alone* the English writer attributes Germany's ability to overtake England in foreign trade, though paying more for raw materials and as much for labor.

The Trust is to the economic world what the "Dreadnought" is to the world of militarism. One Trust in-

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evitably forces the formation of others just as one "Dreadnought" compels the building of similar warships. And just as England has forced Germany to construct "Dreadnoughts" to match the original British type, so will Germany compel England to imitate her Trust formation in the iron and steel industry on peril of losing the trade. The capitalist system cannot dispense with either, both being an illustration of essentially the same principle which demands efficiency at peril of extinction.

THERE is an old Latin proverb, which, freely translated, declares that "when two people do the same thing, it is not the same thing." The proverb finds a timely and interesting exemplification in the attitude of the United States toward Nicaragua.

In the daily papers, Secretary of State Knox is reported as justifying intervention in the affairs of Nicaragua in his note to the Nicaraguan Charge D'Affaires by this statement:

> It is equally a matter of common knowledge that under the régime of President Zelaya, republican institutions have ceased in Nicaragua to exist, except in name; that public opinion and the press have been throttled, and that prison has been the reward of any tendency to real patriotism.

Quite so. Now let the reader substitute for Zelaya the name of Diaz, and for Nicaragua, Mexico, in the above, and ask himself if the declaration is not exactly as correct and in accordance with facts.

Republican institutions have ceased to exist in Nicaragua. So they have in Mexico.

Zelaya is a dictator. So is Diaz.

Zelaya throttles the press. So does Diaz.

Zelaya shoots or imprisons everyone who doesn't agree with him. So does Diaz.

In Nicaragua the revolutionist who tries to depose Zelaya is a patriot. The revolutionist who attempts to overthrow Diaz is a criminal scoundrel whom the United States, if the aforesaid criminal happens to escape across our border, will imprison or hand back to Diaz so that he may be murdered.

Yet, though Diaz and Zelaya are thus identical in characteristics, and the political conditions in their respective dominions exactly alike, the United States government will go almost to any lengths to support the despotism of one, and destroy the despotism of the other.

It is unprofitable speculation as to whether the Secretary of State is deliberately or unconsciously hypocritical or merely blind to obvious comparisons. There is good substantial reason for his attitude though he could not be expected to make it public.

The reason is that Diaz can make his autocracy work smoothly, while Zelaya cannot.

The despotism and tyranny of Diaz maintains and secures a condition in Mexico which safeguards capitalist property, encourages capitalist exploitation, and constitutes Mexico a paradise of capitalist profit-making, where nothing is permitted to disturb the process. The American capitalist feels that the tyranny of Diaz secures his investments in Mexico, and once that end is attained he cares not a rap whether "republican institutions" exist or not.

Zelaya's autocracy cannot secure capitalist property in Nicaragua. On the contrary it tends to destroy that needed security.

Consequently Nicaragua's revolutionists are patriots, while Mexico's are criminals. And pretended solicitation for "republican institutions" forms a convenient excuse for overthrowing the Zelaya régime.

Diaz can maintain what capitalists call a "stable government." And Zelaya cannot. And a "stable government" is all that capital requires. The form is immaterial while capitalistic investment is secure.

As the new Governor General of the Philippines put it in his recent inaugural address at Manila:

> Capital demands a stable government. Capital is not particularly interested in the color or design of the flag; it wants just laws, sound and uniform policy on the part of the government, just and fair treatment in the courts, etc., etc.

Verily as the old proverb has it, "when two people do the same thing, it is not the same thing."

ONE very commendable feature of the *"Daily Consular and Trade Reports,"* published at Washington, D. C., is that the reader is spared the usual hog-wash handed out by the politicians regarding the formation of Trusts. There is no drivel in these reports anent the "greed and rapacity" of capitalists, and no whining about the elimination of competition. For instance, in a recent report from the American Consul at Liege, Belgium, that gentleman, speaking of the European Glass Trust, recently formed, and which practically controls the entire European industry, thus describes its origin:

> At the beginning of 1904 the plate-glass industry was suffering from an acute crisis. Owing to active competition prices showed considerable fluctuation, while on the other hand the advance in the prices of raw material employed tended to favor an increase in the cost price of the manufactured article. Under these conditions the industry was severely confused, when the international agreement of 1904 among the plate-glass manufacturers came to relieve the situation. The combine includes nearly all the factories of Europe.
>
> The scope of the syndicate is mainly to place the manufacturer of plate-glass in direct connection with the consumers, in order in a measure to give stability to the selling price and to prevent overproduction which always results in excessive damage in any form of industrial activity.

A recognition of the ruinous effects of competition, and a natural desire to prevent overproduction has been the genesis of the Trust everywhere, whether national or international as in this case. Our consuls, writing as they are, for business men, well understand that the drivel of ignorant politicians and interested "trust-busters" on the Trust question is intended for the consumption of the gullible public alone, and though not themselves Socialists, necessarily give the Socialist explanation of the origin of the Trust to their readers as the only explanation consistent with facts and common sense.

We sincerely hope that our readers will not disapprove of the present issue, because reading matter has unavoidably crowded out the advertising.

Perhaps the real reason why the Trust cannot be dissolved is that it is a dissolvent itself, a dissolvent of small capitalist business.

If you like WILSHIRE'S in its new form, we would like to hear from you. Also, if you don't. Write us and tell us what you think of it anyhow.

Have you noticed what a profound respect for the British House of Lords the American capitalist press has suddenly conceived, now that their position as defenders of capitalistic property becomes evident?

South American revolutionists looked about the same to the American public until recently. However, we have now learned to discriminate. A revolutionist who revolutes against Zelaya of Nicaragua is a patriot, while one who revolutes against Diaz of Mexico is a criminal.

Socialism is the only thing advertised in this issue of WILSHIRE'S, and we not only give it our unqualified editorial endorsement, but recommend it strongly to our readers, both personally and collectively.

As to the murder of Schoolmaster Ferrer, the Spanish Government officially states that it "now regards the incident as closed." Unless, of course, some undesirable citizens still surviving may remind them of it from time to time.

Muckrakers who want to prove Diaz a scoundrel and murderer should first demonstrate to the satisfaction of all right-thinking persons that Mexico isn't a safe place for investments of American capital.

This journal has dispensed with its advertising agent, but hopes that every one of its readers will voluntarily act as such. Show this copy to your friend or your neighbor.

A capitalist publication cannot get along without advertising, but a Socialist magazine is different—at least we think so and are willing to experiment and see.

Mr. Taft in his message asks for an appropriation of $50,000 to exterminate the "White Slave Traffic," which is a surprising demand from a supposed promoter of capitalist industry. However, the demand has its cheapness to recommend it, when one considers how much more it cost to wipe out the black slave traffic forty-five years ago.

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Rehearsing the Social Revolution

By ODON POR, *Special European Correspondent, Wilshire's*

DURING the last year the European proletariat twice entered the field of international diplomacy, definitely conquering for itself the right of interfering with the war-schemes of the ruling classes. The year 1909 marks an epoch in the history of mankind, for during this year the working masses by definite action demonstrated their unequivocal intention to overthrow the military institutions and traditions that have kept mankind in servitude for thousands of years.

When the Spanish Government sent its troops into the Riff country to protect the mining interests of Count Romanonès, member of the late Cabinet, and of the Marquis de Comillas, half-milliardaire and protector of the Jesuits, the organized workers of Spain started at once an open campaign against the Moroccan war. The Spanish Socialist Party held about 500 meetings, inciting the workers to answer the declaration of war with a general strike. The strike-committee of Catalonia set the date of the general strike on the 26th of July.

On the early morning of this day the thousands of women workers of Barcelona were the first to leave the factories. They gathered in the suburbs and marched toward the center of the city, under their improvised flag, a white piece of cloth bearing the legend, "Down with the War." On their way to the city they stopped at the factories and waited for the other workers to join them. Without hesitation all workers laid down their tools, except the employes of the street-car system. Whereupon some indignant women threw themselves across the tracks, blocking the passage of the cars.

That evening the general strike in Catalonia was complete. The military fraternized with the people. The police and the constabulary dared not move. Telegraph and telephone wires were cut, and railroad bridges blown up, so that Barcelona was isolated from the rest of the world. During the following night the popular anger turned against the religious orders, setting ablaze about 50 convents and churches. But no violence was committed against persons, nobody was killed or hurt, no banks or private houses were looted. Thirty thousand strikers from the surrounding cities were ready to march toward Barcelona and proclaim the Spanish Republic. In several cities in the other provinces the workers were also on strike and all over the country the active protest was taking on great proportions.

On July 27th martial law was proclaimed in Catalonia and the following day all over Spain. Reactionary regiments were sent to Barcelona and succeeded in provoking the armed resistance of the workers. By this the Government created an excuse for the subsequent violent repression. The struggle between the military, armed with machine guns, and the workers on the barricades lasted four days. About 300 workmen were killed, a thousand wounded, 3,000 arrests were made and many soldiers fell. Finally the seething revolt abated.

Francisco Ferrer, the teacher of a more humane mode of social life, was made the scapegoat for the revolt of the whole working class. Maura fell, but under the régime of the new "liberal" ministry thousands of revolutionists are still kept in jail. Several were recently shot and seven condemned to death, among them three women. . . .

The revolt was quelled, first of all, because it was not intended to become a revolt, but merely a pacific demonstration. The revolutionary element knew that not all workers were prepared for a revolution. But when, above all expectations, the general strike grew beyond the limits of a pacific demonstration and the strikers found themselves in absolute control of Catalonia, it would have been comparatively easy to proclaim the Republic and to swing the yet hesitating part of the Spanish workers over into the Revolution. But many workers who belonged to the Republican Party were waiting for their leaders to declare themselves openly for or against the revolution. These, however, at first hesitated, then refused to officially declare for their own cause for the Republic. By cowardly hesitation and failing to act promptly, the republicans became traitors to their own cause. The psychological moment for decisive and concerted action passed, and upon the provocation of the priests and the reactionary part of the military, the revolution was aborted.

Until these events the Spanish people were generally considered a decadent race, which had ceased to exercise any influence upon the affairs of the world. All failures of the Spanish nation were ascribed to degeneration, and the same notion has induced superficial observers to stamp the last general strike as but a spasmodic revolt of a hysterical and lawless mob, incited by anarchists and devoid of any cohesive power and social vision. But those whom Havelock Ellis, the greatest living authority on the psychology of the Spanish people, has convinced that "Spain is not merely the land of the gypsy with the guitar, for there is a youthful and muscular Spain, covered with sweat, wearing a blue blouse, and with face blackened by the smoke of the forge," foresee in this revolt the herald of the coming Spain, that, by the force of its intrinsic virtues, will yield much inspiration to the rest of the world.

Modern industrial development and the revolutionary propaganda following in its wake has created, first, a conscious working class and, then assigned to it a decisive part in all national affairs. Havelock Ellis in his "The Soul of Spain," supports, with his recognized authority, the statement, that in no country have the workers shaken off prejudice and tradition more completely than in Spain, and that the discontent with sacerdotal bigotry has spread among all classes.

Why the present régime is yet in power must be sought in the fact, that its mainstay, the Church, has invested its great financial resources in modern industrial enterprises from which it draws its vitality. But the Church has lost its spiritual power over the people and vegetates merely by the inherent economic force of its vast material wealth, accumulated in the past.

Wars, the Inquisition, and the colonial adventures have exercised a natural selection backwards, so to say, consuming the most advanced, intelligent, vital and rebellious elements of the people. These factors, not considering now the underlying economic tendencies, were largely responsible for the long languishing of the Spanish people. But, lately, with the

IN MEMORIAM

FRANCISCO FERRER

Murdered 13th October, 1909.

LANGDON EVERARD in London *Labor Leader.*

So they have shot him down, O bloody ghouls,
Whose sanguined claws have pinioned Freedom's throat,
Dance ye, exultant, o'er his broken corse,
And shriek your triumph to the shuddering winds:
"Ferrer is dead, and Freedom dies with him!"

Land of the Blessed Virgin! Valorous Spain!
Upon thy brow there rot the withered bays
Of mighty conquests. This were mightier still,
O Spain! Wilt thou not hug it to thy heart,
This valorous, bloodspilt victory of thine!

Let Spain's cathedrals ring with fervid thanks
Unto Almighty God who saw this thing.
Delay not, O most Christian King and Court!
Let ye and yours keep festival TO-DAY:
The morrow carries in her hand a sword!

Ferrer is dead, and Freedom leaps again
To glorious surging life. This one man's death
Shall ope the lock-gates and the pent up tide
Of Liberty shall sweep throughout the land
And cleanse thee, Spain, from this foul, blood-stained brood!

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working class coming to the foreground, the flood-gates of immense reservoirs of virgin energies were unlocked, and the outrushing flood pushed the active Spanish elements irresistibly into the channels of organized productive activity.

These new experiences of the Spanish people, proved the efficiency of the new system of political fight on the basis of general strikes and boycotts, and placed

dencies, will, inevitably, spring the irresistible social revolution.

Ferrer's assassination roused the workers of the whole world, while the Spanish people were apparently kept quiet by the machine guns. However, in the soul of the Spanish workers the blasting potency of a suppressed passion is gathering, and at the least provocation it will again burst forth.

daring spirit of solidarity. The dignified manifestation was unmistakable in its intentions and suggestive as to what may happen in the future. There was none of the life-issues of the Italian workers in the balance, and yet, overwhelmed by their social consciousness, they had to protest.

These new facts, full of elements of permanency, brought forth by the Latin pro-

THE GREAT GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN SESSION AT LEIPSIC

in relief, better than any verbal or written propaganda, the truth that the working class must attend to its own affairs without seeking support from the bourgeois parties. The splendid results of the vigorous and unceasing anti-militaristic propaganda as expressed in the mutiny of whole regiments, the demonstrations against the King, the public declarations of many soldiers that they would rather fight from the barricades for a new social order than go to war for the capitalists, the desertion of thousands of reservists—all these facts go to prove that the will to overthrow the present régime is deeply ingrained in the Spanish workers. The futility of political combines and the insignificance of a change of Government were conclusively proved by the treacherous attitude of the Republicans and the reactionary measures of the new Government.

Thanks to all these experiences the Spanish working class now sees clearly the outlines of the coming struggle. It is now convinced that its paramount duty consists in organizing industrially the whole working class, in cultivating the anti-militaristic feeling of the young workers and in spreading the sense of solidarity throughout the whole country. From this activity, full of cohesive ten-

But nowhere has the news of the assassination roused greater passions and sentiments than among the working population of Italy. Immediately after the assassination a wave of intense and vibrating emotion swept through the Italian working class. For a whole week the revolutionary consciousness of the workers was surging and fermenting, impetuously protesting through a general strike, against the infamy of the Spanish Jesuits, warning the Church in Italy and warning, at once, the Italian ruling classes to refrain from any military adventure.

With the general strike the Italian working class gave out, in its own fashion, a diplomatic note. But this diplomatic act of the working class cannot be compared to the refined methods of the professional diplomats, who never give definite answers on questions of national or international importance, whose duty is to create equivocal situations with open doors in all directions, but it was a diplomatic act which left not a single point in darkness. It clearly asserted the opposition of the working class to all wars, in particular, and the ruling classes, in general. It was a clear-cut diplomatic act expressing definitely the people's will.

Five million Italian workers laid down their tools, spontaneously proving their

letariat, from the depth of its soul, should, at last convince the Anglo-Saxon and German socialists that the collective, active and direct resistance of the organized workers is the only weapon, sufficiently powerful, to oppose the imperialistic tendencies of the ruling classes, and that therefore, the first duty of the proletarian political and industrial organizations should be everywhere to stir the workers to active resistance and destroy their present tendency to blindly obey the written laws and the orders of the governing classes; to make them capable of rising in defense of the living, but yet unwritten, laws of their own social desires and ideals.

The Latin workers have lost all respect for the present legal order, for their experiences have taught them that in order to realize their social ideal they must go beyond the limit of the activities circumscribed by the laws of the bourgeoisie. When will the workers of the other nations dare to push their convictions as far as their Spanish, Italian and French comrades? The lesson, after all, to be derived from these facts is, that actual fighting between two nations is impossible if five million workers of each nationality will rise as one man firmly protesting against the impending fratricide.

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"JOHN D." AN ADVENTURE

(*Continued from page 5.*)

world a great model of an efficient business machine.

JOHN D. (*eagerly*). That is what I did, sir!

THE AUTHOR. Take the laws against rebates, for instance. What could be more unwise, more reactionary?

JOHN D. Ah! I'm glad to hear you say that. Really, sir, that is just the truth. Only—you know——

THE AUTHOR. It would not do to say it! (*Laughs.*)

JOHN D. (*eagerly*). I would be shipping a hundred carloads of oil in a lot, and my competitor maybe one car. And there is not a railroad man in the country who would tell you that I should be charged a hundred times as much.

THE AUTHOR. Certainly not!

JOHN D. There is no business in the world in which a man who buys in large quantities does not get a discount.

THE AUTHOR. And the attempt to prevent it in transportation was simply to make you pay to maintain your rivals—to prevent that concentration which is essential to industrial progress. And you, who defied the law, were acting in the interests of the future as much as the Boston men who threw the tea into the harbor.

JOHN D. (*with unction*). Ah! Thank you.

THE AUTHOR. Yes, sir—you are one of the world's great revolutionists, beyond all question. We clasp hands, you and I—two revolutionists in perfect accord! But you must not overlook the full consequences of your procedure.

JOHN D. (*puzzled*). How do you mean?

THE AUTHOR. I mean, that now I come along, pointing out yet another step in progress; and you, who overthrew the constitution and defied the law, will not appeal to the law and the constitution against me!

JOHN D. I don't understand you.

THE AUTHOR. You don't realize, perhaps, that you are talking with a notorious agitator—a Socialist.

JOHN D. (*aghast*). A Socialist!

THE AUTHOR. A Socialist! I was quite sure you did not realize it. If you had you would have been watching for a bomb.

JOHN D. No, no!

THE AUTHOR. Perhaps not. But your idea of a Socialist is a violent person—you would not have expected such a friendly discussion.

JOHN D. Well, really, you know, I can't say that I have met many Socialists. I don't know what sort of people they are.

THE AUTHOR. We are just the same as other people, except that we have learned to use our imaginations a little. We have learned that Society is something that grows—like every other living thing. And we have found out what it is growing into. (*Leaning forward.*) See—it's like this. You take an egg, and study it carefully—you see that there are certain veins and formations inside of it; and you say: "In three weeks this egg will be a chicken." And then along comes a man who never saw it happen, and he says: "Why, that's perfectly ridiculous. An egg turn into a chicken! This egg is smooth and hard and white, and a chicken is brown and feathery. A chicken has eyes and wings and drumsticks! It would be altogether against egg-nature!" And then he waits ten days until he feels something moving in the egg; then he scratches his head, and he says: "Well, I don't know—perhaps maybe it might happen—very, very slowly. Perhaps maybe the shell may begin to grow wings and a head—perhaps maybe in a hundred thousand years you may find it feathery, as chickens are. I'm not a revolutionist, but an evolutionist; and I don't believe in sudden changes." And so he goes on, until suddenly—pop!—he sees a beak come through, and a few minutes later the shell falls to pieces, and what was all egg is now all chicken.

JOHN D. (*fascinated*). I see!

THE AUTHOR. Now, John D., I am a student of the social egg. I know what kind of chicken is coming out. And the reason I hail you as a public benefactor is because I see that these wonderful trusts which you have built are the skeleton of the new social chicken.

JOHN D. How do you mean?

THE AUTHOR. You have built a huge machine for the making and distributing of oil; you have got everything ready for the people to take it over and run it for their own benefit.

JOHN D. (*starting*). Oh!

THE AUTHOR. Don't you see? You have gathered it all into your hands—you have unified it—incorporated it—reduced it to a system—so that it runs when you no longer pay any attention to it—while you are off playing golf! You have sworn on the witness-stand that you know nothing about its affairs; and don't you see how easy that makes it for the public to step in?

JOHN D. (*aghast*). But—but—my dear sir! It's my property!

THE AUTHOR. Your property! But what is property—to a revolutionist like yourself, John D.? (*Laughs.*)

JOHN D. (*in horror*). Oh, now really!

THE AUTHOR. No—I don't mean to make fun of you. Let us reason it out. You said a while ago that you'd be glad to get rid of the frightful burden of your wealth. You wouldn't give it to any other individual, of course—for no other individual is more competent to handle it—and you wouldn't be willing to admit it even if it were true. But suppose that the Community were to organize, and offer to take your oil-machine off your hands forever, and give you a vote of thanks and a liberal maintenance in return for your services in organizing it—mightn't you think that was a sensible proposition?

JOHN D. It's certainly an interesting idea.

THE AUTHOR. Yes. And it's high time that you considered it, and had some answer ready. For I assure you, John D., the issue is almost upon you. Our present system is on the verge of collapse—surely you, as a business man, must realize that!

JOHN D. I can't quite go so far——

THE AUTHOR. Surely you don't imagine it will go on forever! Just look a moment! You have five hundred million dollars—no, that's too much? Well, we'll say three hundred. And it pays you—say twenty per cent? Then next year you have three hundred and sixty millions. And the year after you have four hundred and thirty-two millions. It's compound interest, you see—and you know how that mounts up. In ten years it will be over a billion and a quarter. In ten more it will be eleven billions and a half; and in ten years more it will be over sixty-six billions—and at that time your income will be over thirteen billions a year. Surely no sane man could imagine that the community could possibly pay such a sum!

JOHN D. The wealth of the world is increasing, sir.

THE AUTHOR. Yes, of course it's increasing; but you are getting the increase! And as your power grows you get a larger and larger percentage—it is like a huge whirlpool, sucking in everything. And meantime the people are on a competitive wage—you have broken their monopolies and they only get a living. Don't you see that the time must come when what they have to spend won't furnish profits enough—no matter how you screw up prices? You take all your profits each year, and you invest them in new machines. Don't you see that some day you will be making more goods than the people have money to buy? And then there will be over-production, panics and hard times. Then millions of men will be out of work—they will be parading the streets of our cities—holding meetings—making Socialist speeches! They will be demanding food—demanding work! And what are you going to answer them?

JOHN D. (*faltering*). I don't know.

THE AUTHOR (*rushing on*). It must have some answer, you understand! They will demand it—it will be a matter of life and death to them. And it must be some answer that will bring them work and wages—some answer that will put food in their children's mouths.

JOHN D. But, my dear sir—is it for me to solve the problem?

THE AUTHOR. Of course it is! It's for nobody else in the world! Why else are you the master of our affairs? (*A pause; he smiles.*) Let me tell you just what I think will happen. The President of the United States will send one of his cabinet members to see you—a practical man, like yourself—but a man very much in earnest. And he'll have a long talk with you. He'll say, John D., we are at the end of our rope. The people are desperate—they will not be appeased. The railroads will have to stop—and that means that New York will starve to death in a couple of weeks. And there's no help for it—the government must take these roads over, and use its credit to run them without delay. Now, John D., they belong to you. You can try to stop us—you can appeal to the Courts—but we shall simply pay no attention to the Courts—we *must* have the roads! Now see—you are an old man—you haven't many years to own them in any case. And some assassin may come along and kill you, you know—really, in the present temper of the people there's nothing more likely than that both of us should be blown to pieces as we sit here talking. So don't you think you had better do the handsome thing, and come forward and sign this letter to the President—you see that Pierpont and Andrew have signed it—and Edward H.—and Thomas F.—and all the rest—Mr. President: We see that we can no longer run our railroads, and that the people need them, and so we have decided to turn them over; and we shall be very glad to give our advice and help the Government to get them started on the new co-operative basis. (*A pause.*) Don't you think that might seem like a sensible proposition?

JOHN D. (*in profound thought*). It might. It might.

THE AUTHOR. Think it over! Work it out for yourself, John D.—for so much depends upon you. For we want this to be a peaceable revolution, you understand—we don't want anybody to get killed. It's a practical business problem, and we want to settle it in a practical business way—like two sensible men sitting down and talking a thing over. And we ought to have your help—you could do so much. And think what a name you would leave behind you, if you came forward frankly and freely! (*Eagerly.*) Think what you could do—how much you could help

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to spread the light—if you were to come forward to-morrow and say that you had become a Socialist—that you believed that the Community should own and administer the great monopolies for the benefit of all—so that there might be labor and freedom and joy for all—so that no man should be exploited for the benefit of any other man! So that there might be no more paupers and no more parasites—no more child-labor and prostitution—no more crime and war! Think what that would mean, John D.

JOHN D. (*deeply moved*). I see! I see!

THE AUTHOR. And mark you—it's coming, just the same—whether you come forward or whether you hang back. For the people are learning what I have told you—the people who produce the wealth out of which all your fortune comes—who suffer all the miseries which I have pictured to you. And the people possess the votes. They can have their way when they are ready. And they listen to such arguments as I have put before you here—they are judge and jury—they will decide! And do you think that they will continue to pay you tribute forever? There they sit. (*Pointing to the audience.*) Wide awake, eager, drinking in the truth—making up their minds upon the issue. And do you believe that they will consent to pay you tribute forever? Do you think that they will consent forever to starve and suffer and perish, so that your dividends may pile up? Hear what they say to you? (*To the audience.*) People of America—you have heard the argument. The case is before you. What have you to say? Will you continue to pay him his dividends? (*Answer.*) Will you continue to be his wage slaves? (*Answer.*) Is he to rule this country, or will you rule it? (*Answer.*) Will you cast your ballots for the old parties which he has bought, or for the new party—your own party—for Socialism? (*Answer.*) You have heard them, John D. So, before long, you will hear them from one end of this broad land to the other. You will hear them in tones of crashing thunder. You will see them arising, like giants from their slumber—advancing in irresistible onset—proclaiming their resolution that this land, which was consecrated to liberty and justice, shall preserve its heritage—that a government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

(CURTAIN.)

THE VOTES WE LOST

By **BEN HANFORD**

HERE we are again. So far as shown by the limited elections just held in America, the Socialist Party vote of 1909 is no greater than that of 1904. Wherefore? Has Socialism made no progress in those five years? If not, with all the money spent, and with all the work done, what's the use? Shall we never get ahead? I'm getting old. I want to see the beginning of the New World. What's the matter? Why don't we make progress?

To which there is sufficient and obvious answer to all who take thought of yesterday.

Socialist votes only show the progress of Socialism by comparison, and conditions must be compared as well as the number of votes. Four hundred thousand votes for Debs and Socialism in 1904 and four hundred thousand votes for Debs and Socialism in 1908 must be considered in the light of conditions.

In the elections of 1908 for the first time (and continuously since then) in America the Socialist movement met something like direct, extensive, intelligent and efficient opposition—meaning, of course, in so far as opposition to Socialism can be intelligent and efficient. Prior to 1908 American Socialists (persons and small groups rather than the whole organized body) had met occasional and spasmodic attack from malice and bigotry and ignorance and superstition. True, the ignorance and superstition were sometimes learned, and the bigotry and malice came from those in high station, but their folly and futility were none the less evident and inefficient. The opposition was in spots. It was not general. It came mostly from such individuals as "happened" to oppose it. It is also true that much of the opposition to Socialism in the campaign of 1908 and since has been of the same character. But not all of it. Not by a jugful. In a general way it has covered the whole country, and in some cases (as in Colorado) it has gone into every village, town and family, and appeared in every conceivable form. In some States it has taken the form of additional franchise restrictions, in others it has made the exercise of the franchise more difficult (by heavy ballot fees), or disfranchised certain groups entirely, and wholesale discharges and blacklisting of Socialist and progressive trade unionists and arrests of Socialists for exercising their constitutional rights of free speech and free press and free assemblage have been malignant and common.

For the past five years anti-Socialists have practiced all these abuses on a large and general scale as compared with the individual instances of the years preceding.

The men who own property in the United States to the value of more than one hundred billion dollars are not leaving that bagatelle to be carried off by a lot of men (and women) playing games with little X-marks and circles and little pieces of paper and black lead pencils. Not so that you might notice it. Gentlemen in possession of wealth to the value of more than one hundred billion dollars may be trusted to take some slight interest in its preservation—they may, really. Notwithstanding the opinion of those who measure the progress of Socialism exclusively by the number of votes cast for the Socialist Party candidate and who always "know" just what the vote is going to be before it is counted—and are annually discouraged for the six months after each election day.

The four hundred thousand Socialist votes in 1904 caused our gentlemen with the $100,000,000,000 to sit up and take notice. Since then they have given much thought to the growth of Socialism—with a view to its early decay and death.

Having in mind the Populist, Greenback and other third parties of the past, and their early demise, our gentlemen of the $100,000,000,000 expected to prepare the Socialist Party with a like funeral, and to that end have spent much good coin in the last five years. To be sure, they blew in a goodly bundle on gold bricks, such as the endowment of a college with a fool professor to import another fool professor from England, to buy a lot of bunk and hire an ex-President of the United States to display his ignorance and mendacity in all men's view—these are some of the obvious means by which our gentlemen of the billions have since 1904 opposed the Socialist Party. But they have not been all. Their purchased professors and statesmen have had the assistance (and they needed it) of spies, thugs, thieves and crooks of all kinds in their war on the Socialist Party and the Labor Movement. For be it remembered, regardless of the views of Mr. Gompers and other trade union leaders, our gentlemen of the billions of dollars make no exceptions in fighting both Socialism and trade unionism in maintaining the interests of capitalism.

Well, meeting all these forces of the enemy for the five years just past, the Socialist Party has held its own on the face of the returns. Which means that we have actually gained votes. For some of the votes of 1904 were not Socialist votes, and since that time we have either gotten those non-Socialists who voted our ticket to become Socialists, or we have gained an equal number of others in their place.

As I said above, the Socialist vote only denotes Socialist progress comparatively. Bearing that in mind, the Socialist progress in America since 1904 has been as rapid as at other periods. Considered in the light of conditions, it is in the highest degree encouraging. It will not be easily understood by our gentlemen of the billions and their agents, but they will nevertheless discover that the way of the Populist, the Independence League and other third parties is not the way of the Socialist Party.

The work of the last five years has not been lost, and it may be regarded as certain that the day is not distant when the Socialist Party will record an immense gain in its vote and will find many of its nominees elected to offices small and great.

I have referred to the gentlemen who have a property stake in "our" country to the value of a hundred billion dollars or thereabouts. In any consideration of election results it should be remembered that New York is the capital city of the World of Capitalism. It is the military, social, industrial and financial headquarters of our gentlemen of the billions. And, though the motions are made in Washington, New York is capitalism's political capital. It is the very heart and citadel and the safety deposit vault of our American captains of industry. You can be sure that our gentlemen of the billions will not leave it undefended. If you would know something of the task that we Socialists have set ourselves, just think what it would mean for the world of capitalism to lose New York City to the Socialist Party. And then think if you can what it would mean to the American Labor Movement for the Socialist Party to capture New York City.

New York City in the hands of the Socialists might easily jar the capitalist world to its final fall. And it will come to pass. At the last election the Socialist Party lost votes in New York, but Capitalist New York shall yet capitulate to the Socialist Party. It is so written in the book of economic law and progress. That is the book of fate and doom to Capitalism.

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OUR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

Conducted by **MRS. GAYLORD WILSHIRE**

THE STORY OF DOLLY JONES

SOMEWHERE in the dives in Chicago is Dolly Jones. Search for her meets with no definite information. As soon as she is traced to one house the perfect system of the Levee managers has removed her beyond reach.

The story of Dolly Jones was published by the *Chicago Daily Socialist*, and every effort was made to save her, but the odds against her were too great. The police force was unfriendly, the people indifferent, and so another girl was sacrificed on the altar of greed and cruelty. The story of Dolly Jones might be told of hundreds of other girls by simply changing the name and the minor details of the story.

Dolly came to Chicago from Cincinnati hoping for better wages. Some "theatrical people" were kind to her, and Dolly was grateful. She wrote back home to her mother about the kindness of these people and what a good time she was having. For she was only a young girl to whom the pleasures of life were very dear. She was flattered by the attention which was paid her. She met a man who had an automobile who was particularly nice to her. One night he took her for a ride, and the next thing that was heard of Dolly Jones by the one friend she had in Chicago was a frenzied letter which read:

"Please come down and see me at once. I'm in trouble. Would like to see you very much. Come to Bob Gray's Café, Twenty-first Street and Armour Avenue. You will be surprised to find me there, but I could not help this.

"Dolly Jones."

The man to whom this letter was sent went at once to see Dolly and found her in a terrible state of worry and shame. She had been thoroughly intimidated, the fact that she had been disgraced dwelt upon, her clothes confiscated, and a special wardrobe provided for her for which she was placed in debt to the extent of $30. But more powerful than all these things was the threat that her mother would be told in case of her being unreasonable. Dolly was afraid to leave the place, afraid of the police, afraid of the divekeepers, afraid of arrest, afraid of the public disgrace, and above all afraid that her mother would also be disgraced. This man who was her friend went to the *Chicago Daily Socialist* for help to rescue the girl. Two police officers were sent to the resort to take her away. The girl was so afraid of the police that she became hysterical at once, and as she was led out of the dive screamed with fright on seeing a one-horse wagon which she mistook for a patrol. She was walked to the station, where in the presence of J. O. Bentall, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Illinois, John C. Carroll, of the *Daily Socialist*, and another witness the girl was further intimidated by Sergeant Hughes. It was a very good example of the "third degree," with a little hysterical girl the victim.

"You know that you could leave that house whenever you wanted to, couldn't you?" shouted Sergeant Hughes.

"I guess I could. I was out to mail a letter last night," faltered the trembling girl.

"You were out. Why didn't you leave then?" shouted Hughes.

"I didn't have my clothes; two dresses were inside and the two of them had cost me $16," said the sobbing girl.

"Did you ever tell a police officer that you wanted to leave?" shouted Hughes.

"No," said the girl.

"You knew you could leave when you wanted to?" yelled the sergeant.

"The girls told me I could not," said Dolly between sobs.

"Did you go there by force?" shrieked the sergeant.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

Photograph of two well-known English Suffragists, Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel, in prison garb. Mrs. Pankhurst recently visited America and has returned to England to face another sentence of imprisonment.

"No," faltered the girl, her eyes wide with terror and fixed on the sergeant.

"Get the wagon and take her to the Harrison street annex," said the sergeant.

"Oh don't, oh don't put me in the patrol," sobbed the girl.

"Well you are old enough to know your mind. Do you want your mother notified and go back to her or do you want to go back there? Come, you're old enough. Which do you want to do?" shouted the sergeant.

"Don't tell my mother, she'd be disgraced," sobbed the girl.

"Get the wagon, we'll take her to Harrison street," said the sergeant.

"Oh don't, oh don't take me," sobbed the girl.

The police were then informed that the Chicago Law and Order League had promised to provide for the girl. Protest was raised against the conduct of the police.

"We'll take her to Harrison street," snapped the sergeant.

"Didn't Bob Gray give you $5.00 to send to your mother?" roared the sergeant.

"He did," said the girl.

And, too terrified to tell of the threats and the debt and all the torture to which she had been subjected, she was taken out of the station house. But even the hardened officers were moved by the piteous pleas and sobs of the girl when she saw the patrol wagon and allowed Detective O'Connor to take her to Harrison Street Station in the street car, although at first the other officers threatened to arrest the witnesses who protested against their conduct. "These men," said O'Connor to Bentall and a witness who accompanied him to the door of the Annex, "wanted to take this girl to a flat with them." Mr. Carroll went to a lieutenant at Harrison Street whom he knew, to have Dolly Jones booked. The lieutenant said the case belonged to the Twenty-second Street Station, and that he could not interfere. Attorney Charles Soelke, Raymond Robbins, the prominent settlement worker, who agreed to furnish a bond, went with Mr. Carroll to the Harrison Street Station. They found Judge Newcomer sitting in his court room although court had adjourned. The Judge knew Soelke and seemed disposed to accommodate him. He sent a bailiff out to attend to the booking of Dolly Jones. The bailiff returned with Inspector John J. Wheeler in charge of the district reaching south from Harrison Street, including the Twenty-second Street levee. Wheeler said he had paid $6 out of his own pocket to send Dolly back to Cincinnati. He furthermore declared that Dolly was not in the Station House. When confronted with circumstantial evidence that she was there he became surly.

"Under the municipal court act," said Soelke, addressing the judge, "the police officers are ex-officio officers of the municipal court and you could order, Judge, that this girl be brought into court. She is charged with no offense, and even were she charged with an offense, any offense which admits of bail being offered would entitle us to her production in court. We are ready with a bondsman."

"Nobody is boss in the annex, but me," said Wheeler. "Go as far as you damn please."

"I don't see that I have the right to coerce a co-ordinate branch of the government," said the judge. Pleas were unavailing.

Among other things, Inspector Wheeler said: "Go as far as you damn please. Rip things up if you want to. I don't give a damn," and he stalked out of the courtroom.

A registered letter sent to the girl the receipt for which she signed herself, showed that she was in the annex when Wheeler said that she was not.

The District Attorney professed to believe the police and would not be a party to a writ of habeas corpus. The girl was so hysterical and terrorized by the police that there was no chance of getting her to testify in her own behalf—perhaps later on she might get the courage. But the system is too perfect to allow risks. Dolly Jones is moved from house to house as soon as inquiries are made.

And down in Cincinnati is a mother who loves this girl even as you and I love our children. A mother whose tears flow as freely as yours or mine would flow under like circumstances. We cannot comfort her with words, however kind, we cannot dry her tears, however tender our ministering hands. She has lost that which all our love cannot replace. But we can love with a great love the girls of the world and protect them with our lives if need be, against the destroyer. Let us fight to the last stronghold a society which exacts as tribute the sweet, unopened flower of womanhood.

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Woman and Political Action

Extract from Address of Mrs. Harriet D'Orsay

IT is rather a unique position that I occupy at this time, running for office on the State ticket of a political party, and, in the brief time that I will occupy this evening, I will not go into the merits of the case as to why you should elect me to that office, or as to how much better I would look after your interests, or how much more acceptably I would fill the office than my opponents. But I will say in passing that, if elected, I will endeavor to discharge the duties and responsibilities pertaining to the office of Secretary of State of the Commonwealth to the best of my ability.

Mrs. Harriet D'Orsay
Nominated for State Secretary by Socialist Party of Massachusetts.

My few remarks this evening will be addressed chiefly to the women, and, incidentally, to the men. At a meeting of this kind the reverse is the rule, as, in all matters political, women have not been considered a factor. But times are changing; women are at last awakening to a sense of their obligations and the need of being interested in the body politic. They are begining to understand that, in politics, as in all other human affairs, they must act with man, and that their interests cannot be separated from his without grave injury to both.

The burning issue of the present time is the increased cost of living, and the campaign speeches of both old parties deal largely with the tariff,—as to how a high or a low tariff would improve things in this respect. They all agree that the cost of living has increased so enormously that a workingman cannot maintain himself and family. But let me tell you that it is not the working *men* that this burden presses most heavily, but upon the *wife* of the working man. It is she who must bear the brunt of this burden. It is she who must make a household allowance barely adequate to meet the demands of several years ago meet the increased and increasing cost of the necessities of life to-day. I need not go into details in this matter. It is all too familiar to the average woman; and the tragedy behind it all is her economic dependence,—compelled to go on, year after year, almost without hope, and never dreaming that it is in the political sphere, from which she is excluded, that this problem is dealt with, and the laws made which determine the economic and other conditions under which she must live. But a great social change is impending. There was a time, not so very many years ago, when the work of women in the home included the manufacture of clothing and of many useful and necessary articles of domestic use, all of which now constitute special industries. The domestic sphere then was also an industrial sphere. Later the invention of machinery and the specialization of manufacture took this work out of the home. Women, therefore, in going into the modern factories, have not usurped man's place in the industrial world; she has simply followed her own work; but, where she formerly did it individually, she now does it collectively. So we see that economic evolution and progress are forcing women to realize the *human* character of their work, as distinguished from the individual, or domestic, character; and that, as politics simply means the administration of the larger, common human life, woman's share in politics cannot be evaded. If she must be amenable to laws and share responsibilities and duties, she ought necessarily to have a credited part in the making of those laws; and, I repeat, in just the degree in which any industrial or domestic occupation may be said to constitute the sphere of woman—in just that degree does politics also constitute that sphere. No party, no man and no law can permanently defeat this end. We are done with dead yesterdays; and we are working for the dawn of a new to-morrow.

Women are awakening to their situation all over the world. The sex revolt is universal. No longer are they willing to be in the same political class with idiots, minors, criminals and paupers. I am proud to say that the Socialist Party, recognizing that women, no less than men, are a factor in the industrial world, and that they, as well as men, have economic interests at stake, has, both by precept and example, placed itself squarely for sex equality. I would ask the women who are working for political liberty alone—which is good as far as it goes—to go a step further, and fight at the same time for their economic freedom; in other words, to study Socialism, to join and work with that political party which represents the future and economic freedom for all.

Woman is confronted by the same economic problem as man. If the abolition of the wage system is necessary for the workingman, it is almost a life-and-death necessity for the workingwoman. Until it is brought about no woman can complete a happy and well-rounded existence. By all means let us work for universal suffrage, but at the same time, let us remember that economic freedom is the only security for political liberty. Let us realize that for woman as well as for man the open door is through the abolition of wage slavery. First of all, let us be convinced that the real salvation of us women lies through a new economic system; and already the dial of time is marking the hour of woman's emancipation.

Our Winter Study Course

TEXT BOOK—SPARGO'S "BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN."

Lesson II, Chap. I, continued. Pages 33-56.

Main points to be noted: Sections 7 and 8, deal with high mortality of young children as connected with the employment of their mothers either in industries carried on within or outside of the home. "Little Mothers." Section 9. Employment of pregnant women and the effect upon the child. Section 10. Poverty and stillbirths. Employment of unskilful and untrained midwives. Section 11. Charity an utter failure in meeting the problem of poverty in general, and childhood's poverty in particular.

In this month's issue of WILSHIRE'S we begin the Children's Department, which is to be a permanent feature. Contributions for the Children's Page are earnestly solicited. These contributions must be short, owing to the limited space at our disposal. We especially desire poems, plays, stories, and simple propaganda articles. Address all letters to Mrs. Gaylord Wilshire, Editor of Children's Page.

It is the desire of the National Organizer of the W. N. P. L. to place local organizers in the field. Those who would like to volunteer to do this work in their locality should write at once to Miss Walling, National Organizer. All expenses of the work will be defrayed by the W. N. P. L., literature and suggestions provided.

Mrs. Rose Maass, of the Rock Island Branch of the W. N. P. L., has become the organizer for her section of Illinois and the nearby section of Iowa. All women in that locality who wish to start a branch of the League, should write to Mrs. Maass, 423 Fifth avenue, Moline, Ill., who will gladly assist them in the work of organization.

Women Jailed in Spokane

WHAT is perhaps the most stubborn and bitterly contested fight for free speech on the part of the workingmen is now in progress at Spokane, Wash., where the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World are putting up a fight with the municipal authorities of a kind that should secure the admiration and support of all Socialist workingmen. Over four hundred of these champions of free speech have been jailed, among them many women, and all have been subjected to the most revolting and cruel tortures that can be devised by a brutal police force. From all over the country members of the organization have been pouring into Spokane to do their part in the struggle, most of them being arrested and sentenced almost on arrival. What the outcome may eventually be, at this writing it is impossible to say as both sides seem apparently determined to fight the contest to the bitter end. The program of the Industrial Workers of the World constitute such an immediate menace to local capitalistic interests that it is not easy to see how the latter can well abandon the struggle, and we fear that before the conflict is over many of the most aggressive of the I. W. W. membership—and they are all Socialists—are likely to become the victims of mass murder on the part of the authorities, the latter being seemingly quite capable of such a procedure.

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OUR CHILDREN'S PAGE

WE want the children to take this page for their very own. They can do with it as they like. Write letters telling us what you would like on this page. We know there must be something you would like very much indeed. Your letters, your little stories, your plays, your poems, will be given a place of honor in these columns. Wouldn't it be fine to write something nice enough to be published? Send anything you may write to the Editor of the Children's Page, who loves children, big and little, more than anything else in the world, and you may be sure she will take as much interest in your work as your own mother does.

SOCIALIST LESSONS FOR CHILDREN

LESSON III:
What Father Does.

What is father?

He is a worker, one of those who make the world's food, clothes and homes. He is a wage-earner, that is, a man who works for a boss.

What kind of work does father do?

He may be a farm worker, a miner, a flour miller, a baker, a carpenter, a bricklayer, a steel worker, a tailor or some kind of a worker.

Why does father work for a boss?

Because he does not own the tools with which he works, because someone else owns his job.

In how many ways can a man get a living?

There are three ways: work for a living, beg for a living, or steal a living.

What does father get for his toil?

He gets what the horse gets—an existence. He usually gets just enough food, clothes and shelter for himself and his family to keep them alive. He must have these things so as to be able to work. His family must have them so that the children may grow up and become workers.

How does father work?

He works with a number of fellow workers, each doing a part of the work, and all together doing much more work than any one of them could do.

Why doesn't father get all he makes?

The worker doesn't receive the full product of his labor because the boss gets a profit out of it. Profit is robbery because the boss gives the worker nothing for what he takes.

What does the worker's family get?

No matter how hard father may work the family usually gets merely an animal existence. And even this depends upon father's job and mother's strength. If father has no work the family must eat less food and suffer for clothes. If mother's strength fails the children will suffer for lack of care. Finally, if one, or more, of the children is sick, the rest of the family will suffer for care because mother will be overworked taking care of the sick child. So, you see, the happiness of the family depends on the health and good nature of each of its members.

LOVE'S PATRIOT

By ERNEST CROSBY

I saw a lad, a beautiful lad,
With a far-off look in his eye,
Who smiled not at the battle-flag
When the cavalry troop marched by.

And sorely vexed, I asked the lad
Where might his country be
Who cared not for our country's flag
And the brave from over-sea?

"Oh, my country is the Land of Love,"
Thus did the lad reply;
"My country is the Land of Love
And a patriot there am I."

"And who is your king, my patriot boy,
Whom loyally you obey?"
"My king is Freedom," quoth the lad,
"And he never says me nay."

"Then you do as you like in your land of Love,
Where every man is free?"
"Nay, we do as we love," replied the lad,
And his smile fell full on me.

LESSON IV:
Why Children Play.

Why do children play?

Because play is a joyful expression of the powers of a child. It exercises the muscles and brain of the child, and it also brings the child into contact with its fellows. Play is the expression of the child's curiosity about himself and his playmates, shows their strength and cunning and imagination. It is an expression of the child's desire.

What is play?

Play is putting the muscles and the brain to a new use, the solving of a problem. Play is very largely imitation by the child of what others do. Play is a make-believe world, an imitation of others, especially of grown-ups.

What does play teach?

Play tests every physical and mental power in the child, and by the joyful exercise of those powers they are perfected by games and contests. Play prepares the child for the work of later life by teaching him how to use his muscles and brain. As the child grows his play becomes more and more social in nature. Play develops the social side of the child's nature and teaches the value of comrades. The chief lesson, and the most valuable, the child is taught by play is that if he would be happy he must consider others, for happiness is impossible alone. In other words, the child learns that if he would be happy at play all of his playmates must also be happy.

A Book for Children

No better work for the use of Socialist Sunday Schools and Young People's Socialist Societies can be found than John Spargo's new volume, "Socialist Readings for Children." The volume is strongly and handsomely bound in cloth, printed in large, easily read type, and contains many artistic illustrations. This work was published by the Woman's National Protective League, for the special purpose of providing young people with suitable reading calculated to interest them in Socialism. A special discount will be allowed on taking a quantity. The price per copy, cloth bound, is One Dollar, and we have also on hand a limited quantity bound in paper covers, which sell at 50 cents each. These books have the same type and paper cover as the cloth bound edition.

Send all orders to Woman's National Progressive League, 200 William Street, New York.

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ECONOMICS—SCIENCE—INVENTION

The municipality of Baltimore is investigating the cost of lighting the streets and will in all probability establish a municipal electric plant for that purpose when the contract with the present private company expires next September.

The British Government is about to take over the Marconi wireless stations existing on the British coasts, and incorporate them with the Post Office Department, and will build more stations as commercial needs require.

The Chilean Government, which owns most of the railroads of the country, is now constructing locomotives for service on its roads and is also establishing plants for the supply of all equipment and rolling stock needed.

Last year the municipal street car system of Manchester, England, earned a gross revenue of $1,345,507, and carried one hundred and fifty-five million passengers, 67 per cent. of whom paid two cents as their fare.

The Brazilian Government has taken over the Lloyds Braziliero, the largest steam shipping line of the country. It holds two thirds of the stock and will have absolute control.

The American consul at Nuremberg, Germany, has worked out a table of rates of passenger transportation in Europe on Government and privately owned railroads. In every case the government roads carry the passenger for a lower fare.

Owing to the high prices charged by private pharmacies, the municipal authorities of St. Petersburg, Russia, have established a drug store from which pure drugs will be dispensed to the public at 20 per cent. less than charged by private concerns. It will also supply the municipal hospitals and sanitary department of the city.

Many of the Birmingham, (Eng.), factories are discarding their steam power in order to avail themselves of the municipally owned electric power which the city has for sale since it bought out the local electric trust. The power is supplied much cheaper than the individual factories can generate it themselves.

Pasadena, California, has established a municipal electric power plant and will supply residents with power at the rate of three cents per kilowatt hour. The New York Edison Company charges ten cents a kilowatt hour for the same service. The manager of the Pasadena plant, Mr. C. W. Kolner, says, "Although this is the lowest rate in the United States, we can make money at this figure, pay interest on the bonds and establish a sinking fund. It is a triumph for municipal ownership of an electric generating plant."

During 1908 the municipally owned street railroads of Vienna, a city of about two million population killed two people in accidents, and injured 155 out of 45,000,000 carried for the year, on thirty-six miles of track.

The Belfast Street Railways, owned and operated by the municipality, last year carried nearly 46,000,000 passengers at an average fare of 0.86 of a cent per mile and made a net profit of $183,206.

Of the thirty-five million acres of forest in the German Empire, nearly 32 per cent. belongs to the State. In fifty-four years of scientific forestry the value of timber per acre has increased sevenfold, while the forests are in better condition than ever before.

A machine by which the weight of a ship's cargo can be accurately recorded while afloat in the vessel has recently been tried successfully in Europe, and will displace hundreds of laborers heretofore occupied in weighing cargoes after discharge on the docks.

The Imperial German Government is installing an automatic telephone system in connection with the Post Office which requires no central to make the desired connection, each subscriber being his own exchange. The German "hello" girl's finish is in sight as the installation becomes complete.

A successful test of the gyroscope monorail car invented by Mr. Louis Brennan was recently made in England. The car weighing 22 tons and controlled by two fifteen hundred pound gyroscopes revolving in opposite directions, carried forty passengers. The trial was most successful, the passengers trying to upset the car by crowding to one side, the gyroscopes preserving the equilibrium perfectly despite their efforts

The "sandwich-man," that unfortunate creature used as a walking advertisement, is not to be left unaffected by the march of progress. A roller sandwich board has been designed for him which changes the advertisements as he walks along, the gear being attached to his leg in such manner that he supplies the motive power necessary to change the advertisement. One "sandwich-man" thus equipped will, it is said, do the work of four. The advertisement changes every twenty steps.

A new hotel has just been erected in Chicago in which all the kitchen work is performed with electric appliances. Dumb waiters, dish washers, dough mixing, vegetable paring, and silver polishing are all operated with electric machinery. The hotel laundry is operated completely by electric devices, also.

In the next Antarctic expedition the exploring ship will be provided with a wireless telegraph apparatus sufficiently powerful to keep the outside world constantly informed of the progress made by the exploration party.

A reversible turbine has been invented by an Italian engineer which will work with equal power or speed in both directions, and has no blades or vanes to get out of order. It can be built in all sizes from five to fifty thousand horse power.

Peat deposits in Ireland covering 2,800,000 acres, and giving 18,231 tons to the acre are calculated to have a caloric value equal to that of 5,104,000,000 tons of coal, and are at present being considered as a factor in the generation of electrical energy.

Steel railway ties are rapidly displacing the wooden article in Europe, a step made necessary to prevent the too rapid destruction of the forests. On several American railroads steel ties are now being introduced. They can be produced for $30 a ton, or much less than the cost of wooden ties at present in Europe.

Commercial advertising of aeroplanes has already appeared in several American and European publications. Plants for the manufacture of aeroplanes for the market are already established in France, Germany and the United States.

An Australian inventor has evolved an apparatus for marking the location of a wrecked vessel. It is in the form of a buoy and is automatically released as the vessel sinks, a complicated wire attachment holding it permanently over the spot.

The tobacco monopoly of the Italian government produced last year a net profit of nearly $37,000,000.

Recently the value of the nationally owned railroads of Japan has been announced as about $250,000,000.

American capital invested in industrial enterprises in Canada is now estimated at about $125,000,000, and is being rapidly increased.

The Chilean government has now under construction no less than sixteen different railway lines and extensions costing upwards of $25,000,000.

During the present year the Japanese Government will expend about ten million dollars on the extension and improvement of the government railroads.

The Argentine Government will undertake the construction and operation of three new railroad lines immediately, and has voted $8,000,000 for preliminary expenses.

A recent geological survey of Brazil having shown the existence of immense iron ore deposits, the government has decided to work the mines and establish mills and foundries for the manufacture of iron and steel products of all kinds.

In the last four years the deposits in the Government Postal Savings Bank in Japan have increased from $19,000,000 in over $42,000,000, while in the same period deposits in private banks increased only from $33,000,000 to $55,000,000.

Building with concrete material has received an impetus in the invention of a machine that can turn out no less than forty thousand enamelled concrete blocks in a working day of ten hours. The machine saves a tremendous amount of labor and expense as compared with older processes of block making.

Hens' eggs in China retail at present at from five to seven cents per dozen. It is not generally known that there is no country in the world where there are so many domestic fowls as in the Celestial Empire. There is an enormous export trade in albumen and egg yolks which is rapidly growing.

Old age pensioners in Great Britain and Ireland number 667,000, and have received in the last eight months a sum of $26,398,565. English pensioners number 410,000; Irish, 184,000, and Scotch, 73,000. It is estimated that nearly $39,000,000 will be required for the entire year, or one fourth more than the original calculation.

Cotton spinning machinery of Japanese manufacture is being installed in South China where cotton is now being grown on a considerable scale. The machinery, it is said, besides being much more suitable than British or American, is laid down at a price that defies European or American competition. The entire cotton trade of South China has practically passed into Japanese control.

A recent calculation places the total of British capital invested in foreign countries at the stupendous figure of thirteen billion dollars. This brings an annual income of $387,000,000 on private ventures, while capital loaned to foreign public companies yields an additional $283,000,000, or a total of $670,000,000 annually. This calculation takes no account of the interest upon money deposited in Indian, colonial and foreign banks by residents of Great Britain, nor the income from capital privately invested abroad of which no record exists.

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The Magician's Downfall

By JOHN R. McMAHON

ONCE upon a time a workingman, who was tramping about the world looking for a job, came to the empire of a great magician. Somehow the police failed to arrest him as a vagrant not having visible means of support, and so he walked right up a grand avenue to the palace of the ruler. It happened that the magician was eating his dinner and had just finished the tenth course, consisting of peacocks' tongues stewed in champagne, when he saw the workingman through the palace window and had him brought in.

"Well, my man," said the magician, wiping his fat lips with a napkin, "who are you and what are you doing around here?"

"I'm an honest workingman, sir," replied the other, "and I'm looking for a job."

"Looking for a job, eh? Well, that amuses me."

"Humbly beg your pardon, sir—didn't mean no harm," stammered the workingman, glancing out of the tail of his eye at a uniformed fellow he thought was the chief of police but who was really a butler.

"I see you're a stranger around these parts," said the magician, "and while I might have you boiled in oil, or something, for trespassing, I'll give you a chance to amuse me. I'm about sick of the dough-headed parrots in my empire, from the archbishop and the prime minister down, and I want to chat with an outsider."

"Thank you kindly, your honor," said the workingman, touching his cap, while his eyes were fixed on the food, and the water began to run down the corners of his mouth.

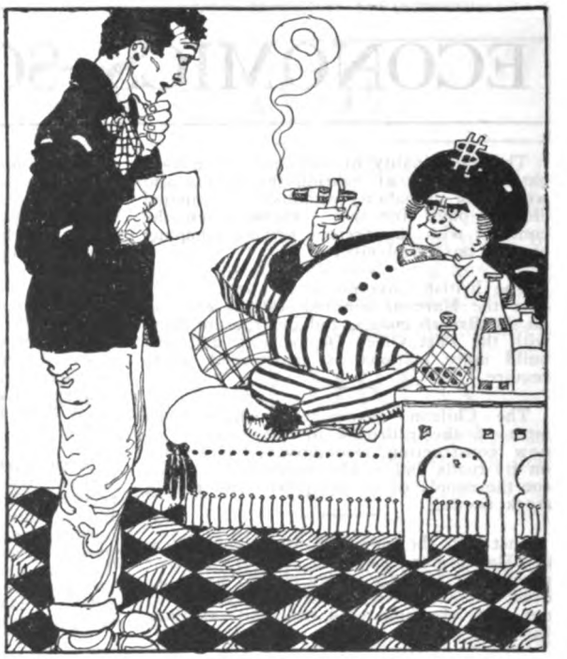
"Say, are you hungry?"

"Haven't had anything to eat since day before yesterday, boss—sir——"

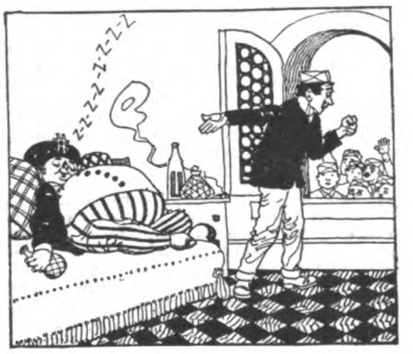
"Fetch a plate of the servants' beef stew for this fellow," ordered the magician, "and while you're about it, get also another plate for the dog."

The workingman fell on the plate of stew ravenously, finished a big hunk of coarse bread, and drank down a small bottle of wine which was not properly cooled to suit the magician's palate. The magician also gave him a good cigar with a broken wrapper, and the workingman began to feel quite happy as the smoke wreaths curled above his head.

It seems that the magician did not care so much to hear the workingman talk as he did to talk himself. Perhaps he had an extra lot of wine aboard this day, and no doubt he *was* sick of the dough-headed parrots of his empire who always fully agreed with him.



"I am an honest workingman, sir, looking for a job"



"Friends, I am going to expose your Magician"

"Did you notice the magnificence of my cities, my factories, my farm lands, my oil wells and my coal mines, as you came along?" asked the magician.

"Yes, your honor, I did that."

"Did anybody tell you how all that wealth was created?"

"I heard some talk about a magician, your honor."

"Ha, ha! I'm the magician, my good fellow. All the riches of this empire were created by me. I have a little wand made out of three kinds of wood and two minerals, capped with gold and a diamond the size of your fist, and all I have to do to build a city or a railroad, or gather a crop of wheat, or dig an oil well or a coal mine, is to just wave that wand and say 'Migglety, higglety, push!'"

"Is that all you have to do?" asked the workingman, not meaning a double meaning.

"Don't you believe it?" retorted the magician as he loosened his belt, leaned back and put his feet on the table.

"I'm from Missouri," said the workingman, emboldened by the small bottle he had consumed.

The people chased him sixteen times around the palace.

"You're a dangerous man," replied the magician, grinning.

"Let me see the wand," said the workingman.

"No," laughed the magician, tossing some liqueur into his fat throat. "I'll show you a bigger wonder than that. Rather, I'll tell you. I have in my empire 23,476,879 men that look just like you, and every mother's son believes that wand yarn as if it was gospel. Haw, haw, haw! . . . Honest to heaven, I nearly got apoplexy and heart disease laughing over those 23,476,879 suckers. Every time I trot out that wand yarn I'm afraid I'll bust a blood vessel laughing over the loyal and patriotic galoots of my empire. It's getting too much of a joke for my health. I have the greatest aggregation of prune-headed yaps that the sun ever shone on. Why, every year about a million and a half of 'em get slaughtered or hurt in my industries, and not a peep do they make. As I was saying . . . ash I was shaying . . . all yaps an' shuckers . . . chumps . . . damphool idiots . . . I feel sheepy, ol' fel'."

"You dirty scoundrel," muttered the workingman, looking down at the insensible body of the magician.

There was a noise outside the palace and the workingman saw a crowd of the magician's subjects, ragged, lean and hungry, arriving to give their homage and beg for the favor of the wand. A sudden thought struck the workingman. He rushed out to the palace steps and addressed the crowd.

"Friends and brothers," he shouted. "I'm going to expose your magician. He's a cheap faker and a dirty beast into the bargain. He's fooled you long enough. His magic don't amount to a plugged nickel. He don't create any wealth, he plays you for a lot of suckers. The magic is that you do all the work and he gets all the wealth. Instead of helping you, he lives off you and starves and kills you!"

There was an instant of deep silence. The kitchen servants turned pale.

"Treason," bellowed a pot-bellied official, who came out of the side entrance of the palace with a lot of other dignitaries.

"Don't listen to this agitator," shrieked an understrapper.

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"Free speech—give him a chanst to talk," suggested a one-armed member of the mob.

"Yep, constitutional rights," added another.

"No one has a right to attack our beloved ruler," roared the pot-bellied official.

"It is blasphemy," groaned a red-nosed archbishop.

"It is contempt of court," snorted a yellow-faced justice of the Supreme Court.

"Wake up! Wake up!" shouted the workingman. "Are you people going to have the wool pulled over your eyes by a gang that feeds out of the magician's swill trough? I'm telling you facts that you must see and know yourselves. All the wealth of this country is yours; you made it with your own sweat and blood. Forget the wand! The magician is playing you for a cross between a nut and a monkey. He's a crook an' a humbug. If you are men instead of cows that want to be milked twice a day and don't care who does it, get rid of him! Kick him out of the palace and take possession of your own country!"

Amid the groans and hisses of the clergy, the officials and the Judges—who threatened to issue an injunction—someone asked:

"Don't the magician give us work?"

"Sure," replied the workingman, "and he keeps three-fourths of the fruit of your labor, leaving you just enough to starve on."

"Suppose we got rid of him, how about dividing up?" asked another.

"Maybe you ain't dividing up anything now?" retorted the workingman. "You get 25 cents on the dollar; the magician, who is a loafer and never did a tap of work in his life, takes the rest."

"I beg your pardon, sir," said a professor of the magician's subsidized university, "our honored ruler works more than most of his subjects."

"Maybe he works like a burglar," conceded the workingman, "or more like a dip, emptyin' the pockets of 23,476,879 lushes who are dead to the world. He works them easy."

"Nevertheless, sir, the interests of the magician and his people are identical," said the professor.

"He makes a dent in his people's pockets all right," replied the workingman. "You can gamble he's the identical robber."

"Tell us how to get rid of him," shouted the people.

"I should say the best way would be to grab him by the scruff of the neck and the seat of his pants, and throw him out of the back door. There are other ways, too. Have you people got a vote?"

"Yes. But it never did us any good."

"The reason is you always voted for the magician's stool-pigeons. Just try the effect of voting for yourselves once. It'll help to count noses, anyhow, and show you how many suckers are left in the land."

"One moment, sir," interposed the professor, "your suggestions are revolutionary. Now, many of us believe that society needs reform. But evolution, not revolution, should be the motto. Vested rights must be respected. It would be injustice to expropriate the magician suddenly."

"I don't know what sort of pills you cook in college, Professor," replied the workingman, "but it seems to me this one was made out of equal parts of gall and gas. When I catch a mosquito on me I don't show it special consideration because it's been biting me a long time."

"It will break up the Home!"

"You can't change human nature!"

"It is irreligious!"

"It is unscientific!"

"It is unconstitutional!"

Thus babbled the officials and other parasites of the magician, seeing that the people applauded the words of the workingman.

Just then the magician, blear-eyed and stupid, staggered out of the banquet hall and onto the palace steps.

"Here he is," shouted the workingman. "That's the drunken loafer that you worship. I told you to vote him out. Maybe it would be a neater and quicker job to kick him out!"

"Down with the magician!" roared the people and made a rush for him.

"Don't do it! It's a moral and physical impossibility!" squealed the group of parasites.

The magician, seeing his dupes coming for him, became suddenly sober and made a lot of magic signs and screwed up his face horribly and rattled off "Miggley, higgley, push!" half a dozen times. When he saw that this did no good, he yelled "Police!" and called for the army, which had thrown down its arms. Then he began to shriek and remind the people of all the rebates he had given them in the form of libraries, colleges, orphan homes, hospitals, lunatic asylums, jails, churches, bull-pens and so forth. He promised the people anti-injunction bills, old age pensions, shorter work-day and all kinds of reforms if they would only be good and let him alone.

But the people grabbed him by the seat of his pants, threw him into the courtyard fountain, chased him sixteen times around the palace, branded his back with the word *Faker,* tarred and feathered him, put him in a balloon and sent him skyward with a warning not to descend within the borders of his former empire. As for the officials, judges, bishops and professors, each one was soused in dish water in the palace kitchen sink and then set to work peeling potatoes.

After this the people established a Socialist republic in which every man and woman got the full product of his labor and there was a short work day and a merry life, and poverty, fear and disease were banished.

The workingman who had tipped off the people about the magician went back to his own country for a visit, and on the way passed through several other countries. He found to his surprise that every country in the world had a magician, or a capitalist system—which amounted to the same thing as a magician—robbing the people. But it made him rejoice to learn that millions of people in all these countries were getting wise to the magician game, and that Socialist Republics were soon to be established all over the world.

Any book mentioned in these columns can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. Unless otherwise stated, prices do not include postage.

FREE PRESS ANTHOLOGY. By Theodore Schroeder. Cloth, 280 pp. $2.00. Truth Seeker Co., Publishers, 62 Vesey Street, New York.

Just at present, when the liberty of the press and free speech in this country is being seriously threatened, Dr. Schroeder's compilation is exceedingly timely and should prove particularly useful to Socialists and others who from time to time are compelled to defend these principles. Dr. Schroeder has seemingly collected and selected the most forcible and trenchant utterances on these subjects from the pens and speeches of the world's most famous writers and orators. So far as we know, there is no other work of this kind extant, and we particularly recommend this volume as indispensable to the libraries of Socialist locals, as well as to individual students, as it contains a wealth of argument in advocacy of free speech and press that is invaluable to those who may be called on to defend those principles by voice or pen.

The volume opens with a reproduction of John Milton's famous "Aeropagitica," perhaps the finest classic on this subject in the English language. This is followed by extracts from the writings of the great liberal philosophers of all countries, amongst whom may be mentioned Spinoza, Locke, Voltaire, Bentham, Mill, Huxley, Spencer and Lecky. A third chapter entitled, "Laconics of Toleration and Free Inquiry," gives shorter excerpts from a multitude of writers and thinkers upon this subject. Chapter IV reproduces Pierre Bayle's "Explanation Concerning Obscenities," which that great scholar was compelled to write in justification of a "Historical and Critical Dictionary," which he had prepared and published. The remaining chapters are devoted to defenses of the freedom of Sex Discussion and liberty of speech for Anarchists. An interesting appendix dealing mostly with instances of suppression of free press in this country concludes the work. We cannot too strongly recommend this excellent and timely volume, and sincerely hope that it may secure the circulation it so well merits.

OUR NOBLE FAMILIES. By Thomas Johnson. Paper, 138 pp.; 50 cents. Forward Publishing Co., Glasgow, Scotland.

The object of this work, which contains a preface by J. Ramsay McDonald, Socialist Member of the British Parliament, is principally to acquaint Scottish workingmen with the old-time methods used by their so-called "noble families" in grabbing Caledonia stern and wild. We are accustomed to think that our land-grabbing railroad financiers reached the high water mark of efficiency in land piracy, but whoever reads the historical accounts given by Mr. Johnston will agree that even as far back as the Middle Ages the Scottish land thief was perfectly familiar with all the devices employed in up-to-date land-stealing, and a few more besides, that our grabbers knew nothing of. Mr. Johnston takes care to give the historical and official documents in all cases of "conveyance" with which he deals, and some of these make mighty interesting reading. The modern Scotchman has a reputation for hardheadedness and shrewdness which is generally supposed to render him somewhat more swindle-proof than other peoples, but if this is really so, he certainly didn't inherit the trait from his ancestors, who, if Mr. Johnson's account is to be trusted, seemed to be particularly easy marks.

The general impression we receive from the book is that the mass of the Scottish people didn't care much about the land, anyway. There were a few that wanted it so badly that they simply took it. They have it now, and the question of to-day seems to us to be not so much how they got it as how to get it off them, a conclusion which one would think be quite easy for the shrewd, practical Scot to reach unaided by Socialist advice.

Books Received

HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES. By Gustavus Myers. Vol. I. Cloth, 296 pp. $1.50. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.

The three volumes of this work, two of which are yet to be published, can be procured for $3.50, payable in advance.

SOCIALISM FOR STUDENTS. By Joseph E. Cohen. Cloth, 153 pp. 50 cents. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.

THE MARTYRDOM OF FERRER. By Joseph McCabe. Cloth, 96 pp. 50 cents. Watts & Co., Fleet Street, London, England.

THE PENNSYLVANIA INFERNAL REGIONS. By Thomas F. Kennedy. Paper, 19 pp. 5 cents. Published by the author at 726 Frederick St., McKees Rocks, Pa.

THE SUBSTANCE OF SOCIALISM. By John Spargo. Cloth, 162 pp. $1.00 net. B. W. Huebsch, Publisher, New York.

EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM. By Edward Bernstein. Cloth, 224 pp. $1.00 net. B. W. Huebsch, Publisher, New York.

LIGHT OF LIFE. By J. W. Evarts. Cloth, 485 pp. $2.00. Published by the Author, at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

LADY MECHANTE. By Gelett Burgess. Cloth, 393 pp. $1.50 net. Frederick A. Stokes Co., Publishers, New York.

THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Prince Peter Kropotkin. Cloth, 610 pp. $2.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, Publishers, New York.

YOUR CHARACTER. By Elizabeth Towne and Catherine Struble Irving. Fancy paper cover, 96 pp. 75 cents. Published by Elizabeth Towne, Holyoke, Mass.

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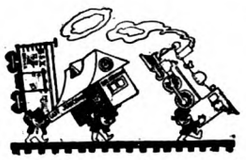
E. J. C., Rochester, N. Y. Does the Socialist program advocate the equal division of wealth among the masses?

This "dividing-up" accusation has a strange tenacity of life though answered innumerable times. Socialism stands for collective ownership of the means of producing wealth, a position which in no sense is to be construed as a literal division of existing wealth. The idea that railroads, factories, and productive plants of all kinds are to be literally torn piecemeal and every individual given "his share," is both a ludicrous and an impossible conception, which never had or has the slightest connection with Socialism. It is the ownership of these things that will be vested in the people, a condition that calls for no division of anything. The motto of this magazine, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts," certainly does not imply the disintegration and breaking up of the Trust property literally. It simply means that these properties will be owned by the public and operated for the benefit of the public instead of being owned by Rockefeller and operated for his benefit.



J. G. W., Oakland, Cal. Does the Socialist Party advocate physical force as a method of taking over the industries of the nation?

No Socialist in this country advocates physical force. It will not be needed if the capitalists fail to induce a sufficient number of workingmen to fight for the maintenance of their (the capitalist's) property. There are not now enough capitalists to make physical force effective, and there will be much less when the time arrives for the transformation of capitalist into collective property. Physical force is only possible while the capitalist boast of being able to set "one-half of the workingmen to shoot down the other half" stands good. If this fails, the necessity for physical force disappears, and it is exactly this situation that Socialists are trying to bring about by their teaching and propaganda.

P. J. M., Alameda, Cal.—Is there any truth in the statement that Socialists intend to abolish marriage when their system is established?

None whatever. This silly charge has probably grown out of the fact that Socialists recognize, as do all scientists and thinkers, that marriage and sex relations change with changing economic systems. On this subject see Engel's "Origin of the Family," which you can procure from the Wilshire Book Company for 50 cents. The anti-Socialist simply twists change into abolition, believing in his ignorance that present sex relations have always existed unchanged, as we have them at present. The mutual attraction that brings two people of the opposite sex into the marriage relation, is indestructible and beyond the power of Socialism to abolish even if that were the intention of Socialists. On the contrary, however, the Socialists state where two of opposite sexes can meet on a plane of economic equality will make marriage a much higher and purer relation than it is at present. And this is the only change Socialism will bring—a change not enacted by any law, but brought about by the changed environment.

F. L. M., Corinth, Miss.—Why is it that WILSHIRE'S *doesn't reply to Tom Watson's recent attack on Socialism?*

For several reasons. First, the limitations of space. Second, we never heard of the attack you mention. Third, we don't know who Watson may be, unless perhaps you mean a person of that name who has been a candidate some time ago of a defunct political group once known as Populists. If this is the person you mean there is no reason why WILSHIRE'S should interfere with his pastime. It no doubt amuses him, and certainly does Socialism no harm.

To secure and maintain the "right of free speech," power is much more effective than petitions.

Possibly Standard Oil means to obey that order of dissolution after it has paid its twenty-nine million dollar fine.

It will be observed that we didn't have to wait for Socialism to establish the "three minute divorce" as a permanent institution.

That declaration that "the Government will never rest until it has utterly destroyed the Sugar Trust" is just too sweet for anything—even belief.

Nobody has, to our knowledge, as yet raised the objection as to what we will do with the children who "won't work under Socialism."

Just because God is reported to have once said, "In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread," it doesn't follow that the sweatshop exists by divine sanction.

After all, the lives of workingmen are of some importance. The mine disaster in Illinois got nearly as much press space as did the news concerning the missing Colonel Astor and his yacht.

In capturing fourteen out of sixteen seats in the Berlin Council, the German Socialists appear to repudiate the dividing up policy in a political sense at any rate.

A religion which opposes Socialism is as false as a Socialism which opposes religion, but this fact has no relation whatever to any of the organized churches at present existing.

That insistent demand of capital for "a stable government" isn't necessarily inspired by solicitude for the comfortable accommodation of its working class mules.

We suspect that Mr. Rockefeller isn't quite prepared to furnish the dear public with "a grand dissolving view" of his Trust, as ordered by the Court. However, pending future developments he will furnish them with oil instead.

Of course, a magazine without advertising looks strange, but then we want to attract strange people—that is, people who are strangers to Socialism.

Our motto is, "Let The Nation Own The Trust." Say you saw this "ad" in WILSHIRE'S.

Henceforth, WILSHIRE'S will depend for its circulation on people who read articles rather than people who read advertisements.

"Blubberous Greenland"

THAT the farce-tragedy of the Carlo De Fornaro libel case has not escaped the notice of the newspaper humorists may be seen from the following skit by Wex Jones, one of the cleverest satirists writing for Hearst's *New York American*:

Smith Guilty—Ten Years

Ten years was the sentence given Carlo Smith, who was found guilty of criminal libel.

The case was one of unusual interest, the plaintiffs being Etookishook and Iwelsh, Eskimo citizens, who accompanied Dr. Snook on his dash from Brooklyn to the North Pole.

Carlo Smith has made a close study of conditions in Greenland and the Arctic, and as a result of his investigations he wrote a book called "Blubberous Greenland." In this Mr. Smith stated that the entire population trafficked in blubber, and that any official could be bought for a pound of it. He made other attacks on the government, especially on the graft in connection with the snow removal contracts. He characterized this work as an absolute farce, some of the snow being left on the ground for years and years. In fact, Mr. Smith declared, in spots the snow had been allowed to lie for hundreds of years, so that it had formed glaciers.

It was not to this part of the book, however, that Etookishook and Iwelsh objected. It was to the description of their trip with Dr. Snook, the famous explorer.

Carlo Smith's description of the "dash" to the Pole said:

"Etookishook and Iwelsh—is there any hidden joke in these names?—were ignorant Eskimos of low standing.

"What is their testimony worth? Nothing, absolutely nothing. They knew nothing of instruments; they couldn't tell whether they were at the Pole or a barber shop."

Counsel for the Eskimos, in an impassioned address to the jury, dwelt upon the cruel gibe at the names of his clients—names which had been borne honorably by their ancestors for hundreds of years back.

"As to the statement," said counsel, "that these gentlemen are of low standing—why, each of them stands five feet, which is far above the average in their community.

"'They know nothing of instruments,' says this sneering Smith. Why, gentlemen of the jury, Etookishook has taken his name from his skill in sewing walrus skin with bone hooks. Iwelsh is the inventor of a patent snow shovel. Know nothing of instruments, forsooth!

"And, gentlemen, consider the concluding statement in this despicable libel. This Smith says, 'They couldn't tell whether they were at the Pole or a barber shop.'

"What is this? A contemptible sneer at the whiskers worn by these gentlemen. Now, gentlemen of the jury, whiskers in this country may be a luxury—I notice some of your intelligent faces are well set off by handsome growths—but to the Eskimo they are a necessity, and if it isn't criminal libel to sneer at his tried protectors from the icy blasts, then there is no such thing as criminal libel, and the section relating thereto might as well be expunged from the statutes."

Although it was shown that "Blubberous Greenland" was printed in Eskimo, and that only one copy had been sold to Peatano's, for which the author had received a royalty of one snowball, the defendant was found guilty and sentenced to ten years in prison.

To Abolish Schools

HOWEVER the clerical element in Spain may deny participation in the murder of the late Francisco Ferrer, they seem determined at least that his works or anything bearing resemblance to them, shall not live after him, as the telegram quoted below seems to indicate:

Paris, Dec. 1.—A special from Madrid, via the frontier, says that the Spanish Episcopate has petitioned the government to close all the lay and modern schools in the kingdom.

Considering that upwards of seventy per cent. of the Spanish people are unable to read or write, it would seem that the Church in Spain evidently believes that even "a little learning is a dangerous thing." On the other hand, Spain should offer an attractive field for the American anti-Socialist who proposes to "educate the people out of the fallacies of Socialism." However, the Church is right. In backward countries like Spain, education means revolution just as it means social revolution in more advanced communities.

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A Socialist Gold Watch Free Weekly

Commencing with the week ending Jan. 8, 1910, and each week thereafter until further notice, we will present to the sub hustler who sends in the greatest number of subscriptions a handsome gold-filled watch, guaranteed 20 years, size 16, in hunting case, beautifully engraved with design shown in cut on this page. In each watch, on the inside of the back cover, the winner's name will be inscribed, with the statement that the watch has been presented to him for meritorious work in the cause of Socialism.

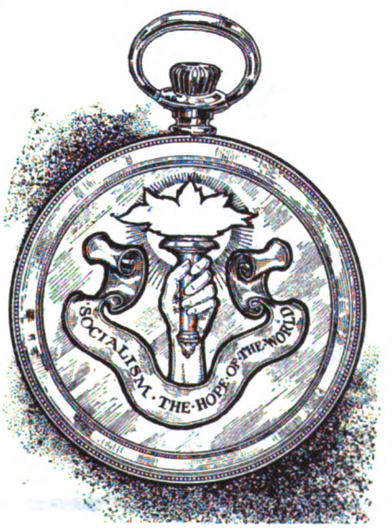
Contest for each week begins at 9:00 a. m., Monday, and closes at 1 p. m., Saturday.

The Comrade winning one of these watches will have a memorial of his work for Socialism that he will always prize, not only on account of its intrinsic value, but because of the way in which he has earned it.

But this is not all. To everyone entering this contest and sending in a list of eight subs or more in one week, we will present a beautiful gold-plated watch fob, engraved with similar design. Only one of these fobs will be given to a contestant, that is, you must send in at least eight subs to get the watch fob, but if you send in sixteen, you will not be given two.

All subs will be counted for the week in which they are received. The one sending in the greatest number of subs in any week wins the watch, but no one who has won a watch can compete for another while the contest lasts. We will give at least two weeks' notice in the Magazine when it is decided to discontinue the contest.

In case of a tie, the value of the prize will be divided between those trying.



Contestants for the trip 'Round the World with Wilshire's may compete in this contest, but subs sent in on the Watch Contest will not be counted on the 'Round the World Contest. To make it plain, a 'Round the World contestant may compete for a watch without dropping out of the 'Round the World Contest, but he cannot have the subs he sends in count on both contests.

Names of winners of these watches, with the number of subs they secured, will be published each month in WILSHIRE'S. You'll be surprised to learn how easily these watches will be won.

Do not delay, but get to work at once to secure one of these watches, as well as to help the Socialist Party roll up a vote in 1910 that will pave the way for victory in the Presidential Election of 1912.

BUY A BUNDLE OF WILSHIRE'S.

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, in its new form, has been designed entirely with an idea of producing a propaganda sheet for popular distribution. I expect "My Partners" to assist in this distribution. It is not by the single subscriptions that we hope to make the Magazine without commercial advertising pay its own way, but by the large circulation in bundles of from 5 to 100 for distribution by Socialists. Almost every one of "My Partners" can afford to invest at least a dollar in this magnificent work and get four copies of WILSHIRE'S each month instead of the single copy for his own use. These four copies, if judiciously loaned, will circulate our propaganda among a large circle of friends and acquaintances, and will be of great assistance in soliciting new subscriptions. Send in your order at once for a bundle at the prices given below. You will be able to increase your effectiveness as a propagandist many times over for a small sum of money.

PRICES OF BUNDLE SUBSCRIPTIONS TO ONE ADDRESS.

4	copies	six months	$0.50
4	"	one year	1.00
8	"	six months	1.00
8	"	one year	2.00
20	"	three months	1.25
20	"	six months	2.50
20	"	one year	5.00
100	"	one month	1.75
100	"	three months	5.00
100	"	six months	10.00
100	"	nine months	15.00
100	"	one year	20.00
500	"	one month	7.50
500	"	three months	20.00
1000	"	one month	15.00

I HAVE looked at this claim by the light of history and my own conscience, and it seems to me so looked at to be a most just claim, and that resistance to it means nothing short of a denial of the hope of civilization.

This, then, is the claim:

It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious.

Turn that claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim; yet again I say if society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed; discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we were doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward could not fail us! What serious harm could happen to us then? And the price to be paid for so making the world happy is Revolution.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor,
"Wilshire's Magazine," 200 William St., N. Y.

Dear Comrade:—

Please enter me on the Socialist Gold Watch Contest. I am enclosing you $..... for ..... subscriptions.

Name .....

Street Address .....

Town ..... State .....

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"Life, Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs"

FREE On This Wilshire History Offer

FREE, YES FREE

Positively and absolutely free. Free, just as I have announced. Free on this Great Special WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE offer. SEND THE COUPON.

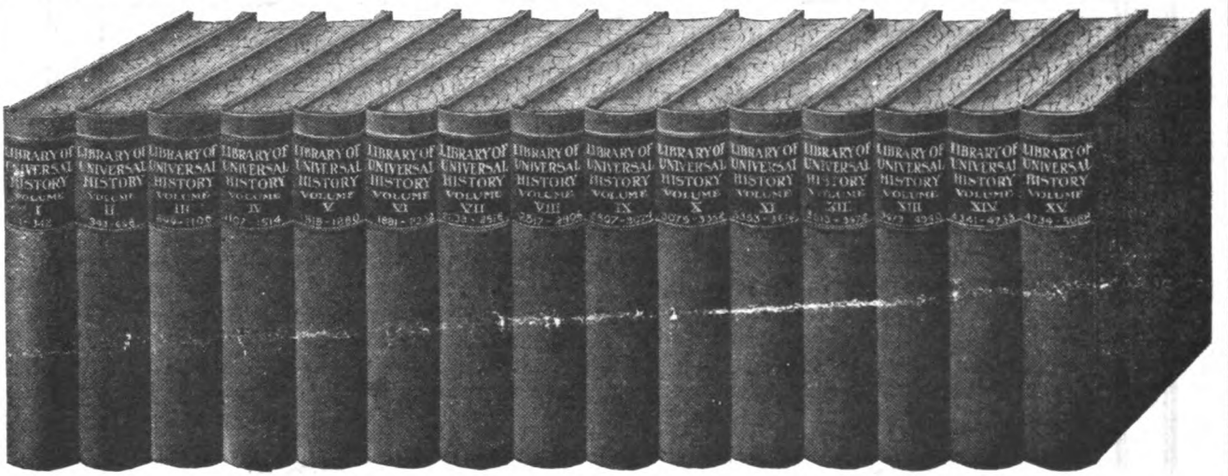
Comrades, this is one of the most liberal offers ever made. An offer which every reader of WILSHIRE'S should accept. The book which we are offering to our readers free is the authentic record of the Masterful Champion of Socialism—**Eugene V. Debs.** It is offered in connection with the great world's work of standard reference, the **Library of Universal History.** The coupon below will bring it to you.

Mr. Debs Says:

"The Library of Universal History is a work of admirable style and great excellence. It embraces in 15 large volumes, highly illustrated, 'a record of the human race from the earliest historical period to the present time.' I have found this work exceedingly helpful and in every way satisfactory, and I take pleasure in adding my testimonial to its worth to the long list of well-known persons who already have given it their unqualified endorsement."

Socialists, You Should Know History

Connect Socialism with the great lessons of history. We offer you today an opportunity by which you may become the owner of this greatest and most authoritative historical work **at less than half price,** and help the cause of Socialism at the same time.



Library of Universal History—15 Volumes SHIPPED FREE

HERE IS OUR OFFER: We will send you the complete set—15 Superb Volumes—right to your home for an absolutely **free examination.** There is **NOTHING** for you to pay for this examination. All charges are **prepaid.** Just open the box, take out the magnificent books and read them. Examine them critically.

Very important! We do not send out misleading sample pages. We send the books themselves. When you sign the coupon we instantly ship the entire Library complete and the FREE Debs book to you.

If, at the end of a week's free examination, you decide you do not want the Library for your own, notify us and we will arrange for its return at once without cost to you. Don't miss this offer while it **is still open to you.**

The Library of Universal History is a history written for the people **who work and produce.**

This history is not dominated by the capitalist spirit—not written to please the corporations and men of greed. It is a history **for the people.** It is the only general history of the world that gives a fair review of socialism and that recognizes the growing power of this movement.

The advance of socialism and the salvation of our country depends upon the way in which we apply the lessons taught us by other nations. The errors of the past teach a vital lesson. They are the danger signals along the pathway of progress.

Gather an insight into the future by reading of the struggles of the past. History foretells destiny. The same forces which caused the downfall of "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome" are at work in America today. You should know what they are. You should be **prepared** for any argument.

YOU NEED NOT SEND ANY MONEY

All we want you to do is to sign your name and address on the coupon here and mail it to us. That will bring the Library, prepaid, for free examination. If it does not please you send it back. But if you wish to keep it, as we feel you will after seeing it, you may do so at the great special **less-than-half-price** terms we are making here, now. The regular price of this Library of Universal History is $60.00, and it is worth it. It has been sold everywhere for $60.00. But our price to you is only 50 cents down and the balance at $2.00 a month for only fourteen and one-half months. More than a year to finish paying for it and the **total cost to you** is only $29.50—only $29.50 for this regular $60.00 Library. And you receive the great Debs Book Free besides. Fill out the coupon and mail it today.

Mr. Debs has this History. It is a part of HIS equipment for his great National Campaigns. Read what he says about it. His opinion was good enough for us. Is it good enough for you?

Socialists, act quickly! It is so easy to put off and delay. That is why many a great battle has been lost; why many a great cause has been set back. Act now, while you can get the Library at this price and the great Debs book FREE.

AMERICAN UNDERWRITERS CORPORATION, 240 Wabash Avenue, Dept. 2221, CHICAGO

Without any expense or obligation I will examine the Library of Universal History if sent to my home all charges prepaid. This is **not** an order—merely a request for a free examination. It is understood that should I decide to keep the set I am to receive, free, the "Life, Writings and Speeches of Eugene V. Debs."

Name.....

Address.....

Occupation.....

.....

.....

Sign This Coupon

A pencil will do as well as a pen. No need to write a letter. We will understand. Just sign the coupon, put it in an envelope and mail it to us. Act at once; there is still time if you sign and mail the coupon now. This is your opportunity.

AMERICAN UNDERWRITERS CORPORATION
Dept. 2221, 240 Wabash Ave., CHICAGO

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FEBRUARY, 1910 FIVE CENTS

WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GETTING "THE MAN HIGHER UP"

"Your board has no reason to believe and does not believe that any executive officer or director of this company had any knowledge of or participation in this fraudulent underweighing."—*From Annual Report of the Directors of the Sugar Trust.*

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One Man with Nerve Got a Gold Watch for $2.00

That headline means just what it says. One solitary individual who entered what he thought was to be a contest for a gold watch, and having no competitors, got away with it for just eight subs or $2.00 which he collected from other people.

There was no contest, nor can he be considered a contestant, seeing that he had none to contest with. So to-day Comrade Herman Rahm, of Staunton, Ill., is the possessor of a handsome watch bearing a Socialist design and his name engraved on the cover, and a gold-plated watch fob to go with it, just for collecting and handing in eight subscriptions. If that isn't easy money, we would like to know what is easier.

Looks as if Socialists—who loudly proclaim that they are fighting the class struggle—shy at the word "contest." We don't like to think that they have lost their nerve, but it certainly looks like it.

To our offer of a gold watch in last month's issue there was not one answer in the first week. One man entered the second week and won the prize the week following.

And, strangely enough, there were over a dozen of our hustlers, who had not entered the contest, who sent in from two to three times as many subs as Comrade Rahm, the winner of the watch, in the same week.

This isn't pleasant news for these hustlers, of course, but under the circumstances the prize could only go to the man who had grit enough to enter the contest and notify us of the fact.

However, while we might, with such a showing, be justified in calling off the contest, it still remains open. And after giving our hustlers the above details, possibly they may consider the matter worthy of some effort.

TERMS OF THE CONTEST.

Contest for each week begins at 9:00 a. m., Monday, and closes at 1 p. m., Saturday.

The Comrade winning one of these watches will have a memorial of his work for Socialism that he will always prize, not only on account of its intrinsic value, but because of the way in which he has earned it.

But this is not all. To everyone entering this contest and sending in a list of eight

subs or more in one week, we will present a beautiful gold-plated watch fob, engraved with similar design. Only one of these fobs will be given to a contestant, that is, you must send in at least eight subs to get the watch fob, but if you send in sixteen, you will not be given two.

All subs will be counted for the week in which they are received. The one sending in the greatest number of subs in any week wins the watch, but no one who has won a watch can compete for another while the contest lasts. We will give at least two weeks' notice in the Magazine when it is decided to discontinue the contest.

In case of a tie the value of the prize will be divided between those tying.

On the foot of the page we are printing a dozen or so opinions from comrades regarding the Magazine in its new form. These have been selected from several hundred, mostly similar.

Read these opinions over and you will find a general agreement that the propaganda value of the Magazine has been greatly increased. This being the case, let me again call your attention to the bundle orders and prices for same. Nowhere can you procure as effective propaganda literature at the price that WILSHIRE'S makes you. After reading the list of prices below send in your order for a bundle.

PRICES OF BUNDLE SUBSCRIPTIONS TO ONE ADDRESS.

4	copies six months	$0.50
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8	" six months	1.00
8	" one year	2.00
20	" three months	1.25
20	" six months	2.50
20	" one year	5.00
100	" one month	1.75
100	" three months	5.00
100	" six months	10.00
100	" nine months	15.00
100	" one year	20.00
500	" one month	7.50
500	" three months	20.00
1000	" one month	15.00

What Our Readers Say:

WILMOT I. GOODSPEED, Chicago, Ill.

The January WILSHIRE'S in its new form has reached me; and I have read it from cover to cover and found it good.

JOHN C. DARROW, Ashtabula, Ohio.

Just received the new WILSHIRE'S and am pleased to commend you on its appearance without the common advertising matter. As to its size I think its wings have been clipped a little close. To my mind, somewhere about ten by thirteen one-fourth inches would be a fitting size, but I may change my view later on becoming accustomed to its present size. But for all that, I am one of the—I hope very many—admirers of Wilshire's in any form.

THOMAS BRABAZON, Hartford, Conn.

I received WILSHIRE'S in its new form, and it is a great improvement. I think that the plays you publish in the Magazine should be eliminated. Straight reading is more readily understood. Mr. Sinclair, to my mind, is about the most graceful writer of the English language, and I look to see something more than plays from his pen.

WM. A. GOODWIN, Lindsay, Ontario, Canada.

Your new edition of the cheapest and the best monthly magazine that runs the gantlet of our obnoxious postal impositions on Socialist literature to hand. I am very much pleased with its improved appearance and the large amount of sound reading matter it contains. The fine articles of Odon Por and Ben Hanford are alone worth the price of a year's subscription.

The tender and touching description of unprotected women in the whirlpool of Chicago corruption, as illustrated in the experience of Dolly Jones, is most heart-rending. "Woman and Political Action," by Mrs. Harriet D'Orsay, is right up to date in pointing the true way to political liberty.

Socialist Lessons for Children is a most excellent department, and the editor deserves appreciation for the loving way of imparting instruction.

The page devoted to Economics, Science and Invention is a valuable record of social growth and the inevitable tendency toward social revolution.

FRED ANDERSON, South Carver, Mass.

Like WILSHIRE'S very much better since the change. Now keep it so. Don't enlarge it, as it is just the thing now. Sinclair's "John D." is all right.

CHAS. E. MURRAY, Manitou, Okla.

WILSHIRE'S in its new dress is very much appreciated by me. It has cut down somewhat in size, but not in good reading matter. Hope that its readers will number by the million in the near future.

H. VON HAYDENSCHATT, Chicago, Ill.

The new appearance of WILSHIRE'S is more satisfactory. The size of the magazine is about right and makes it more convenient to read, also to carry in the pocket. I wish you every success.

DANIEL E. RICHARDS, Scranton, Pa.

A very Happy New Year to you. The WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE in its new form is a vast improvement, making it more handy for perusal and much more convenient for preservation. Much success to it.

MARK W. CASLER, Delta, Ohio.

I have received the January number of "WILSHIRE'S," and wish to express my appreciation of same. In my opinion the Magazine is much better without the ads, and I heartily endorse your action in cutting out all commercial advertising.

J. A. C. MENG, Eureka Springs, Ark.

Accept my hearty congratulations on the expurgated WILSHIRE'S. It is a revelation.

Will I get subs for the new and beautiful WILSHIRE'S? Yes, Yes! Nothing but poverty or impenetrable parsimony could keep any one from paying a quarter for such a magnificent paper.

Write a Postal To-day

Taft in his recent message said he favored the increase of postage on magazines and periodicals 400 per cent.

The daily newspapers, however, will remain under the old rate.

Why this discrimination? Well, it has been said that the weeklies and monthlies are the only *independent* papers left. An increase of 400 per cent. in postage for them means either a corresponding increase in price or bankruptcy.

Write your postal to Congressman John W. Weeks, chairman, House Committee on Post office and Post Roads, Washington, D. C., and tell him what you think about it. Do it now.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor,
"Wilshire's Magazine," 200 William St., N. Y.

Dear Comrade:—

Please enter me on the Socialist Gold Watch Contest. I am enclosing you $..... for ..... subscriptions.

Name .....

Street Address .....

Town ..... State .....

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"LET·THE·NATION·OWN·THE TRUSTS"

WILSHIRE'S

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XIV No. 2 NEW YORK, FEBRUARY, 1910 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

The Morganization of the World

WHILE the American public has been surfeited with the recitals of the muckrakers, and stories of fraud, chicanery, corruption, outrage and oppression have followed each other in such bewildering succession that the ordinary citizen can hardly keep abreast of the headlines describing them, much less become acquainted with the multitude of details, there is one process, started years ago, which has never halted, and which steadily and relentlessly keeps its course, utterly regardless of, and unaffected by, the narratives of fraud and corruption that ostensibly form the important news of the day. We have referred to it many times in the past under the title of "The Significance of the Trust."

It has been a favorite and oft repeated prediction in these columns that while the general process of concentration was inevitable in the present order of things, and in no sense dependent on the action of certain groups and individuals, the entire control of this nation's sources of life was fast passing into the hands of the financial combination generally designated as the Rockefeller-Morgan interests, Mr. Morgan being, in the public eye at least, the active factor in the concentrating process.

However this may be—and it is not a matter of great importance whether Mr. Morgan is the shadow and Mr. Rockefeller the substance, or vice versa—it is an indisputable fact that this financial group has recently been drawing the economic power of the nation into its control, with a rapidity and on a scale never before approached.

Years ago lists and tables of the financial and industrial holdings of this group were published with the purpose of warning the American public of its vast economic power. A list of its holdings to-day, however, would make all former lists look pitiable and trifling in comparison. The one billion dollars of wealth controlled by it, which used to be spoken of as if the amount were so stupendous that it could hardly be grasped by the human mind, has grown to the still more incomprehensible figure of ten billions.

The process of wiping the small capitalist off the financial slate through the superiority of the Trust form of organization, has of course never halted, but in addition to this, we have seemingly arrived at the point where the large capitalist—the erstwhile master of from ten to fifty or one hundred million dollars—is being absorbed or eliminated with apparently as much ease as his smaller brethren. This is the day when the large capitalist is called upon to stand and deliver. The strong man, armed, has kept his house until now, but a stronger than he has come and evicted him.

Hardly had the late Mr. Harriman been buried when the fact was made public that the control of his vast railroad properties had passed into the hands of the Morgan interests, though it is possible and perhaps probable that these interests were always the real controlling power, with Harriman as their agent.

The results of the panic notably enriched this financial group. Coal and iron companies, railroads and industrial plants by the dozen were irresistibly drawn in their direction.

Little more than three years ago, Mr. Morse had consolidated a coastwise steamship trust, an ice trust, and established a chain of banks. Morse has disappeared from the financial world—disappeared into a Federal jail, where he is now known merely as "No. 2814"—and his holdings have gravitated in the same general direction. Pending the confirmation of his sentence he was permitted to leave the prison for the purpose of securing seven or eight millions of collectable assets, which he duly turned over to the creditors and was then thrust into jail again.

Heinze, the erstwhile copper king, has been eliminated. His holdings, accredited at about the same as that of Morse—sixty millions—have disappeared, and in all probability have taken the same course. Possibly that auxiliary of the Rockefeller-Morgan group known as "Amalgamated," the recital of whose "crimes" enriched our vocabulary through the medium of Mr. Thomas Lawson several years ago, and which has recently evolved into the billion dollar copper trust, could if it would, a tale relate of where the Heinze holdings have gone.

Mr. John R. Walsh, banker, railroad promoter, mine-owner and general all-round financial crook, has gone the same route as Morse. A search for the heirs of his financial power would disclose the trail running in the same general direction.

In a little more than a week after the municipal elections in New York City, came the news that the financial control of the enormous assets of the Equitable Life Assurance Company had passed from Thomas F. Ryan to J. Pierpont Morgan.

And this is but the beginning of the passing of Ryan as an active financial power in the economic life of the country. Signs are not wanting that his grip on the existing traction properties of New York City is being loosened, and the ever ready hand of the Morgan-Rockefeller group is waiting to act as receiver. To-day's financial news (Jan. 3) announces that "Mr. Morgan is having the books of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company examined as a precedent to his finding $100,000,000 to finance proposed extensions and improvements." What this portends is not difficult to perceive. Just as Mr. Ryan compelled August Belmont to stand and deliver several years ago, so now is Ryan himself confronted with his future devourer, the insatiable Morgan. In less

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than five years' time it is a safe prediction to make that the entire traction properties of New York City, all existing and all projected lines, will be completely in the control of the same combination. The defeat of Tammany has rendered it certain that so far as future franchises for city transportation are concerned, Mr. Ryan will not be considered. And that situation, desired by the big interests, was in all probability the real issue of our recent "anti - Tammany" campaign.

There is, however, another and much larger victim in prospect, who in the course of a very few years will yield possession also to the same combination. The financial news of this date (Jan. 3) also recounts the fact that Mr. Morgan has secured control of the Chicago Great Western Railroad, a "Vanderbilt road" so-called, and has authorized a bond issue of $75,000,000 immediately after getting control. Unless all signs fail, this presages as a next step the invasion of that "Empire" over which Mr. James J. Hill now reigns as absolute monarch.

Outside of this and in other directions, this combination is extending everywhere its control. Following the acquirement of the Equitable with its $472,000,000 assets, came the passing of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, a ninety million dollar concern, into the same hands. Two more trust companies, the Mercantile with $68,000,000 and the Equitable Trust Co. with $63,000,000 going the same way. And even as we write this comes the news of the absorption of the Morton Trust Co.—formerly controlled by Ryan—and the Fifth Avenue Trust Co. into the same insatiable maelstrom.

The acquirement of these properties, together with the existing banks already in control of Mr. Morgan and his associates, gives them control and influence over financial institutions—banks, trust companies and assurance companies—with assets amounting to $2,292,860,382, a sum amounting to more than $800,000,000 in excess of all the coin and bullion which could be furnished by the combined central banks of England, France, Germany, Austria and Belgium.

The control of these stupendous resources gives the combination a power and influence in other properties, mostly railroads, whose combined assets amount to $7,653,961,606, these concerns, some of which are completely controlled by the Rockefeller-Morgan interests, all obtaining their funds through the banking institutions of this great combination.

We do not present these figures in the hope of astonishing or alarming our readers. Astonishment and alarm cannot and will not undo what has been accomplished, nor prevent what is yet to be accomplished. We would not if we could, and could not if we would, throw the smallest obstacle in the path of this development, or leave the impression even that there is the slightest chance of checking its progress. On the contrary, while we are well satisfied with the progress made, we would, were it possible, turn over at once the entire control of the property of the country to this group. They seem to want it, and the American people seemingly do not. At present they will have nothing to do with Socialism except through Rockefeller-Morgan as a medium, and this being the case we are perforce content.

We can even acquiesce in the proposal made by the January *Review of Reviews* after giving in detail the account of the Morganization of America. The financial department of that publication says:

> It is not a theory; it is a present condition, the tendency toward centralization of banking power. The only question is: Should there not be a centralized institution more powerful than any other, on the board of which representation shall be given to the people of the United States? The year or more before legislation to this effect can be proposed, may well be spent by good citizens in self-education.

That is suitable advice. The "year or more before legislation can be pro-

MARX'S FORECAST

That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the laborer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many laborers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the imminent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending scale, the co-operative form of the labor process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and this, the international character of the capitalistic régime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.—Karl Marx, "Capital."

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posed" will afford sufficient time for Mr. Morgan to gather in, or perfect plans for gathering in, the remnants that yet remain outside the possession and control of himself and his associates. Much may be done in this direction while the "good citizens" are educating themselves in the pleasing delusion that there is, or may be evolved somewhere or out of something, "an institution more powerful" than the Rockefeller-Morgan group, which will call a halt on its domination.

While Mr. Morgan can find jobs for the majority of us, and can manage to secure markets for what we produce while permitted to work on his properties, there will be no real objection to his financial rule. When he fails to be able to do this, as he will and must eventually, there will be nothing more for him to do than surrender in turn to the American people, after forcing a like situation on his financial rivals. And then, and not until then, will the American people discover that they cannot run America on the Morgan principle either, and their only alternative will be the establishment of an Industrial Democracy based on the collective ownership of the nation's sources and means of life. Mr. Morgan's mission is to bring individual ownership—capitalistic ownership of property—to the point where it becomes impossible. He is the last term in its series.

So in the meantime, WILSHIRE'S will do its part in pointing out the necessity of Socialism, confident that Mr. Morgan will not neglect his, in making that practical demonstration, which, much more than theory, always impels a community to action.

Britain's Jobless Men

It is very difficult, perhaps almost impossible, to get any approximate idea of the amount of unemployment in the United States. During the recent depression the estimates differed widely, running usually between two and seven millions. Whatever the number may have been, however, it is reasonable to suppose that it has decreased somewhat during the slow revival of business.

In Great Britain, on the other hand, where much more accurate information on this subject is available, it seems that unemployment is still on the increase. A recent consular report from London states the total number of applications for relief by those out of employment in England and Wales was 196,757 for the year 1908-9, while the applications for the previous year—1907-8—were about ninety thousand. "The number of men," says the report, "who applied for relief in 1908-9 constituted 4 1-10 per cent. of the working male population of England and Wales, while it represented but 2 1-10 per cent. in 1907-8, and 1 9-10 per cent in 1906-7. Miscellaneous or casual laborers furnished 47 4-10 per cent. of the applicants, and 16 9-10 per cent. were furnished by the building trades. The number of applicants from the engineering, shipbuilding and metal trades was 50 per cent. higher in 1908-9 than in the preceding year."

These figures, the consul states, are those of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and Relief of Distress.

Two suggestions for the solution of the unemployed problem were submitted by the Commission that may be worthy of notice. One was to the effect that State funds for the relief of unemployment should take the form of supplementing trade union funds. The suggestion states farther that "it is very doubtful whether it would be wise for the trade unions to accept State aid if it involved loss of independence and an interference with their efforts to improve wages. There is little doubt, however, that grants of this kind would enormously increase their membership."

The other suggestion is somewhat different. It says: "In order to prevent the spread of the unemployed as a class, it is probable that drastic measures ought to be taken, such as those recommended to check vagrancy. For the idle and the worthless who now form the noisy section of the unemployed, it might be necessary to establish semi-penal colonies."

THE UNEMPLOYED

By HUGH J. HUGHES

I am the shifting sand beneath the walls
Ye build and call the State. I am the Fear
That haunts you in your boasting and your dreams
Your dead youth's lost occasions! Yea, I am
The corse beneath the fabric of your Dream!

I am the shifting sand beneath the State.
Your laws, your customs, creeds, I undermine.
I laugh at your conventions, meant to bind.
Your Creeds! To me they purvey only lies.
So as ye build, I bury that ye build;
The walls ye rear upon me do decay.

I am the dream of Evil ye have dreamed;
The uncouth Hun, the Vandal, and the Goth;
The savage come again to leer, and laugh
Into forgetfulness the domes ye build.
Your learning, culture, visions—these shall fade,
And I shall pour your wisdom into pools
To sink, and fail, and so be lost to man.
I am the youngest anarch of the world:
I neither love nor hate, I only leer.
A gibbering ghost of manhood, o'er your dreams.

I am your Brother, driven forth to die!
These are your cities, empires, and demesnes—
And these your doles—to toil!—and still to toil!
To render unto Caesar, not the tithe,
But all, that Caesar of his will bestow
That in his wisdom "recompense" is writ—
The helot I, your brother equal born!

These are your cities; I will make them dust!
These are your empires; they shall disappear!
These your demesnes—Forgetfulness shall be
Of all ye said, or did, or hoped, or sung!

Ye did inherit much, but did take all;
So I shall ravish in its bloom your hope,
Shall make your boast of culture all a lie,
Shall make you know the emptiness of dreams!

Hear once again the word of him ye scorn!
I am that Ishmael ye have doomed to die;
I am the fair Occasions ye have flung
Aside as void of value and of life.
I am the Fear that haunts you in your halls,
And senates, and the temples of your God.
And as your systems crumble and decay
Heed well that I did tell you and now tell—
I am the shifting sand beneath the State!

The Ultimate Lie

(G. K. CHESTERTON in *London News*)

They have tried to set up the preposterous pretense that those who are rich in a State are rich in their own merit, and that those who are poor in a State are poor by their own fault. Mr. Kipling, in his swan song of suicide in the *Morning Post*, speaks of the unemployed laborer as the man "whose unthrift has destroyed him." He speaks of the modern landlord as the man who has toiled, who has striven and gathered possession. Now there are some occasions upon which a blasphemy against fact renders unimportant even a blasphemy against religion. It is so in these cases in which calamity is made a moral curse or proof of guilt.

It becomes quite a secondary fact that this new Tory theory is opposed to the Christian theory at every point, at every instant of history, from the boils of Job to the leprosy of Father Damien. It does not matter for the moment that the thing is un-Christian. The thing is a lie; every one knows it to be a lie; the men who speak and write it know it to be a lie. They know as well as I do that the men who climb to the top of the modern ladder are not the best men, nor the cleverest, nor even the most industrious. Nobody who has ever talked to poor men on seats in Battersea Park can conceivably believe that they are the worst men of the community. Nobody who has ever talked to rich men at city dinners can conceivably believe that they are the best men of the community. On this one thesis I will admit no arguments about unconsciousness, self-deception or mere ritual phraseology. I admit all that and more most heartily to the man who says that the aristocracy as a whole is good for England or that poverty as a whole cannot be cured.

But if a man says that in his experience the thrifty thrive and only the unthrifty perish, then (as St. John the Evangelist says) he is a liar. This is the ultimate lie and all who utter it are liars.

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"DELIGHTFUL, mediaeval America! Always in the intimate personal confidence of the Almighty," is the comment of George Bernard Shaw in reference to the remark of a New York magistrate, who, in denouncing a shirt-waist striker, declared that the defendant was "striking against God."

Mediaeval nothing! On the contrary, the judicial metamorphosis of a mediaeval God into a modern shirt-waist factory owner, brings Deity strictly up to date, so to speak. Mr. Shaw doesn't seem to understand that public opinion here does not regard a knowledge of theology or economics as an essential qualification for the politicians from whom our judges are selected. We merely require them to do their duty, which is to side with the shearers against the shorn—with the capitalist against the worker, and this the magistrate in question did. That he utilized God in this process is a minor matter at most. It's immaterial what the judge says; it's what he does that counts.

Mr. Shaw should accept one of those numerous invitations to come to this country and see us as we really are. We may perhaps be a nation of villagers in other respects, but where up-to-date methods of coercing the laborer in the interests of the capitalist are concerned, we have nothing to learn from England or any other country on earth.

THE special commission appointed by the late Mayor McClellan of New York to consider the question of "equal pay for equal work" agitated so vigorously by the women teachers, has, as might have been expected, returned an adverse report. Its general finding, to quote the New York *Tribune*, was "that the market price ought to control, and that the city ought to have the benefit if the market price of women's labor is less than that of men."

In this decision we have two "oughts" in conflict. "Women who do equal work with men," say the women teachers, "ought to have equal pay." "The market price ought to control" says the special commission. And the special commission verdict stands. Between the two "oughts," might makes right.

Perhaps this finding is not as it "should" be, but it is as it "must" be under our present competitive wage system. Whether a woman produces educated children or shirtwaists, the law is the same—the market price of labor governs both.

One is tempted to declare that such a highly educated group as the women teachers "ought" to understand the commodity character of labor, but seemingly they don't. The special commission has imparted to them that very valuable lesson and we sincerely hope they will profit much by it. WILSHIRE'S heartily agrees with the principle enunciated by the women teachers that equal work should be rewarded with equal pay, regardless of the sex of the worker. But wages, are not now, never were, and never will be governed by considerations of ethics or morality. The wage question is in its very nature solely an economic question in which morality, ethics and justice have no place.

Equal pay for men and women doing equal work can only be realized when labor ceases to be a commodity and subject to the market price of commodities. And this in turn cannot be until the competitive wage system is supplanted by the co-operative system, or in other words, Socialism. But of course the women teachers could hardly expect the special commission to give them that information in addition.

IT may at first appear strange to find such a strenuous champion of law and order as the New York *Times* giving its editorial endorsement to the supposedly all-round vicious practice of bomb-throwing, but seemingly there are circumstances when right thinking people can approve of the use of the missile supposed to be peculiar to anarchists. When Karpoff, the chief of the secret police of St. Petersburg, was recently blown to fragments by one of these murderous instruments, the *Times*, like most of its contemporaries, duly performed the editorial spasms proper to such an occasion.

But a press dispatch from St. Louis relating the fact that several prominent citizens of that burg had exploded bombs in the home of a local "society" editor, who had "slandered" them in his paper, furnished the *Times* an opportunity of exhibiting some fine editorial discrimination anent bombs and bomb-throwers. The following extracts are from its editorial column of December 14:

> Somehow the incident lends a certain dignity to the surreptitious employment of explosive bombs which it has hitherto lacked. . . . .
>
> In St. Louis, blood runs high, and there is after all some sort of crude justice in punishing slander with an explosive bomb. . . . .
>
> We cannot applaud bomb-using, but we shall continue to feel a sort of savage satisfaction in the St. Louis use of bombs, unless it shall turn out, as we more than half suspect, that the bombs were quite harmless, and their employment was not sanctioned by the victims of the slander at all. It is just possible that they were advertising bombs.

Not being a Socialist publication, the *Times* of course is in no danger of suppression for endorsing bomb-throwing in this fashion. There is "a certain dignity" and what is more to the purpose, a certain safety, when a proper discrimination is made in the employment of bombs. Their use against the slanderers of the rich may be in some sort tolerated, but as against the murderers of the poor no justification of any kind is possible.

IN the November and December issues of the *Popular Science Monthly* may be found an interesting essay by Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy of the University of Missouri, entitled "The Argument for Organic Evolution Before 'The Origin of Species'," in which the writer marshals a large and convincing amount of evidence from the works of biologists previous to Darwin, which he holds are or were amply sufficient to establish the theory of Organic Evolution without waiting for Darwin's epoch-making volume. But as Professor Lovejoy points out, while these views were universally rejected by the specialists as a body, many of the very scientists who afterward became noted champions and advocates of Darwinism, among them the famous Huxley, also utterly refused to countenance the evolution theory as applied to organic life, though as Professor Lovejoy contends, there was ample evidence to establish it in the writings of many pre-Darwinian biologists.

Professor Lovejoy gives as a reason for this attitude, the general fear of the *odium theologicum* strongly prevalent at the time, a reason, however, which certainly does not explain the attitude of Huxley, who was an open and fearless antagonist of the Christian theology, and others of less note but of the same general attitude. Professor Lovejoy is at no loss to account for the opposition of the scientists of

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the day who were professing Christians, like Cuvier, Agassiz, Miller and others, but that Huxley should occupy a similar position toward the evolution theory is a matter he does not attempt to account for.

A historical parallel from the present could be easily drawn here. The attitude of the majority of our professional political economists toward Socialism is exactly that of the pre-Darwinian scientists Professor Lovejoy writes of. There is even more evidence to-day on which to establish the principle of evolution in industry and trace its course—an evolution leading unerringly to Socialism—than there was to establish organic evolution before 1859, but now, as then, the attitude of the majority of specialists is similar. The "Das Kapital" of Karl Marx has been by no means such an epoch-making work among the political economists as Darwin's "Origin of Species" proved to be for the biologists. However, this is much more than offset by the fact that over thirty millions of the working classes of the world find their motive and inspiration to action in the philosophy growing from the momentous generalizations of Marx. It is doubtful if the theory of evolution as applied to all subjects outside the industrial and political, has one tenth of this number of intelligent adherents throughout the entire world.

The characteristic of Socialism as a distinctive working class philosophy, is undoubtedly the main reason for the attitude of the majority of professional political economists toward it, though fortunately its establishment depends in no way either on their acceptance or rejection.

FROM the experience derived from a controversy with Mr. Burke Cockran several years ago, and which was at the time published in this journal, we knew that as a general proposition, Mr. Cockran's knowledge of Socialism was by no means so great as he would like to have it thought, but we were hardly prepared for such an amazing confession of ignorance on this subject as that gentleman displayed in his introduction of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., at the Lotos Club recently. Mr. Cockran's remarks on the occasion were thus reported in the press:

"Of the two old parties in England one charges the other with Socialism from stupidity, the other charges the first with Socialism for cupidity. Both are bidding for support of the Socialist Party. But there is a fourth party, and that stands like a rock in the torrent of Socialistic propaganda. It is the Irish party. There never was an Irish Socialist. There never was, so far as I know, an Irishman who furthered these principles, subversive of individual rights, the main feature of our civilization. The Irishman's instinctive opposition to Socialism is the strongest barrier to its march on the fortifications of our social order. I speak of this to show that Mr. O'Connor embodies not merely the cause of Ireland, but the principles on which stands representative government, on which civilization itself must rest."

While Mr. Cockran was thus delivering himself, over in Harlem, not ten minutes' ride away, the Harlem Liberal Club at 116th street was being filled by the Irish Socialist Federation in a protest meeting against the Spokane outrages. The speakers were Thomas Flynn, P. L. Quinlan, M. W. Bredin, Mrs. Alice Cassidy, Jack Walsh and Edward Cassidy, the meeting being reported for the press by Katherine Flynn.

At the same time, less than a mile away, James Connolly, editor of the New York Irish Socialist organ, *The Harp,* was preparing copy for the January issue of the paper.

Again, at the same time the columns of the Catholic religious press were filled with editorial complaints regarding the deluge of letters sent in from Irish Catholic Socialists, defending Socialism against clerical assault.

And still again, at the same time the Socialists of Dublin, Ireland, over a thousand strong, were starting their weekly paper, while the local priests were busily engaged in a political crusade against their activity.

But of all these things, Mr. Cockran knew nothing. It is a very convenient theory for a politician to assume that what he doesn't know of, therefore doesn't exist.

IN an editorial discussion of the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy in our November issue, we pointed out how and why the tide of battle was turning against the would-be preserver of the public domain. Since then the genial Mr. Taft has summarily dismissed Pinchot from office, in order to preserve the dignity of the government, the Chief Forester's zeal having outrun his judgment. The capitalist press, of course, supports Mr. Taft in the matter, while hypocritically deploring Pinchot's lack of discretion.

That there is some ground for the charge can hardly be denied. If Mr. Pinchot really wished to hold his office he certainly displayed poor judgment, and a most mistaken estimate of the "public opinion" which he expected would sustain him in protecting the remnant of the public domain from the greedy hands of private capital.

The trouble with Forester Pinchot was that he took his office too seriously. A politician of better judgment would have understood the nature of the position. While holding on to the emoluments, he would have thoroughly comprehended that its ostensible object, the conservation of the public domain, was under our present régime something like what its enemies say of Socialism, "a beautiful theory, but it won't work," for the reason that there are too many powerful private interests that will not permit it.

Some time ago we alluded to Mr. Pinchot as a "near-Socialist," but expressed scepticism as to the successful accomplishment of his object. An environment dominated by capitalist grabbers and land-thieves will naturally paralyze the efforts of any sincere and honest official who undertakes work of this kind. Now that Mr. Pinchot is out, however, and still declares his intention to carry on the struggle, there would seem to be no field for the exercise of his activity except that afforded by the Socialist movement. There alone can he find action, and there he logically belongs.

ELSEWHERE in this issue we reproduce a photograph of a building constructed in England by Socialist handicraftsmen, which is to serve as a meeting place and at the same time a memorial of the great craftsman, William Morris, who was a native of the locality. The building, which is a rare combination of beauty and utility, and most solidly and substantially constructed, is in itself a material refutation of the objection of our opponents that under Socialism the arts and crafts would decay and disappear and society be reduced to a dead level of sordid ugliness, the actual fact being that such a condition exists now as a direct result of the capitalistic régime. The example set by our English comrades in this respect, is one which might well be followed by American Socialists. A number of such meeting places erected by local Socialists in our smaller cities, would secure a publicity which would go far to strengthen and extend our propaganda, and we sincerely hope that the movement will soon be in a position to make at least a beginning in this direction.

Mr. John Kenneth Turner might as well understand that respectable people simply will not countenance the term "Barbarous" being applied to any country in which capital can be safely invested.

A million dollar dry-goods store is to be erected on the site formerly occupied by a New York Presbyterian Church, the expectation being that the congregation of women worshippers will not be in the least diminished.

Several recent deaths from starvation among the applicants in the Bowery breadline would seem to indicate that Mr. Taft's kindly address to these unfortunates was not quite as satisfying as was at first supposed.

The editor of the *New World,* a Roman Catholic publication in Chicago, gives it as his opinion that "the Saints of Socialism should be haloed with hell-pots of seething steel," an evident recognition that Socialists are not quite so hot-headed as he thinks they should be.

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Electricity and Agriculture

By ODON POR, *Special European Correspondent, Wilshire's*

THE demand for agricultural products is rapidly increasing, while the exodus of the people from the farms to the cities is taking on alarming proportions. Our industrial civilization, centered in the big cities, draws the young people with its glittering promises away from the farms. Farm work is considered dull, the farms are being deserted and the farmers are considered dull and reactionary people. This situation is really critical in every industrial country. But scientific progress is coming to save the situation, give a new impetus to agriculture, and pour new ideas into the farmers.

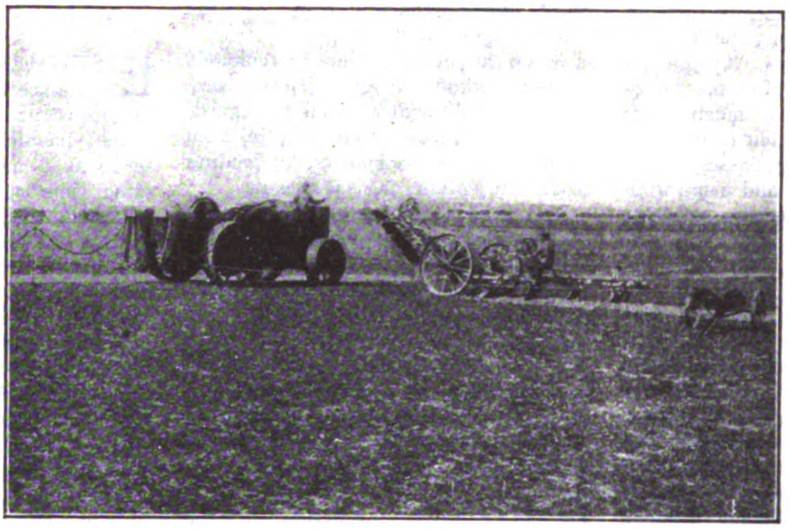
Recent discoveries in all lines of agriculture impress the observer with the fact that an agricultural revolution is impending. Burbank, Nilsson and De Vries have shown us, on a large scale, the possibility of quickly perfecting the existing fruits and vegetables; they have created new fruits and made edible fruits that hitherto were left untouched by man and animals. Biffen has conquered the rust, the most serious enemy of the wheat farmer, by creating a variety of wheat immune to that disease. There will be enough seed of this variety, in a short time, to eliminate rust all over the world, and thus save five hundred million dollars per year. Biffen succeeded also in creating a species of wheat and barley that combines a large cropping capacity with a high gluten content. The breeding of animals, the selecting of finer and more useful species, is being put on an increasingly certain basis. There is no telling where this creating, transforming and improving will end, nor what forms of social co-operation will be called into existence in order to put in practice these new scientific discoveries in agriculture.

The growing scarcity of human labor on the farms imposes the necessity of intensive production and a wide application of technical means. Hitherto the United States and England furnished the best agricultural machines and tools and were the model countries as to methods of cultivation. But Germany, Hungary and France are now superseding these countries by creating new types of machinery and introducing new methods of cultivation.

During the last twenty years the number of land laborers in Germany decreased by three million, while the crops increased very considerably. This is entirely due to the fact that the German farmers have realized that the greatest possible intensity of cultivation is the safest means whereby to control the forces of nature. Modern farming in Germany, and of course everywhere where intensive production is the rule, is becoming an industrial enterprise; the farms are becoming agrar-technical plants.

Germany leads the nations in the use of electrical machines in agriculture. Numerous farms have their own power stations or produce power co-operatively, for driving the various electric machines, for cultivation, harvesting and transportation, for running the pumping stations for irrigation and dairy processes, for illumination and numerous other uses.

After long study and experiment, and much disappointment, the German engineers have evolved an electro-plow, capable of accomplishing any plowing work under



Scientific Agriculture in Germany. The Electro Plow.

practically all circumstances. The heavy and expensive steam plow can be used profitably only on large farms in the low lands, and exclusively for deep plowing. The electro-plow is a profitable investment even for the small farmer, for it is much cheaper than the steam plow, does the work more exactly, needs less skilled attendance than the steam plow, and can work on steep hills that a horse plow can hardly climb. It is a light and very durable machine and can be easily transported. Experts have figured out, on the basis of 200,000 acres cultivated by this instrument, that electro-plowing costs about one-third of steam plowing.

It is conclusively demonstrated by exact figuring that the net product of the German farmers could be increased at least 33 per cent. by the introduction of the electro-plow and all the other numerous electrical appliances. The electro-plow has made it possible for the German farmers to open up for wheat cultivation lands which were inaccessible to the old methods of plowing. With the electro-plow Germany could produce all the wheat consumed in the country and consequently dispense with the importation of wheat. Without extending the area of cultivation, the German farmers could double their wheat and treble their potato crop by merely introducing the exact and scientific plowing made possible by the electro-plow.

It is significant that the same technical experts say that only a co-operative organization on a large scale and with a wide social outlook, could solve the difficult problem of financing and organizing the transformation of present agriculture into a scientific electro-technical enterprise. To establish the power-stations for long-distance transmission of electrical energy, to use the water-power economically, to put up the wires, to buy and build the new machines and the electric farm railroads, in short, the whole technical transformation can materialize, feasibly and economically, only through the merging of individual interests with the collective interest.

Recently another exceptionally important application of electricity in agriculture has been brought to perfection. Electro-culture, the influencing of plant-growth by electricity, has passed out of the experimental stage and is ready to be introduced on a large scale.

Prof. Lemström, of Helsingfors, Finland, during his frequent trips to the arctic regions, observed that there the development of the plants is accomplished more rapidly than in moderate climates, despite the heavy frosts during the nights. And he observed also that, notwithstanding the primitive methods of cultivation, the rye and barley are, both in quantity and quality, not behind the best German crop. He proved that this phenomenon is due to atmospheric electricity, which is far stronger in these latitudes than elsewhere.

Following on the lines of this discovery, he began, some 25 years ago, experimenting, on a small scale, with plants in pots, putting them under a net of wires charged with electricity. The plants thus exposed to electricity developed with extraordinary rapidity. He then repeated his experiments in the open air with plants set in the ground, and obtained marvelous results, in many cases getting twice the amount of plants from the field under the influence of electricity than from the "control field," where the same species of plants were growing but isolated from electrical influence. It is most remarkable that not only the quantity of the crop was increased, but the time of ripening was also shortened. Strawberries ripened in twenty-eight days under electro-culture, while they required fifty-four days to ripen in the "control-field." And not only the leaves and the fruit of the plants showed a marked difference, but also their roots. The general quality also improved, it being chemically ascertained that sugar beets treated with electricity contained 18 per cent. more sugar than the beets of the "control-field."

Lemström's experiments were taken up in France, England and Germany, and soon the fact was established that these

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striking results were independent of climatic conditions, and that they remain the same in all climates and in all soils, and that anybody, by following Lemström's instructions, can considerably increase his crops.

On a farm near Breslau, Germany, electrification increased the strawberry crop 128 per cent., barley 140 per cent., and the bean crop 32 per cent. Similar results were obtained in Sweden on a farm of about thirty acres.

After Lemström's death, the experimenting stopped for a while, but was taken up again by a young English electrician, Mr. Newman, who, together with Sir Oliver Lodge, one of the greatest living scientists, worked out a very simple and cheap method of practical electro-agriculture.

The farm of Mr. Bomford, near Birmingham, England, has been for the last four years the scene of most fascinating experiments of extraordinary social importance. It is interesting to note that the first steam plow was tried on this farm.

About ninety acres are treated here with electricity. A number of wires are stretched over the field on low poles, but high enough for loaded carts to pass and all ordinary farming operations to go on without any hindrance. The power is supplied by an oil engine and a dynamo. The electrification is maintained a few hours during each day. The consumption of energy is insignificant when compared with the results obtained.

Sir Oliver Lodge recently made public the results, stating that the increase in the wheat crop was "but" 30 to 40 per cent. Considering the fact that Lodge experimented on a large scale, and under average practical agricultural conditions, this is a stupendous result. The 100 to 120 per cent. increase above mentioned came from laboratory and garden experiments conducted under specially favorable circumstances.

The scientific chemical tests made by the Bakery School, in Birmingham, found the electrified wheat richer in certain contents and better for baking purposes. This was confirmed by the experience of the bakers, who willingly paid 7½ per cent. more for this electrified wheat than for the ordinary kind.

In Germany, Mr. Max Breslauer, Professor at the University of Charlottenburg, has experimented in this line with great success. He put, this year, three farms of two hundred and twenty-two acres each, under electric treatment, and installed an experimental station for the University of Halle, Germany. At the date of this writing the results are not known yet, but Mr. Breslauer will communicate them to me as soon as they are figured out, and I will publish them in WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE. On the basis of the results hitherto obtained, he puts the cost of an electro-culture plant for two hundred and twenty-two acres at $1,200, machinery, wiring and instalment included. Five kilowatt hours per day suffices for the treatment of this field. This amount of power would cost in Germany 25 cents per day; 150 days per year are enough for a successful electrification of the fields. Counting the expenses for extra labor, the interest on the invested capital, amortization, etc., the electrification of these two hundred and twenty-two acres would cost $250 per year. A farm of this size yields in Germany, under normal circumstances, $2,400 worth of wheat; with electric treatment it would yield, under the most disadvantageous conditions, 30 per cent., or $733 more. The net profit yielded by electro-culture would thus amount to $483.

Without going exhaustively into the very interesting theoretical explanations of the phenomena of electro-growth, we can predict from securely established facts that a new and powerful lever of agricultural development has been discovered. When these facts are widely known, it will be quite a commonplace thing to the farmer to treat his field with electricity, just as indispensable a work as fertilizing or cultivating with machines.

The introduction of scientific methods of cultivation and the industrialization of farm work will immensely stimulate the interest in agriculture; it will force the farmers to take up scientific study in order to keep pace with progress; it will bring them in contact with all sorts of new machines that will enhance their skill. Above all, it will force them to throw overboard their "individualism" and to seek co-operation, for, isolated, they will have neither sufficient financial resources nor the technical knowledge necessary for the introduction of these new methods of production.

The whole mental attitude of the farmers will be inevitably changed. They will feel the need of cheap water-power and cheap coal, and the urgent necessity will dawn upon them of dethroning the Water-Kings and the Coal-Kings.* The lonely farm communities will become vast industrial centers, full of intensified and pulsating life. The dulness of farm life will vanish, for the endless new scientific and social problems, kept in the foreground by the industrial transformation, will keep the imagination of the farmers alert. The new impulse given by science and technical progress will be felt in all manifestations of life.

For want of space, however, I leave it to the reader to imagine the inevitable economic and social transformations that must come in the wake of these discoveries.

(Concerning the electrical machines, and especially the electro-plow, see the articles by Kurt Krohne in the Elektrotechnische Zeitschrift, XXIX. Jahrgang, Heft 39, 40, 41. On electro-culture, Dr. Max Breslauer in the Elektrochemische Zeitschrift, August, 1909. Dr. Max Breslauer, Berlin-Hoppegarten, Germany, will answer every inquiry as to electro-culture. I hope that some enterprising American farmer, with a scientific turn of mind, will become interested in these discoveries and erect the first electro-culture plant in America.)

* See my article "The Water Kings *vs.* The Nation," WILSHIRE'S for May, 1909.

THE GENIUS AND THE IDIOT

"Bezique" in London Clarion

The Genius and the Idiot, wrecked on a desert strand,
Were weeping hard to see around such quantities of sand:
"If it were only sugar," cried the Idiot, "'twould be grand!"

"In socialistic countries," quoth the Genius one day,
"You'd be my equal, it appears, and draw the self-same pay;
But here I'm your superior!" The Idiot cried, "Eh!"

"You see I've more intelligence than you—this is no quirk—
I hate all beastly duties, they a man of talent irk;
So 'tis your end you'll plainly see, to up and do the work!"

He found the Idiot a spade, and called it "Capital,"
And forthwith sunned him in a mead and sipped a cordial;
When on his ease there brake a voice, a-calling: "'Ere, old pal!

Do I do ALL the digging, then?" observed the Idiot,
"While you sit down and sun yourself in some fair fragrant spot?"
"I found you work," said Genius. "To grumble, friend, is rot!"

Uprose that silly Idiot, as though stung by a gnat,
And cried, "I'll only do my share, and you'll do yours, that's flat;
I may be sappy in the head, but not so soft as that!"

Quite vexed, the Genius remarked: "You're sweeping Law away,
The Sanctity of Home—and things, religion, too, you slay.
I'll find you no more work, my friend!" The Idiot cried, "Hooray!"

And so the Genius sulked in spleen, and at Rebellion cried,
Whilst all day long the Idiot his mattock fiercely plied;
What Nature gave him in return, he kept—and Genius died.

Pasadena's Electric Rates

(Inyo Register, Bishop, Cal.)

An electric lighting company in Pasadena was charging its patrons for current for lighting purposes at the rate of fifteen cents per kilowatt hour. It has now established a new rate card under which the charge will be five cents—in Pasadena. Charges by the same company in Los Angeles are unchanged. Los Angeles consumers will pay nearly twice as much as consumers in Pasadena. Why? Competitive municipal operation there of a public utility.

Beginning Jan. 1, under the new schedule, small consumers will pay at the rate of five cents per kilowatt hour and the charge will be "graduated down as low as four cents for heavy consumers." Obviously the object is to drive the municipal plant out of business—the municipal plant that put the charge down to eight cents per kilowatt as against the fifteen cents that had been exacted from consumers by the same company that is now preparing to charge but five.

Charging eight cents, the municipal plant made a profit sufficiently large to show how great were the gains exacted under the company's fifteen cent rate.—Los Angeles Express.

The Pasadena municipal plant having reduced its rate to 3 cents for large consumers and 7 cents for small ones, the Edison Company goes it one better in that city. Its new sliding scale is 2¼ cents per kilowatt for 2,000 or more kilowatts per month; 3¼ for 1,000 to 2,000; 4¼ for 500 to 1,000; 4¾ for 100 to 500; 5 cents for 100 or less.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

Final official returns of the recent municipal election in New York City give the Socialist Party 11,768 votes, the S. L. P., receiving a total of 1,256. In New York County, which includes Manhattan and Bronx, these parties received respectively, 6,811 and 813. Hearst polled in the Greater City no less than 154,187 votes.

Doctor Cook it seems got but a hundred thousand dollars for his lecture and magazine work on his discredited discovery of the North Pole. Public morality is at a very low ebb indeed, when an individual can be found to actually lie for such a paltry sum.

Seventy-five per cent. of the output of Japanese matches are taken by China; European and American exports of this product having become a negligible quantity.

Boiled down to a simple statement the increased cost of necessities merely means that the producers are getting less of their product than before.

During the first six months of last year there were 398,710 births in France, and 426,913 deaths, the latter exceeding the former by 28,203.

The moral of most of those obituary notices of the late Leopold of Belgium seems to indicate that to be "a good business man" covers a multitude of scoundrelisms.

The Austro-Hungarian Government has undertaken the maintenance of an institution devoted to purposes of radium research. The building contains seven laboratories, and is the first of its kind in the world.

In a recent address at Chicago, Judge Peter Grosscup, speaking on the destruction of Trusts, declared that we "might as well pass statutes abolishing the solar system." Then he proceeded to advocate their "regulation." Judge Grosscup evidently doesn't believe in carrying an analogy too far.

Trust prosecutions are not altogether useless in that they serve as a species of natural selection through which the survival of the fittest corporation lawyers is decided.

Within the last two years, American syndicates have acquired considerably over two million acres of the best agricultural land in Mexico. The purchase of land by American capitalists is now proceeding at a most rapid rate.

Following as closely as they dared, the American precedent in the Fornaro case, the Russian Government has just sentenced a publisher to twelve months' imprisonment for publishing a book by Tolstoi.

The new passenger rates on the Swiss Government Railways permit one person to travel for twelve months for $144.75, first class; $101.32 second class, and $72.37, third class. For two persons for the same time, the rates are respectively $193, $125.10 and $96.50.

So far as "regulating" the Trusts is concerned, we believe that Messrs. Rockefeller and Morgan are quite as competent and considerably more able to do so, than the politicians who represent them in Congress and Senate.

A merger of great Canadian iron, steel and coal companies is announced with a total combined capitalization of nearly $60,000,000. The company claims to have a bed of ore estimated at two hundred million tons in Newfoundland, while the collieries owned by the concern are practically inexhaustible.

Of 1,347 strikes in Germany in 1908, 206 were successful, 437 partly successful and 704 unsuccessful. During the year the number of lock-outs was 177, of which 56 per cent. were successful in bringing the workers to terms, 39 per cent. were adjusted or partly successful and 4.5 per cent. unsuccessful.

The strike may perhaps be an "evidence of prosperity," but it's the kind of evidence that is usually suppressed.

In the following British cities where the production of gas is undertaken by the municipalities, the price of the product per thousand feet is thus given in a consular report: Birmingham, 47.8 cents; Glasgow, 55.4 cents; Manchester, 54.08 cents; Sheffield, 30 cents; Nottingham, 60.06 cents; Leeds, 49.08 cents, and Widnes, 24 cents.

That judge who appointed Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as a grand juror to investigate the organized "white slave traffic," made a wise choice. No one better than young John D. understands the necessity of all kinds of traffic being organized.

The telephone and telegraph monopoly, now forming under the control of J. Pierpont Morgan, is to introduce a device which will do away with the services of messenger boys. The telephone subscriber can write his dispatch on an electrical device which will instantaneously reproduce it in the telegraph office.

If you imagine that rich men cannot be sent to jail in this country, just watch what happens to aspiring capitalists who, like Mr. Morse, attempt to establish unauthorized trusts to compete with those already in control.

The number of co-operative banks in Ireland has increased from one in 1895 to 273 in 1908. They are composed of associations of small farmers, and are organized by an association known as the Irish Agricultural Organization Society.

In the recent discussion of Socialism in the British House of Lords, not a single member described it as impracticable or not likely to come in a thousand years. Sometimes the fear of Socialism is the beginning of wisdom.

Nearly nineteen million acres are under cotton in India for the present season, an increase of 10 per cent. over last season. The cotton growing areas of the world outside of the United States are increasing with great rapidity, especially in Asia and Africa.

Operatives in Mexican cotton factories receive 50 cents for a work-day of eleven hours. On the cotton plantations the laborers receive 37½ cents for the same number of hours.

The authorities of the Boston Public Library have decided to preserve Dr. Frederick A. Cook's book on his discovery of the North Pole, in the department allotted to "the literature of imposture," where we presume the numerous volumes on capitalist political economy will also be finally deposited.

A recent revision of rates on parcels sent to the United States, through the British Government Postal Service, raises the maximum weight from four pounds six ounces to eleven pounds. Since the two cent rate on letters between Great Britain and the United States has been in operation, the number of letters between the two countries has increased 25 per cent.

The denial that might makes right is always more positive and emphatic before might has actually made the demonstration.

Usually the people who object to Socialism as a "dividing up" scheme, have no objection to "dividends" produced by the labor of others, when they themselves happen to be the recipients.

The salt industry in Italy is a government monopoly, the revenue derived from it being appropriated to government expenditures. The Government both imports and exports salt, and its importation and production are forbidden to private individuals.

Like the Socialist, the non-Socialist workingman has also nothing to lose but his chains, the only difference being that the latter doesn't know enough to want to lose them.

Latest statistics of the Co-operative Societies of Great Britain show a total of 171 engaged in distribution, and 35 in production in Wales alone, and the number is increasing rapidly.

Necessity knows no law, and the Trust being a necessity can therefore afford to ignore it.

The Brazilian Government is to undertake a vast irrigation project in the three states, Ceara, Parahyba and Rio Grande do Norte, and will open up these states by an extensive railroad system which it will also construct in connection with the irrigation work.

We would suggest as a reason why the people don't go "Back to the Land," that they are going "Forward to Socialism" instead.

The Japanese Government has established a cigarette factory at New-Chwang, Manchuria. Japanese workmen will fill the principal positions, while unskilled work will be performed by 250 Chinese boys at wages of three cents per day. The American Tobacco Trust has heretofore supplied Manchuria, and the Japanese have determined to secure a share of the trade.

It is quite true that the capitalist advocates the open shop for the sake of principle—also interest—and profit.

The beet sugar industry has made a definite start in England, a company with a capital of over $600,000 having made an arrangement with 250 farmers for a constant supply of beets. A mill is being erected which will deal with 500 tons of beets a day.

In these days of big business it is quite natural that Dr. Cook, having only made a trifling hundred thousand dollars out of his fake discovery, should be generally discredited.

A ten thousand acre tract in Brazil has been acquired by a Japanese syndicate. It proposes to establish an agricultural colony with Japanese laborers.

The municipality of Liverpool, England, is erecting new and sanitary dwellings to accommodate 2,828 persons, in all 558 buildings. Over ten thousand people are already housed in buildings constructed by the municipality.

The Socialist press in Finland is reported to be in such a flourishing condition that the capitalist papers cannot stand the competition, four of them having already suspended publication, and many others are on the point of doing so.

With the cost of foodstuffs continually rising, "plain living and high thinking" becomes a virtue easily constructed out of necessity.

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Progress and Poverty

(*Special to the N. Y. World.*)

Chicago, Jan. 2.—Twenty-five prominent men of the country contribute expressions of opinion as to the force of Christ's teachings in politics, business and international relations during the last two decades in a symposium read to-night before the Plymouth League of the First Congregational Church, Oak Park. Opinions are unanimous that the spirit of Christ is a greater force now than formerly.

(*Special to the N. Y. World.*)

Chicago, Jan. 2.—Chicago awoke from its New Year's celebration to learn that 1909 had gone out on a wave of crime without parallel in the police records of the city. Two hold-up men were killed in trying to rob saloons; another was fatally wounded; a thief shot a saloonkeeper; one man met death in a drunken quarrel; two murders followed in the wake of love affairs and a woman was shot and a boy wounded in the holiday celebration. The end of December brought to a climax the worst month of thuggery the city has known. More than 300 houses were entered by burglars in the month. The number of reported hold-ups and street robberies is 134.

(*Headlines, N. Y. World, Jan.* 4.)

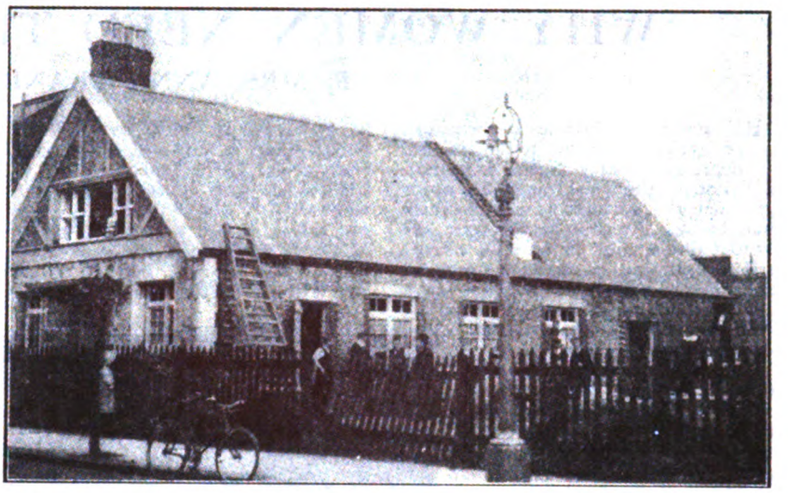
Over $240,000,000 Paid in Dividends or Interest Here. Greatest January Disbursement by Banks to Holders of Securities in the History of Wall Street Proof of Trade Revival Throughout the Country. Failures of 1909 Much Fewer than in 1908, with Greatly Reduced Liabilities.

(*Headlines, N. Y. World, Jan.* 4.)

Two Men in Bread Line Drop Dying from Hunger. Aged One Expires at Once and a Hundred Hungry Sufferers Reach Across His Body to Clutch the Food. Younger of Pair, Taken to Bellevue, Cannot Live. Older Victim, 60, Had Supported Companion, 28, to Haven that Held Hope.

A WILLIAM MORRIS MEMORIAL HALL

This beautiful and substantial structure recently completed at Walthamstow, near London, as a meeting place and lecture hall, is unique in that it is the only building in England which has been literally constructed by local Socialists in their spare time. It is called the William Morris Hall, and was completed in about six months, the official opening taking place on December 18 of last year.



Many comrades contributed their artistic knowledge and craftsmanship to the beautifying of the building. One designed an ornate lead-light window for the front; another, an Italian comrade, modeled a beautiful bust of Morris, which was unveiled with appropriate ceremony at the official opening, while others contributed tapestry, ornamental brass and metal work and various other decorations. The entire work was a labor of love from beginning to end.

At the opening ceremonies on December 18, which were attended by many prominent English Socialists, Walter Crane, the great English artist, made a splendid address on the ideals of art held by Morris, and while unveiling the bust, praised its workmanship as highly artistic. Walthamstow, by the way, was the birthplace of Morris.

There is some debt on the building yet, and Comrade Charles E. Buck, secretary of the local, will be glad to accept any donations American comrades may make toward wiping out the debt. He writes that he has already received some financial assistance from America and considers it a splendid evidence of the international character of our movement. His address is 9 Stainforth Row, Walthamstow, England.

Industrial Unionism

"WHY Strikes Are Lost—How To Win" is the promising title of a five-cent pamphlet issued by the Industrial Literature Bureau at 305 West 127th Street, New York, the author William E. Trautmann being one of the most prominent and active members in the organization known as the Industrial Workers of The World. He points out with much truth the fact that most strikes are lost owing to the lack of industrial solidarity among the workers, Unions being to-day mostly organized on the principle of craft autonomy, each union that enters into an economic struggle with the employers is fatally handicapped by lack of support from other workers of different crafts. That this is true, few will deny. Mr. Trautmann advocates as a remedy for this state of affairs, the industrial form of union as opposed to craft unionism, claiming that by presenting a united front to the employers in the event of a strike the prospects of victory are much brighter. However completely demonstrable as this is, it by no means follows that the suggestion will be accepted and acted upon with any great alacrity, the comparatively poor success of the Industrial Workers of the World seeming to prove this. As a matter of fact, a grasp of the fundamental truths of Socialism is first necessary before even a simple truth like the superiority of industrial over craft forms of trade unionism can be understood sufficiently to impel people to take the initiative to putting it in practice and forming labor organizations on a new basis. Practically all the ablest and most persistent members of the Industrial Workers of the World are Socialists, and it would seem that only through persistent and long-continued Socialist propaganda can the Industrial Unionists find the necessary conditions to make their organization powerful and successful. The non-Socialist union member, strange though it may seem, is usually too deficient in intelligence to grasp at once the truths of industrial unionism and bestir himself for their practical application.

Mysteries of Economics

IT is with peculiar satisfaction that the Socialist sees from time to time statements made in the editorial columns of high-class journals that are merely echoes, though unconsciously so, of positions taken by Socialist thinkers generations ago. For instance, every well-read Socialist is familiar with a position taken by Marx to the effect that the capitalist system of production was a mystery to its upholders, that around money and the money form of capital had grown up a fetichism in the capitalist mind—mysterious movements and properties that presented themselves as abstractions not unlike religious concepts to the bourgeois. Here is a quotation from an editorial in the *Saturday Evening Post* of a recent date confirming this position:

> As for economics it ranks somewhere between psychology and psychics—a step, perhaps, ahead of this new fangled "eugenics" which the professors lately invented. Concerning so gross a phenomenon as the panic of two years ago there is no clear, settled opinion among the learned. We hear rappings; the table seems to tilt; a voice in the dark—possibly that of departed Little Bright Eyes—cracks a stale joke. But as to what it really signifies we are much at a loss. A round silver dollar seems about the commonest, simplest of objects, but scientifically it is as mysterious as radium.
>
> We ourselves are fond of finance and economics, because those subjects have the charm of the undiscovered. We think a new America lies somewhere concealed within them.

We suggest as an explanation for the mystery concealed in the "round silver dollar" that money being the real god of the business man, must, like his conventional Deity, "move in a mysterious way, its wonders to perform." However, the *Evening Post* man is undoubtedly correct in his speculation that "a new America lies somewhere concealed within them"—when the mysteries are unveiled by Socialism, we might add.

A sample copy of this issue is an invitation to subscribe, also to give your opinion of the magazine.

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OUR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

Conducted by MRS. GAYLORD WILSHIRE

WHY WOMEN NEED THE BALLOT

By MRS. ANNA BRANDT

THE greatest obstacle to woman's progress is to be found in her deprivation of political existence. The ballot is the one thing she needs to give her the position of a full-grown human being. At the present time she is treated like a child or an idiot except that if she commits a crime she may be fined, jailed or hanged the same as a man. Who has made the laws to this effect? The Government, or those who have the right to vote, and as men are the only ones who have the right to vote, they are to blame for the conditions of to-day.

Why is it that men think a woman cannot understand politics? Are politics harder to understand than anything else? Give us the right to vote and we will make it our business to understand politics.

Every man expects a woman to be domestic and perfect in household duties. That is a mistake. Neither women nor men are all fitted for one kind of work. All men are not good business men or good workmen. There is not one thing in which men are alike. A great many women dislike household work. Who blames them? In the never ending round of wearing, weary tasks, there is great reason for her dislike. Unfortunately men do not appreciate what she does and think women's work amounts to nothing. They are mistaken enough to think that only their own work counts, and even when a woman goes into their world and does their work as well as themselves they sneer and point out the feminine quality in it. Men prove their lack of appreciation of women's work by the fact that they consider her just wage to be board and clothes.

A wife is the cheapest laborer the husband can get. That a woman's work has a money value he does not comprehend until her death forces him to replace her in the household by a hired girl, whose wages vary from ten to twenty dollars a month. He is a surprised and astonished man at first and finally concludes it will be cheaper to get married again. Probably he proposes to the hired girl, and she, poor fool, surrenders her ten or twenty a month for a few dollars worth of clothing a year and the title of Mrs. and works harder and slaves more than she did as a girl. The keenest part of the joke is that when a wife gets any necessary article, either for the house or for her personal use, the husband regards it as a gift and gets warm around the heart thinking how generous he is and how grateful she should be. And the woman accepts it as a gift and very likely considers her husband openhearted and generous, when in truth and equity all that he gives her is simply hers by right of her position as wife and caretaker of his household. If the husband could realize before his wife is dead that she is a wage-earner, she would receive, without asking for it, a proportionate share of the family income as her indisputable right. Mill says in one of his works that when franchise was finally given to men it was regarded as a substitute for fighting and because women were not in the army and had no share in the military establishment of a country; they were not given the franchise not because of the selfishness and brutality of the men, but because the women were not present and therefore not considered. If that is the case, we have to be present and plead our cause if we want consideration. There is no reason why we should not be considered because there has never been a time in the history of world when women did not have a share in its industrial life. From dim primeval days to the world of to-day she has always been a maker of things. But like most valuable factors in the world's progress, woman's world has either been ignored or undervalued. In 1819 Mr. Hamilton, in a report to Congress, mentioned the great volume of household manufacture being made not only for domestic distribution, but for export as well. These articles were made at home where the loom and the spinning wheel formed a necessary part of the household equipment. Later on when machinery took all this work out of the home, the women followed it to the factory where they worked side by side with the men doing the same amount of work, but not receiving the same amount of wages. In the walks of life where education is a factor of success, woman has demonstrated her ability to hold her own, and in the sixty years of her opportunity to prove herself a capable human being she has established herself in the industrial and professional life of her people. There is no reason to believe she would prove less efficient in the realm of political life.

To hasten the day when women can exercise the franchise let us unite our efforts to support the Socialist Party, which is the only political party which declares Woman's Suffrage as a part of its program.

Mrs. Meta Sinclair,
Wife of Upton Sinclair, the well-known writer. Among progressive women, Mrs. Sinclair is known as a prominent and effective worker.

California Women Active

I want to tell W. N. P. L. readers about my recent visit to San Francisco and the other towns about the bay. I went up to attend the State Central Committee meeting of the Socialist Party. In that body there were just three women, Mrs. Jennie Arnott, of Palo Alto; Mrs. Sanford, of Santa Cruz, and myself. The two days of conference, under the able chairmanship of Comrade Ambrose, of San Francisco, were wonderfully harmonious, considering the trying matters considered, and the opportunity for hotheaded debate.

I had the pleasure of meeting with the women of the Wm. Morris Club, Oakland and Berkeley Unions, as well as of the lively union of Elmhurst, at the home of Mrs. Hunt, Berkeley. The meeting was called that I might have the pleasure of getting acquainted with these splendid women of the North, and that I might bear to them the greetings of the Los Angeles Union. Some of them I had known for years by name. It was a delight to meet them face to face, as well as to clasp hands again with the few I met some years ago, when we organized the State Union.

Late in the week, I met another little group of Socialist women over in San Francisco, at the home of Mrs. Felala.

At Palo Alto, Mrs. Arnott drove us through the University grounds and then back again to the home of one of the Comrades, where we found the women holding their regular meeting out in the yard upon the green grass. They had just been reading a chapter on co-operation from Mills' "Struggle for Existence," and all entered heartily into the discussion of the same, after which there were light refreshments and a social hour.

My heart was cheered to find so many able women keenly alive to the Socialist movement. We can take courage—surely the Cause is marching on.

MARY E. GARBUTT, Los Angeles, Cal.

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W.N.P.L. Correspondence

ANNUAL REPORT

Rock Island, Illinois, W.N.P.L.

Friday, November 12, 1909.

Met at home of Mrs. Edgar Owens, Rock Island.

Attendance of members, 12; visitors, 5.

Minutes read and approved.

Motion carried that we have two secretaries, a corresponding secretary and a recording secretary. Election of officers resulted as follows: President, Mrs. Rose Maass, Moline (reelected); vice-president, Mrs. Anna Carlson, Rock Island; treasurer, Mrs. Josephine Beck, Moline; recording secretary, Mrs. Anna Brandt, Moline; librarian, Mrs. M. Verhale, Rock Island.

Mrs. Rose Maass,
President, Rock Island, Ill., Branch, W. N. P. L.

Vote of thanks given to retiring officers.

Reading of "Woman's Invasion," by William Hard in *Everybody's Magazine.*

Friday, November 26, 1909.

Met at the home of Mrs. Andersen, South Heights, Rock Island.

Attendance of members, 14; visitors, 3.

Decided to send the "Progressive Woman" to the Moline and Rock Island Public Library, permission having been secured.

Mr. and Mrs. Blandy, organizers for the American Woman's League, gave a talk on the plan and purpose of the League and how the W. N. P. L. would be benefited by joining in the work of securing a local Chapter House. Much interest was aroused by the talk.

Year's Report for 1909.

Held twenty-six meetings, average attendance being 14. Average attendance of visitors, 5.

Lessons given in WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE were read by the chairman and discussed by all members.

One hundred copies of "Socialist Woman" and five hundred leaflets distributed.

Added two new books to our circulating library, viz.: "They Must," by Rev. H. Kutter, and "Socialist Readings for Children," by Spargo.

Held three lectures: Mae Wood Simons, March 2, at Y. M. C. A., Rock Island, and Mae Wood Simons, on Labor Day, at Prospect Park, Moline; Miss Anna Maley, November 14, at Y. M. C. A., Rock Island.

Sold one dozen subscription cards for the "Progressive Woman," and six cards for the "Chicago Daily Socialist."

There were four sociables given, in which ice cream and coffee were served. Very successful.

Total receipts for year	$109.30
Expenditures	96.90
Balance on hand	12.60

ANNUAL REPORT

Livingston, Montana, W.N.P.L.

Woman's National Progressive League held its annual meeting at the home of Mrs. Rosa Bauman, October 7th. Officers were elected for the year 1910, as follows: Mrs. Rosa Bauman, president; Mrs. Thyra Wilks, vice-president; Mrs. Phoebe Benolken, financial secretary; Mrs. Flora Bartsch, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Anna Tegmyer, treasurer, and Miss Ara Baker, state organizer.

The other members of the League are: Mrs. Anna Campbell, Mrs. Anna Gollmyer, Mrs. Emily Beckman, Mrs. Dora Patterson, Mrs. Almian Beack, Miss Gerly Shrinn, Mrs. Matilda Anderson, Mrs. Florence Steeves.

We have had several good articles read and discussions on Socialism at our meetings. The following are some of the topics discussed: Socialism and the Child Labor problem; Elizabeth Cady Stanton on Socialism; Woman and the Social Problem; Frances Willard on Socialism; Woman and the Socialist Party; An Appeal to Women; Why the Socialist Women Demand Universal Suffrage.

Objections were answered, and we also took up the question box.

Our League meets twice a month, on the first and third Wednesday. All our members are very enthusiastic, and are planning to do still better this year than they have done the last.

MRS. PHOEBE BENOLKEN, Financial Secretary.

AS THE WORKERS LIVE IT

By **BERTHA WILKINS STARKWEATHER**

MINKA stood near the great gate of the steel mill enclosure with other women and some children. They had all brought dinners in baskets and pails. Minka's basket was new, and a clean white cloth covered the hot dinner inside.

As the whistles blew, hot and sweaty men came rushing out and soon little family groups had settled near the gate, the men eating ravenously, the women and children nibbling something by way of good fellowship. Minka smiled patiently, for Alexo was late; but he would come to the gate soon. Who kept his word like Alexo?

But after a while her smile became wistful—his dinner was getting cold and she stood in strained expectancy looking through the mill gate.

She saw men carrying stretchers into the dark house near the gate; a great explosion had occurred. The gate officer seemed much excited. He was carefully taking down names and work-numbers into his note-book as the men passed by with the stretchers.

A scrap iron cart drove up. Minka saw them dump seven bodies out on the platform before the dark house. One of the seven moaned—he was not dead yet, so the driver told the men to take him upstairs into the hospital ward instead of downstairs, into the morgue. Minka stared in wide-eyed terror.

When all the men had returned to their work, and the women and children had all gone home, the officer came out to Minka as she stood patiently waiting for Alexo.

"What's his name?" he asked.

Minka understood. She showed the officer one of Alexo's old work-cards. He turned away to inspect the list in his note-book. Then his scarred face drew up into a queer scowl.

"You better go home now, maybe he come home soon!"

She smiled stubbornly, shifted her weight to the other foot; but she remained in her place.

The interpreter, too, tried in vain to prevail upon Minka to go home. For an hour she waited; then they called for one of the women who worked downstairs in the laundry of the dark house.

This poor, unlettered woman, in the freemasonry of sex, laid her arms around Minka's shoulders and told her that Alexo was in the dark house. He had groaned as they had dumped the dead from the cart.

Minka was about to become a mother, so they could not let her take the sheet away which covered him. They told her that he was not suffering now. Only his right hand was out; his strong, rough, kind right hand. She clung to it until it was quite cold and then her neighbors came and took her away.

Even in death, Alexo had kept his word.

When Minka and her neighbors were going out of the great gate, the officer kindly brought out the basket. Minka stared at it; then she took off the white cloth, and as she looked at the little cold dinner, she fell into a deadly swoon. They sent her home in a fine carriage at the company's expense.

As the Press Reported It

CHICAGO, Sept. 16.—An unknown number of men, probably 20, were seriously injured to-day by an explosion of molten steel in the Illinois Steel Company. The men were removed to the company hospital and no information is given out about the accident.

Our Winter Study Course

TEXT BOOK—SPARGO'S "BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN."

Compiled by MRS. MARY OPPENHEIMER.

Lesson III. Chap. II Pages 57 . . . . 87. The School Child. Main points to be noted: Section 1. Futility of expecting efficient education when the teacher has poor material to work upon in the form of chronically underfed children too weak in mind and body to do the work required of them. Sections 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, are concerned with investigations in regard to underfed school children. This problem of poverty in its relation to childhood and education is, to us in America quite new. Detailed investigations relating to the breakfasts of the children.

A Socialist Book for Children

Q. What makes the needless poverty, sorrow, and pain?

A. The laws and customs which make it possible for a few to own the things which all depend upon for life—the things which Socialists want to make social property.

Q. How does the ownership of these things by a few make needless poverty, sorrow, and pain?

A. Because when a few own the means of life upon which all depend, those who do not belong to the class of owners must work for wages and make the owners rich. They have to toil hard and give most of what they produce to the owners and remain poor themselves.

The above questions and answers are taken from a catechism which fills ten pages at the end of the book, "Socialist Readings for Children." This catechism is one of the many features which make the book very valuable for the education of children along Socialist lines. It is being used with great success among leaders in children's Socialist Schools.

SOCIALIST READINGS FOR CHILDREN. By John Spargo. Price, $1.00 per copy. 5 copies to one address. $3.75.

Woman's National Progressive League, 200 William Street NEW YORK, N. Y.

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OUR CHILDREN'S PAGE

WE want the children to take this page for their very own. They can do with it as they like. Write letters telling us what you would like on this page. We know there must be something you would like very much indeed. Your letters, your little stories, your plays, your poems, will be given a place of honor in these columns. Wouldn't it be fine to write something nice enough to be published? Send anything you may write to the Editor of the Children's Page, who loves children, big and little, more than anything else in the world, and you may be sure she will take as much interest in your work as your own mother does.

SOCIALIST LESSONS FOR CHILDREN

By JACK BRITT GEARITY

[NOTE.—*These lessons are merely outlines, suggestive, and the teacher must supply the illustrations, which for lack of space cannot be given here.*]

LESSON V.

How Children Play

How do children play?

Very small children play alone. Little tots play with a playmate. And older children play in groups. As we grow our play changes until often it is very hard to tell where play ends and work begins.

How does baby play?

The baby plays with its own fingers and toes, or some noisy toy, such as a rattle or a squeaking doll. Baby crows and laughs and kicks, plays alone, and satisfies itself.

How do little tots play?

Little tots seldom play alone, they want a playmate. Little tots want to run and jump and shout in their play. So, very often, when there is no little boy or girl to play with, the child plays with a cat or a dog. But to be really happy the little tot must have a playmate.

How do larger children play?

Boys or girls seven or eight years old prefer to play in groups. The social spirit is beginning to develop. The desire to win the admiration of his fellows now begins to show itself in the child, and he begins to use his strength and skill and cunning for the pleasure of others. The child's chief joy is to make his playmates laugh.

Watch a group of boys playing a game of baseball, and see how each one does his best, so that his group may win. Watch a group of girls playing house or some other game, and see how much pride each one takes in making her group the best.

Now, the happiness of each child is part of the group's pleasure. If the group works well, the joy of each child is great. If one child is selfish, there is trouble and the game is broken up, and all are unhappy.

How do boys and girls play?

Children above ten prefer to play in larger groups, and their pride in the victory of the group is much more intense. The games of these older children depend on the hearty good will of the entire group. If all play fair, all are happy. If one cheats or sulks, the game is spoiled and the whole crowd are unhappy. So, then, the big lesson which the children learn from their play is that the joy of each depends upon the happiness of all.

Come, I will make the continent indissoluble;
I will make the most splendid race the sun ever yet shone upon;
I will make divine magnetic lands,
With the love of comrades,
With the life-long love of comrades.
I will plant companionship thick as trees along all the rivers of America, and along the shores of the great lakes, and all over the prairies;
I will make inseparable cities, with their arms about each other's necks;
By the love of comrades,
By the manly love of comrades.

Walt Whitman

LESSON VI.

What Children get from Play

What does baby get from play?

From its play baby learns how to use its fingers and toes and feet, how to laugh and crow and kick, which it must learn before it can learn how to walk and talk. Baby also gets health and strength from its play.

What do little tots get from play?

Little tots soon learn that there is a lot of joy in romping and shouting with a playmate, and they also learn that if they want playmates they must make those playmates happy romping and shouting. If they quarrel with their little playmates, there is no more fun, no more romping, and all are unhappy. The best thing that little tots learn from their play is consideration for others. Self-control of speech and feelings is also learned.

What do larger children get from play?

Boys and girls over ten get most from games which are largely imitations of what father and mother do, games in which work forms part of the play. They learn that self-control, truthfulness and patience will give them greater joy in their play than anything else. They also learn that respect for others must be the basis of all their activities in life. The chief lesson, the most valuable thing that children get from play is the social sense which teaches them that the happiness of each child depends upon all being happy. Children learn how to cooperate, how to act and work together, which fits them for work later in life.

All the children should have our Socialist leaflets. They are handsome, instructive, and entertaining. A new song, a new quotation, and two new lessons every month.

No Socialist Sunday School can afford to be without them. They are a great help to teachers.

Single copies one cent, 75c. per hundred. Write to the Woman's National Progressive League for a sample copy.

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Methods of Revolution

By ROBIN ERNEST DUNBAR

"The proper study of Mankind is Man."
—POPE.

THE time has arrived when it is necessary to speak out plainly on the subject of Revolution. So many are claiming to be revolutionists who do not know the meaning of the word. Some of them are in high councils of the only professedly revolutionary party in the world—the Socialist Party—and others constitute the body or the "rank and file," as they most unfortunately term themselves—unfortunately because this misnaming tends to perpetuate the popular misconception, that revolution is necessarily accomplished by force and arms.

Russia and Revolution are regarded as synonymous. They are more or less correctly interlinked, but not more so than America and Revolution. Revolution in Russia is bound to be bloody, because the autocracy is bloody. Revolution in France, Germany, England or America is on an entirely different basis. In these latter countries, freedom of press, of speech, of peaceable assemblage, of religious worship, and of suffrage is more or less prevalent;—not so in Russia. Hence, several cataclysms will have to shake the land of the Czar before it awakens to the freedom of its democratic brothers.

The French Revolution in the 18th century was quite bloody; so was that in the 19th, but the English Revolution of 1688 was not in the least sanguinary. Our American Revolution was scarcely a revolution, but rather a successful rebellion; whereas the war of the Rebellion was in reality a real revolution. It was the culmination of the efforts of the North to force wage slavery upon the South. With this culmination, capitalism supplanted feudalism in the South. The landlords were forced to surrender to the manufacturers.

Another sort of revolution took place in 1876, when Tilden was counted out. He represented the middle class, but the capitalist class had begun to recognize its own power. The magnates of transportation got control of a common necessity—cheap and quick locomotion. They preferred the humble Hayes to the recalcitrant Tilden, and so they chose him who would serve them better. The era of the trusts was ushered in by Grover Cleveland. A revolution was maneuvered by the Captains of Industry in the Pullman strike. They made the government back their usurpations, by which they bound and rivetted their iron grasp on the powers of the State.

But these Revolutions are not commonly spoken of. They are rather ignored by the purblind historians of the day. And every effort to loosen the hold of the Capitalists on the State by Labor is fiercely denounced as an attempt at Revolution, Riot and Rebellion. The upper classes connect these things up with blood, because they are the first to shed blood whenever their absolutism is the least questioned. And they are the ones who rule by force and fraud, by arms and the ballot, by bribery and by bulldozing. The only thing they can't stand for is counter-organization, and that is the real cause of their half-hearted hatred of the Socialist Party. And that is also the cause of their antipathy to the unions. But of these, more anon; remember at this point, that Capitalists are not afraid of politics—that is their best weapon. They have played that game too long to fear it.

Now after proceeding so far, it becomes evident that there are several methods of revolution. Popular analogies taken from the evolutionary theories of Darwin have been drawn many times to show that the growth upward and onward is gradual, rather than by jumps. This view seems to buttress those opportunists who seek for revolution through reform. But argument by analogy is full of quicksands. No sooner did these evolutionists rest from their labors than Mendelism came to modify their Darwinian doctrine to this extent: it proved that evolution proceeds by cataclysms rather than by the slow and painful method of gradual growth. I like biology. For nothing have I a deeper respect than the study of the animal and the

Robin Ernest Dunbar

vegetable kingdoms. But I like the science outside—not inside—my sociology. If I want to study the bee, the ant and the polecat, well and good; that's my business, and none of yours. But when I try to transfer what I have learned there over into the human kingdom, then you, my dear comrade, have as much right to object as I have when you drag in your Bible and your metaphysics, to buttress your arguments on methods of Revolution.

We have a powerful weapon taken from Sociology, by which we can transcribe the inner meaning of society. It is the recognition of the class struggle. With this doctrine, one can protect himself in a crowd of cosmic dunces of microscopic asses. Study the history of mankind and interpret all acts materialistically, and you will arrive at more truth than if you read a hundred books of bromidic biologists, or a thousand screeds of sulphurous Socialists.

I have a letter from a student of the world, in which he says that he believes the old system will go out in a series of mutations or strokes, and I agree with him. He may not like the way I pull the rope, but, nevertheless, he likes the tones of the cataclysmic bell.

The first stroke tells of the subjugation of China to Capitalism. There is too much waste going on in the Orient for the Captains of Industry to stomach. The dollar abhors waste as the devil does holy water or air a vacuum. Turkey and Mexico are fast becoming Capitalistic. Individualism is everywhere departing. The entire world must become homologous. It must all become socialistic in production before it can become socialistic in distribution.

After Capitalism has run its course, some future Rockefeller will shed tears because there are no more worlds to conquer. He will load up his warehouses to the bursting point, but will find no customers, because labor will have no cash to buy with. Hard times will become chronic everywhere. Adversity is a good teacher. It will teach labor to organize industrially. The General Strike will be tried time and time again. The army will not be paid, and will become disaffected. It will join the Industrial Workers of the World, or some such organization. Wages will rise so high that rent, interest and profit will be cut into. Fifty-one per cent. of the workers will capture the industrial state, and will run it for its own benefit. That will be better than 10 per cent. controlling it, as it does now. How the 49 per cent. will afterward be cared for I can only faintly foreshadow. Maybe women will leave the industrial field and constitute the 49 per cent. Then the only way for them to get their share of the output of industry will be to capture the men for themselves. That solves the whole problem through the method of sexual selection, except 2 per cent. of the men. These will have to be disposed of by the women somehow. Maybe they will have to sit on the fence and see the rest go by.

Since writing the foregoing, my attention has been called to Gaylord Wilshire's pamphlet entitled "The Significance of the Trusts," and I was struck with the similarity of his argument to mine. The explanation is easy to make. Mr. Wilshire is one of the closest students of Capitalism in America, if not in the world. He understands it both theoretically and practically, as proven by his writings and his actions. And that is as it should be, for as I have demonstrated, an intelligent Socialist must understand present society before he starts building a future one.

Another great student of Capitalist society is Bernard Shaw, with whom Mr. Wilshire delights to cross swords over some of the minor tenets of the *credo* of Socialism. Rockefeller has shown in his business and now in his book, keen appreciation of the underlying forces of capitalistic organization, viz.: the elimination of waste, and the efficiency of absolute control. These principles of co-operative industrialism must be deeply studied by the proletariat before it can cast off its old admiration for competition, individualism and anarchy.

The place where I leave Rockefeller, Shaw and Wilshire is right here. I have just as much admiration for the trust as they have, and in fact a little more. But I should like to see labor form a trust of its own! I'm in for the wage trust!

And why not? If you can form a trust in oil and sugar; in transportation and inter-communication; in drama and in grand opera; in air and water, land and sea, why not in muscle and brain? There is only one obstacle that I perceive. That is labor itself. Let us see if this obstacle is insuperable. The nearest we have to a

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labor trust in this country is the American Federation of Labor. The Supreme Court has declared this organization to come under the Sherman Anti-Trust law; —so its status has been judicially determined. But is this Trust the most efficient one? Does it eliminate waste, and exercise full control? Certainly not. Then what sort of an industrial organization would better serve the definition of a labor trust? Well, one that would absolutely control all the workers—hand and head—of industry. Industrial Unionism, such as we already see in the I. W. W. in America or in the syndicalists in France, who have merged themselves into one powerful organization called the Fédération Générale du Travail. Let Harriman control all the bonds and stocks of all the railways in the country; that control would be worthless if the laborers of those roads were amalgamated together into a close compact solidarity. Whenever he would give an order it would likely be countermanded by the Federation. Instead of dividends being declared to capitalists, there would be wages declared to workers. The solution of the wage slavery of to-day, then, lies in this: in the wage slave class raising its own wages. There is nothing so terrible in wage slavery *per se*. The veriest opportunist stops shrieking for political action the moment he is elected to a position with a fat salary attached. Give me a place where I can earn a daily wage of ten dollars, and I'll take it with the profoundest gratitude—provided it is the sinecure of a political job. No, there is nothing repulsive in high wages; but there is in low wages, and for these the working class is alone to blame.

Revolution has been most sensibly treated by a Russian author, Leonid Andreijev, in a drama entitled "To the Stars." He puts in the mouths of his characters statements that stand the acid test of truth. One of them is, "A Revolution is not in need of your whirlwinds, explosions. A Revolution is a profession, if you please, requiring lots of patience, perseverance and calmness." Bernard Shaw dwells much on the necessity of the worker becoming organized, and organization implies an appreciation of the benefits and advantages of capitalism. I have no sympathy with the howlers, the muckrakers, the disorganizers, who waste time and energy denouncing capitalists. Rough labor earns $10.00 every ten hours, and gets $1.50. Every quarter of a dollar it gains over this amount, and every quarter of an hour it shaves off its day, that much nearer it gets to the revolution. Just as the individual rises from the lowest to the highest class by acquiring money, so can the proletariat become the master class by getting more wages.

Wilshire is right about the breaking down of Capitalism. It will break down for many reasons; one because it will have to pay out its rents, interest and profits in increased wages. This disposes of Opportunism, of Impossibilism, of Political Action pure and simple, and of the Trade-Union Movement. It clears the deck for Industrial Revolution. In the meantime, let the grafters graft. They are merely juggling with the surplus profits of labor. Labor doesn't care who gets the spoils of its exploitation, so long as Labor does not get them. Labor is interested in wages, terms of toil, hours, industrial organization and other vital matters of its own most intimate concerns. It may try the general strike again, as it has heretofore. Each trial resembles one of the mutations of De Vries. And this sort of revolution takes in the soldier, the spy. Every one on the wage-scale list can conscientiously join the movement. It leaves out the professional and agricultural classes—but who cares for them? Too much of their anarchy has already permeated the revolutionary party. Their solution of the industrial problem consists in shooting down capitalists, electing leaders from the middle class to office and patting proletarians on the back and telling them to be patient while they lead them into the promised land.

In conclusion, may I be pardoned for relating a story that may throw light on the majority of American Revolutionists? Some time ago, I was asked to a lecture on Karl Marx to a small band of "reds," and, reversing the usual order of a soapbox speech, I asked them questions. Among others, I put this one: "How many of you have read Capital?" A single hand was raised.

A Revolutionist who has not steeped himself in Marx is a pretty poor specimen —no matter how many Socialist papers and magazines he may take. His radicalism is more apt to partake of class hatred than of class consciousness.

SOME NEW BOOKS

By **UPTON SINCLAIR**

LET me tell your readers about three interesting books which I have been reading of late.

The first of them is "A Certain Rich Man," by William Allen White. Perhaps you have already reviewed it, but it won't do any harm to comment further. I have been following White's magazine articles. He makes me think of a saying I used to hear from my grandmother when I was looking for something—"If it was a snake it would have bitten you long ago." You wonder just how long it is possible for a man to blunder around in the social labyrinth and not hit on the clue. White simply will not see Socialism; and the result is that his novel is completely spoiled—he could not find any way to end it. He had his rich man duly repentant, and aware of the wickedness of cornering the grain trade; but the best he can think of to do with his money is to give it back to the millers, so that the scrap may start all over again, and some other rich man may come out on top by precisely the same methods.

The second novel is by a Dutch writer named Querido, and is called "Toil of Men." He is said to be well known in his own country, though I never heard of him before. He is a great writer. The novel is a picture of the life of a small section of the working-class of Holland—the tenant-gardeners. It has left a vivid impression upon me. It is a terrible story told with wonderful faithfulness and sympathy.

The third novel is Wells's new story, "Ann Veronica." The critics tell us that this is the best picture of the "new woman" that we have had; that is true, and the story ought to be very useful to young girls who are afflicted with reactionary parents or guardians. Ann is a very winning young person, and what she wants is so obviously what every young girl ought to have, that it is difficult to see how the most obstinate conservative could hold his ground against her.

I have read every line that Wells has written and he never yet failed to interest me, but I have to record that with this novel, for the first time, I find myself dissatisfied with him. There is a new note in the story, a note of bitterness, almost of cynicism. Ann gets a glimpse into the gatherings of the Suffragists and of the Socialists. All she sees there are petty and rather disagreeable people, exposing their vanities and their inefficiencies. They do not satisfy Ann in the least; and so she goes off and gets herself a husband; and in the end we find that the husband has made a fortune out of writing plays, and that Ann has set up an establishment and is able to overwhelm and stun her stupid old parents with an exquisite dinner. Somehow or other, I felt that the victory over the old parents was a cheap one; and also I found myself unable to forget the suffragists and the socialists with their vanities and their inefficiencies. Ann is the heroine, and, of course, we have to rejoice over her success; but might we not have had a kind word or two for the unheroic and unattractive folk who, instead of getting married and serving exquisite dinners, remain below in the pit, and toil and go to jail for the sake of human progress? I understand that Wells had a falling out with some of the socialist groups in England recently. I do not know about the particulars of it, but if he felt about his fellow-workers as he has written about the reformers in "Ann Veronica," I can understand how the trouble arose.

ANN VERONICA. By H. G. Wells. Cloth, 377 pp. $1.50.

A CERTAIN RICH MAN. By William Allen White. Cloth. $1.50.

TOIL OF MEN. By Israel Querido. Cloth, 366 pp. $1.35 net.

Profit-Sharing Humbug

Less than twelve months ago, Mr. Andrew Carnegie made the not altogether original discovery that in profit-sharing lay the solution of the troublous problem of labor and capital, and made due announcement thereof to a listening world. And now the special industrial organization from which he derives his income—the Steel Trust—gives notice that it will rely upon this principle to ward off an attempt at organizing its employees proposed by the American Federation of Labor.

"Thousands of our employees," a vice-president of the Trust is quoted as saying, "are stockholders in the corporation, and they draw dividends and profits from the increase in the price of stock in the same manner as the men who hold the controlling interest. They believe in the corporation and will not leave it. On the other hand there are any number of spendthrifts among the employees. They may go out if a strike is called, but when they see the bulwark of the corporation, the good employees, remain at their furnaces, it is doubtful if even the unsteady workmen will strike."

The "problem" has been settled many times before in this manner, the only drawback being that it won't stay settled. There is nothing particularly new or original in any scheme by which the capitalists "holding the controlling interest," use one portion of their employees to thwart the object of the other, even when it is worked under the name of profit-sharing. However, the capitalist usually finds no difficulty in believing that permanent peace has been attained when he has succeeded in paralyzing the opposition of his wage laborers, though the latter, stupid as they may be, are fortunately never so deficient in understanding as to share the complacent view of their exploiters anent the profit-sharing humbug.

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A MENDELIAN REVIEW

By EUGENE WOOD

MENDEL'S PRINCIPLES OF HEREDITY. By Prof. W. Bateson, Cambridge University Press, 12/. ($3.50.)

This book, by good rights, should have been reviewed last summer. But it is not what you might call "summer reading." It is not the sort of thing you throw into your gripsack to take with you on your vacation, to skim over as you loll in the hammock. No. It ought to be attacked in snapping cold weather. Lay the book on the table under the light with a green shade. (The volume opens beautifully and has clear print.) Put your elbows also on the table, and clutch your hair with each hand. Then dig.

Perhaps that doesn't sound alluring to those who like their literature to be in words of one syllable and one letter, and in sentences within the mental grasp of a person just a little this side of snoring. Such had better let Bateson's book alone. They won't get much out of such paragraphs as:

"The opposite members of each pair of characters being allelomorphic to each other, every zygote or individual produced in fertilization, must, in respect of any such pair, be either a homozygote, that is to say, a zygote formed by the union of two gametes, each bearing the same allelomorph, as AA or aa; or a heterozygote formed by the union of two germs bearing different allelomorphs, as Aa."

Woudn't that get your zygote?

Yet, barring the natural tendency of Englishmen to write like Germans this sentence is as clear as "See the cat on the mat." It couldn't well be simpler. The difficulty rises out of the fact that common, everyday language no more has terms for the description of what takes place in the process of constructing a plant or animal, than common, everyday language has terms for expressing any other mechanical process. So you've got to make words that will express what has to be said. Once you get the language learned you can think of the things the language tells about. Take "allelomorphic" for instance. A large and juicy word. Suppose you take pollen from the flower of a tall pea-vine and rub it into the flower from a dwarf pea-vine. Each of the two kinds of peas has characteristics that can be separated and bunched together into its offspring, and those characteristics are "allelomorphic." The peas that result from this mating of the tall pea with the dwarf pea are "zygotes." The "zyg—" in the word is the same exactly as our English "yoke." And the zygote is the yoking of these two strains of tallness and dwarfness. What results from this yoking will be peas that will either be homozygotes, that is, the cell that carries the tendency to tallness or dwarfness in one parent will hook up with a partner cell in the other parent that carries tallness or dwarfness, and you'll get either an individual pea, both of whose cells will be all for tallness, AA, or one both of whose cells will be all for dwarfness, aa, and, if left to fertilize themselves, will be tall or dwarf to the end of time; or the individual pea will be a heterozygote, one cell carrying the tendency to be tall, and the other carrying the tendency to be dwarf. But the heterozygote isn't a compromise, a medium height pea. Tallness rules. Tallness dominates of the two tendencies, one to tallness and one to dwarfness. So they call tallness the dominant. But it also has dwarfness in it, rather bashful and retiring. And dwarfness is called a recessive. When mated again, this dwarfness will appear in a definite and dependable proportion.

Whether we are men with a tendency towards being albinos, or horses with a tendency toward pacing, or fowls with a tendency toward a rose comb, or flowers with a tendency to double, every characteristic runs in pairs, one dominant, one recessive. The study of Mendel's Law of Heredity enables one to predict with mathematical certainty just how many of each kind he is going to get in the second generation out of crossing of opposite kinds of parents.

That's worth knowing. That's worth wrestling with "allelomorphic" and "gametes" and "heterozygous," and all such twisters. Because it means control by man of the hitherto mysterious and unpredictable reproductive forces. It means the triumph of the mechanic's mind. It means what you might call "a cook-book of creation," with recipes for this, that and t'other kind of men and animals and plants.

Our old friend, the Serpent in Eden, had it about right when he promised Mother Eve that the eating of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge would make gods of us. We'll get back into Eden yet. Don't doubt it.

Decidedly Bateson's book is well worth digging at while you clutch your hair in both hands. The colored plates are beautiful, and, what is more, you learn a lot from them.

If you want a shorter book that explains what Bateson is getting at, then read "Mendelism," by R. C. Punnett, published by the Wilshire Book Co. at 50 cents.

A Part Greater than the Whole

SEVERAL months ago we noticed the publication of "The Anti-Socialist" in Great Britain, an organ whose name is self-explanatory. That it is still alive and doing good service is evident from the following argumentative item which we take from the October issue:

In the year 1880, an equal division of the wealth of Great Britain would have yielded to each family an income of £80. Since 1880 an equal division of the total which was actually appropriated as wages by wage-paid labor alone, would have yielded to each laborer's family some £25 in addition. The laboring class as a whole in Great Britain to-day, *instead of receiving less than its labor produces, receives on the lowest computation from 30 to 33 per cent. more.*

The italics in that last paragraph are ours, but the "Anti-Socialist" is responsible for the logic contained in it. However, the phrase, "at the lowest computation," may be a partial explanation. In the lowest stages of intellect which have been observed among savages, the power of computation is exceedingly low, many being unable to count beyond ten. Still this fact by no means contravenes the general truth that man is a reasoning animal, even if his capacity for reason is strictly limited.

Trusts in Germany

THE item given below is taken from the Consular Reports of November 2. The Germans have evidently little use for the idea of fining the Trust, and the courts evidently consider that a jail sentence is more fitting when the offending combine is charged with intimidating customers. The report says:

Deputy Consul-General Simon W. Hanauer writes from Frankfort that trusts and commercial combines in Germany have recently been the objects of an important legal decision, one of which he cites:

The director of one of the works of a syndicate addressed several letters to a firm purchasing goods from the syndicate works threatening the firm that it would receive no more goods from the combine if the firm continued to purchase any goods from any concern not belonging to the syndicate. As the customer firm was dependent upon the combine for certain lines of manufactures it complied with the demand. Suit was then brought in the court at Schweinfurth against the director for having by his letters committed an act of coercion. The court acquitted the defendant, but the State's attorney brought the case on appeal before the supreme court of the Empire, which set aside the judgment rendered below, and remanded the case for retrial to the criminal court at Nuremberg, by which tribunal the director was found guilty of an attempt at coercion and sentenced to undergo thirty days' imprisonment.

Taft Lectures Arizona

(ROBERT HUNTER in *Chicago Daily Socialist.*)

President Taft, on his recent tour of the West, spoke at the City Hall in Phoenix, Arizona.

His words had a curious, imperial sound, such as one would expect Edward to use to the people of Egypt or of India.

He spoke as "the little father" of Russia might speak to the peasants and workmen of his vast dominions.

The President has instructed the Filipinos in Republican government.

Speaking as a father to his children, he told them that they might have statehood on one condition. "You have GOT," he said, "to formulate a constitution AFTER Congress says you shall come in."

He then warned them against preparing a constitution similar to that of Oklahoma, which he called a "zoological garden."

Perhaps our readers have not a very clear idea of the legislative freaks in Oklahoma's "zoological garden." Well, here are a few.

The railroads are forced to give two-cent passenger fares.

The initiative and referendum is established as a part of the legislative system.

The State is expressly given the right to engage in any business or occupation for public purposes.

Trial by jury is granted in contempt cases for violation of injunctions or orders of restraint. No one can be punished for contempt of court before trial.

Records, books and files of all corporations shall be subject to full visitation and inquisition.

The railroads are declared public highways.

Campaign contributions from corporations are forbidden.

Watered stock is prohibited.

Constitutional protection is given to working men, to women, and to children.

That list includes the chief freaks in Oklahoma's "zoological garden." The trouble with Oklahoma is that human beings are given some protection. Labor is granted some rights, and Capital, the God of Mr. Taft, is hampered and hobbled a little.

Disfranchisement in the South

(*The Independent.*)

The way the constitution intended to disfranchise the negro in Alabama was carried is illustrated by a little analysis of the figures. There were 81,724 ballots cast against the constitution. These votes were cast in the white counties. There were 108,613 votes recorded in its favor; but the remarkable fact is that the heavy majorities for it were reported from the densely black counties. Thus, Dallas County has 2,525 white males of voting age and 9,871 blacks of voting age. But the vote returned was 8,125 for ratification and 235 against. It is perfectly plain this was a case of fraud, but the padded vote was necessary to secure the adoption. And so the people rule, and the constitution has disfranchised a hundred thousand white voters alone in Alabama, and given the State over to a political oligarchy.

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How About It?

W. H. L., Philadelphia, Pa.—Why don't you Socialists state plainly that you mean to confiscate the property of those who possess wealth? Your program of "collective ownership of the means of production and distribution" means nothing less than that.

Words have different meanings to different classes. What appears to the capitalist as confiscation appears as restitution to the Socialist, who contends that wealth today is a matter of social instead of individual production. However, when the transfer takes place, the question of confiscation or restitution becomes superfluous. The descendant of the Southern planter may assert that his ancestral property in slaves was confiscated, but that changes nothing. Even before the emancipation of the slaves, his protests had no weight. It was a matter of necessity that property in slaves be abolished, and it accordingly was. The landed proprietors of England are howling about the confiscation of their property through taxation, but that avails them nothing. In France a hundred odd years ago, the landed property of the same class was completely confiscated, and has never been restored. Social evolution takes no account of so-called moral objections. Capitalistic forms of property must give place to a new form just as older forms—feudal property and slave property—gave way to it. It is a matter of social needs, not of ethics.

J. B. C., Cleveland, Ohio.—You are continually insisting that it is impossible to restore competition. What is your reason for saying so?

Broadly speaking, competition cannot be restored because there is no power to restore it in existence. The ruling class of this country, owners of the economic and political power, understand that competition must go, seeing the impossibility of keeping it intact. The Trust is the principal sign of the elimination of competition. In its very nature and development, competition must necessarily lead to combination; it is its evolution, so to speak. It is, in fact, an unthinkable conception of competition as remaining constant. It is merely the method of an economic phase of society through which the world has now almost passed, and it would be as useless to attempt its restoration as to call back yesterday. When Messrs. Rockefeller, Morgan and Co. say you can't compete, that settles it, for they have the power to prevent you, and must use it to secure their own position. To restore competition would in the first place mean the abolition of the present ruling class, by and in the interest of the small business class, a class which has practically no power and is fast passing out of existence as an economic factor.

BOOK REVIEWS

PLAYS. (The Silver Box. Joy, Strife.) By John Galsworthy. Cloth, 263 pp., $1.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, Publishers, 27-29 W. 23d St., New York.

By those interested in sociological studies, this volume will be highly appreciated whether they agree or not with Mr. Galsworthy's interpretation of social problems. The last play in the book, "Strife," has been presented recently on the American stage, and has met with considerable success. The subject matter is that old theme, the strike, and it must be admitted that Mr. Galsworthy has given us a very vivid and lifelike picture of the various characters on either side of the conflict, the factory operatives and the share-holders. Two men stand out prominently in this conflict on each side—John Anthony, the president of the corporation, and David Roberts, the strike leader. Both being men of most stubborn and inflexible temperament, the strike is prolonged, until the shareholders are on the verge of bankruptcy and the strikers reduced to literal starvation. In the end a compromise is effected to the disgust and chagrin of Anthony and Roberts, who are overruled by their respective adherents. It is impossible to learn from the play what the author's opinion of the labor struggle may be. In one sense it gives the impression that labor struggles are mainly attributable to the obstinacy of individuals, and upholds the "mutual concessions on both sides" theory. On the other hand, the two stubborn combatants make a most favorable contrast with their flabby, spineless following. The reader will doubtless adopt whichever interpretation he likes best. "The Silver Box" is a very clever presentation of the idea of "one law for the rich and another for the poor," it being based on the incident of a somewhat disreputable and unemployed workman, appropriating a piece of jewelry from a dissolute "gilded youth," who in his drunkenness had invited the workman to his home. The subsequent legal proceedings illustrate the result. The other play, "Joy," is of an individual rather than a social character, but all are of the most ingenious construction, and well calculated to hold the interest and attention of the reader.

THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Prince Peter Kropotkin. Cloth, 610 pp. $2.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, Publishers, New York.

After a careful perusal of this work, we have no hesitation whatever in saying that it will prove invaluable to the student of this great period of history, who desires to understand the rôle played by the masses of the people—peasants and workingmen—in shaping the course of the revolution and developing it to what the Socialist considers the highest possible point attainable at the time and under the circumstances. Kropotkin, as an Anarchist thinker, of course, takes the view that it might have been pushed much further in the direction of Anarchist-Communism, and scouts the idea that nothing but a capitalist regime could have been erected on the ruins of feudalism. Be that as it may, however, he has uncovered and arranged an enormous mass of facts, tending to show the importance of the part played by the masses in pushing the revolutionary measures of the period against the opposition of the rising middle (capitalist) classes, facts, which in their working out, considerably reduce the importance of many of the so-called leaders and great men of the period, showing how the measures with which their names are connected were forced upon them by the weight of the revolutionary masses. Kropotkin also gives an immense amount of valuable matter bearing on the land question, the attitude of the peasants, the workmen, the middle class and feudal land owners, until the complete abolition of the feudal tenures. The famous struggle between the "Mountain" and the "Gironde" is also depicted in exhaustive detail up to the point where the middle classes succeeded in establishing their power and checking the further advance of the revolution on its economic side. The volume is well written and of absorbing interest, and confirms the position of the author as a historian of the very highest class. Despite the difference in the views of Kropotkin and those of the Socialist, we unreservedly recommend the work to our readers as one of the clearest and most instructive volumes on the French Revolution that we know of.

S. M. W., Denver, Colo.—While I admit the theories of Socialism to be correct, I see no personal incentive to work for it, as it will never come in my day.

The same might have been said twenty years ago of such facts as wireless telegraphy and the aeroplane, and probably was said — by those who knew nothing of what had been done in those fields of experiment. But they are facts to-day, nevertheless. Those who were making the experiments, however, knew. And so is it with the well - informed Socialist. He knows better than those who have made no study of the question, what the possibilities are of the coming of Socialism, and knows that it cannot long be delayed. Of course, no one can guarantee that it will come in your lifetime, but that is merely because there is no way of knowing how long you will live. The statement, therefore, can neither be affirmed nor denied, but judging from the progress already made there is every reason for concluding that the civilized world will be definitely committed to Socialism within the period of one generation, or say, thirty years.

Books Received

THE DIMENSIONAL IDEA AS AN AID TO RELIGION. By W. F. Tyler. Cloth, 76 pp., 50 cents. R. F. Fenno, Publishers, 18 E. 17th St., New York.

CHRISTIAN MORALS AND THE COMPETITIVE SYSTEM. By Thorstein Veblin. Paper, 17 pp. Reprinted from International Journal of Ethics, Vol. XX.

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. By J. Allen Smith, LL. B., Ph.D. Cloth, 402 pp. $1.25 net. The Macmillan Co., New York.

THE INCREASING GOLD SUPPLY. By Thomas Gibson. Cloth, 134 pp. $1.00 net. Gibson Publishing Co., 15 William St., New York.

NATURAL SALVATION (SALVATION BY SCIENCE). By C. A. Stephens, M. D. Sixth edition. Cloth, 157 pp. Published at The Laboratory, Norway Lake, Maine.

SONGS OF DEMOCRACY. By Charles Edward Russell. Cloth, 124 pp., $1.25. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York.

THE WHITE ROSE. (Poems.) By John Kearnes White. Cloth, 48 pp., 75 cents. Published by the Author at Richmond, Va.

SEARCHLIGHTS. By George W. Coleman. Cloth, 182 pp. The Arakelyan Press, Boston, Mass.

CRIME AND CRIMINALS. By The Prison Reform League. Cloth, 312 pp. Prison Reform League Publishing Co., 443 South Main St., Los Angeles, Cal.

AT MOLOKAI, and Other Verse. By Robert J. Shores. 16 pp. Paper. Published by the Author, at 57 Washington St., East Orange, N. J.

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The following list of books is not adapted for propaganda, but is exceptionally good for gifts from one Socialist to another:

Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. By KARL MARX. Cloth, 314 pages. This book is important as a forerunner of Marx s "Capital," and considered by many to be of nearly as great importance. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 10 cents.

Communism in Central Europe. KARL KAUTSKY. 293 pages. This is one of Kautsky's most important works that is not generally known in this country. It should be in the library of every Socialist. Superior cloth. Regular price $1.50. Special price 75 cents. Postage 16 cents.

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An Eye for an Eye. CLARENCE DARROW. 213 pages. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 7 cents.

The Iron Heel. JACK LONDON. 354 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

Toilers and Idlers. JOHN R. MCMAHON. 195 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 50 cents. Postage 8 cents.

The Story of a Labor Agitator. JOSEPH R. BUCHANAN. 461 pages. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 14 cents.

The Jungle. UPTON SINCLAIR. 413 pages. Regular price 75 cents. Special price 50 cents. Postage 12 cents.

A Little Brother of the Rich. JOSEPH MEDILL PATERSON. 361 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

The Metropolis. UPTON SINCLAIR. 376 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA BOOKS—Cloth Bound

Principles of Scientific Socialism. CHAS. H. VAIL. 237 pages. Regular price 75 cents. Special price 50 cents. Postage 6 cents.

Modern Socialism. R. C. K. ENSOR. 396 pages. Regular price 50 cents. Special price 35 cents. Postage 6 cents.

Socialism and Modern Science. ENRICO FERRI. 213 pages. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 8 cents.

Socialism Inevitable. GAYLORD WILSHIRE. 337 pages. Regular price $1.00. Special price 75 cents. Postage 10 cents.

New Worlds for Old. H. G. WELLS. 333 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

Christianity and the Social Crisis. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH. 429 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

The Industrial Republic. UPTON SINCLAIR. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. 284 pages. Postage 12 cents.

Looking Backward. EDWARD BELLAMY. Regular price 75 cents. Special price 50 cents. Postage 12 cents.

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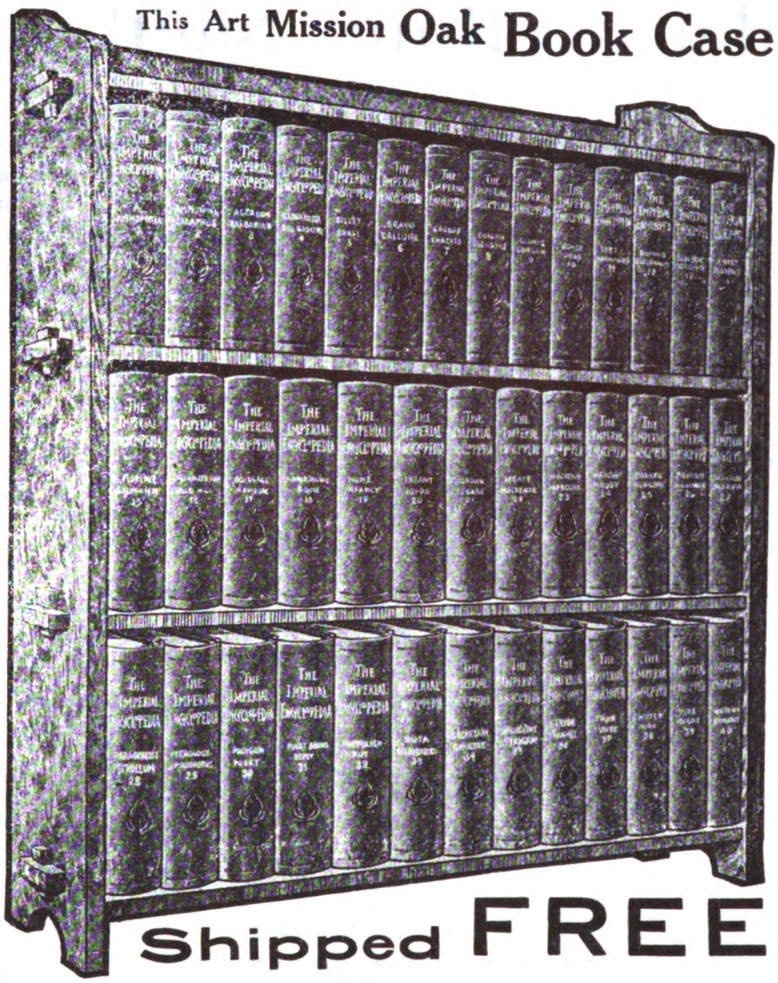

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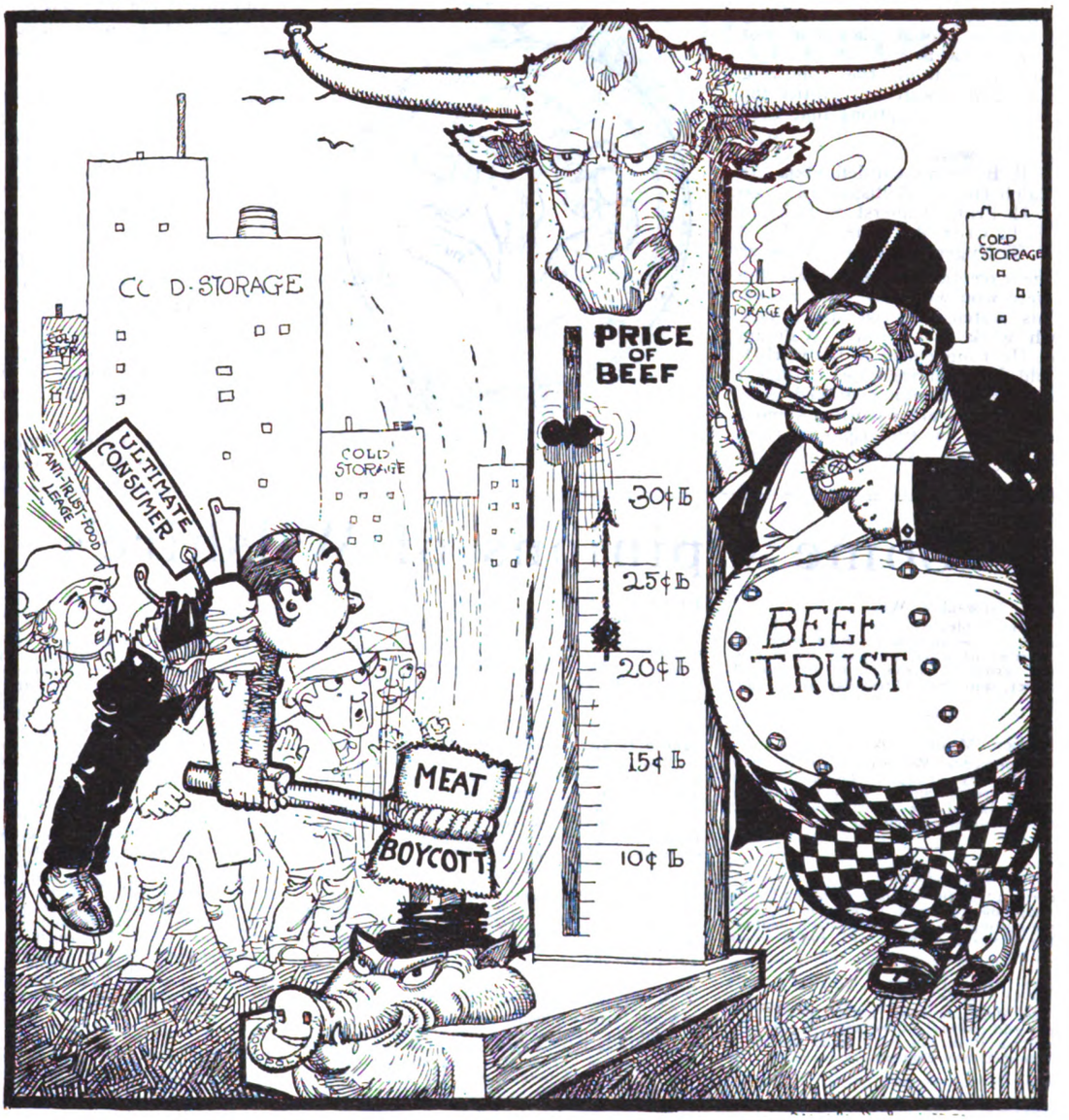
MARCH, 1910 FIVE CENTS

WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"



EVERY KNOCK IS A BOOST

BEEF TRUST FAKIR—"Try yer strength, ladies an' gents. Drive them prices down. Here's where ye get yer hammer. Bust a Trust with every stroke. The harder ye hit 'em, the higher they go. Who's next," etc., etc., etc.

In its attempt to hammer down the high prices, the boycott of meat seems to have had no effect on the market, for prices of meats and fish were jacked up yesterday from one-half to three cents a pound wholesale, which means an additional advance on the part of retailers.—*Daily Press Market Reports.*

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A Fair Warning

There was a slight increase in the interest taken in the Watch Contest this month, but very slight. The watches have been given away for very small numbers of subs, and very few of "My Partners" seem to know there is a Watch Contest on.

After last month's Magazine was sent out I received a number of letters from hustlers who had sent in subscriptions, more than enough to win a watch, but didn't take the trouble to notify us they were entered in the contest, and when they saw what they missed by not doing this they felt as though they had lost something worth while.

Since last publication, the following Comrades have won watches. Notice the small number of subscriptions that each man got.

Week Ending	Winner	No. of Subs
Jan. 22.	S. R. Bozeman, Cordell, Okla.	11
Jan. 29.	Ralph Hollar, Williston, Ill.	60
Feb. 5.	J. H. Pride, Amherst, S. Dak.	15
Feb. 12.	E. L. Crist, Antwyne, Wash.	8
Feb. 19.	G. T. Nugent, Brockton, Mass.	22

With the exception of one week, the watches were won with practically no effort. This watch that we are giving away each week is 17 jewel Waltham movement (best movement in the world), 20-year gold filled hunting case, and has a beautiful Socialist design engraved upon it. The engraving alone costs us more than we receive in subscriptions from most of the prize winners mentioned above.

Unless you fellows take more interest in the next four weeks the contest will be withdrawn. If you want one of these watches you can get one for a very small number of subscriptions, if you get busy at once and let us know you are in the contest.

TERMS OF THE CONTEST.

Contest for each week begins at 9:00 a. m., Monday, and closes at 1 p. m., Saturday.

The Comrade winning one of these watches will have a memorial of his work for Socialism that he will always prize, not only on account of its intrinsic value, but because of the way in which he has earned it.

But this is not all. To everyone entering this contest and sending in a list of eight subs or more in one week, we will present a beautiful gold-plated watch fob, engraved with a similar design. Only one of these fobs will be given to a contestant, that is, you must send in at least eight subs to get the watch fob, but if you send in sixteen, you will not be given two.

All subs will be counted for the week in which they are received. The one sending in the greatest number of subs in any week wins the watch, but no one who has won a watch can compete for another while the contest last. We will give at least two weeks' notice in the Magazine when it is decided to discontinue the contest.

In case of a tie the value of the prize will be divided between those tying.

Some Opinions of Wilshire's

F. Solverson, Milwaukee, Wis.

I am very much pleased with the new edition, considering it to be an improvement over the old in a number of ways, especially so in size and a more systematic arrangement of general reading matter, and the obliteration of the advertisements.

J. D. Ashbrock, Manitou, Okla.

I highly appreciate Wilshire's in its new dress, on its entry of 1910. Think it's just the right thing for Socialism. Hope that all the comrades may be of the same opinion. May its circulation increase a thousand fold.

Charles Root, Yuma, Arizona.

I am in receipt of the January number of your valuable magazine. I wish to express my delight at the cutting out of all advertising matter. Hope other Socialist papers will follow your example.

L. W. Crouch, Mystic, Conn.

I like the Magazine much better without the advertising, and sincerely hope that you will be able to publish it in this very much improved way and make it pay expenses.

Benj. J. Legere, Bridgeport, Conn.

Without advertising the Magazine is fine. Its effectiveness has certainly increased.

J. J. McAllister, Salem, Oregon.

Have received first copy of Wilshire's and am pleased with the change.

Sam Bowman, Winnipeg, Canada.

After having read your Magazine of this month, I feel compelled to offer you congratulations on its splendid "get-up." It is second to none. Your article on "Morganization" is an eye-opener.

But I would like to say that in my opinion since you eliminated advertising, you have improved the appearance of your Magazine fifty per cent.

My best wishes for your future success, and may you be long spared to educate the worker to his own welfare.

Thomas Edwards, Lashburn, Saskatchewan, Canada.

I think the first number in its new form is splendid, especially "John D," by Upton Sinclair, and the "Magician's Downfall." I hope the coming year will be by far the most prosperous year for Wilshire's.

George O. Gray, Keene, N. H.

I like the old style better than the new. As long as we are under capitalist rule, we must get all we can out of them to carry on the propaganda of Socialism, therefore get all the good, reputable advertising you can. Leave out the liquor ads, as some seriously object to a paper or magazine that carries them.

D. A. Hall, Boscawen, N. H.

Allow me to say that I am very much pleased with the present style of Wilshire's Magazine. Am glad also that it contains none but Socialist advertisements.

T. B. Stearns, Pittsburg, Kansas.

Your January number is a splendid issue, best yet for the good sound, doctrine of Socialism. Not quite as handsome a cover, but the contents lead anything. That talk with Brother Rockey is a clincher. I hereby send for 25c. worth of the January number.

Wm. R. Wells, El Paso, Texas.

I think the new issue of Wilshire's is splendid; a great improvement. Hope it proves as satisfactory to others as it does to me.

L. G. Wilhite and J. F. Tatlow, Glendale, Cal.

Your January issue is an improvement, sure, and we look upon it as a logical prophet. We look forward to each issue with feverish, accelerated anticipation. We understand it is not a business proposition with you, but can you not make it so by doubling the price and making it appear semi-monthly? We don't know of anything nearly like it and would like to see you aim to make it a weekly as the ultimate goal, at about one dollar per annum.

Allen H. Stuart, Sacramento, Cal.

The January number of Wilshire's has just put in an appearance. I have distributed a few of my bundle of 30, and have stopped long enough to read "John D," and a few more of the good things.

The general appearance is very greatly improved, and I am compelled to say that though I was expecting much improvement, I am greatly and agreeably surprised at the result.

Surely, Comrades, it is worth the cost! I am for the "No Ad" magazine, and shall get under the load and boost with all my might. Let's keep on improving. Here's one sub. in on this—but it is not the last unless I miss my guess.

J. F. Macdonald, Corinth, Miss.

Wilshire's Magazine has grown wonderfully small and beautifully less—small in stature, but greater in might. It has grown lesser in those columns which decoyed many people to part with their last dollar. And now to make a signal success of the magazine of our choice, let every subscriber pledge himself to find a new reader each year. To furnish one more at least is within the power of every Socialist. Anyhow, all of us have a friend who will gladly receive it as a New Year's gift. Put your shoulder to the wheel and keep it there.

J. O. Ford, Paducah, Ky.

The January issue of Wilshire's is like a sweet, pungent breeze from the mountains to one having been choked and smothered all his life by the smoky, smelly odors of the dirty "business" district of a modern slave market. More power to Wilshire's, and may its portly shadow "menacingly" increase. I'll do all I can to feed it.

Henry Guth, Peoria, Ill.

Your Magazine without advertisements looks very good to me.

Mrs. Katherine S. Stellwagen, San Bernardino, Cal.

Allow me to congratulate you because of the gratifying change in your Magazine. "We" do not want the advertisements—especially for the liquor interests. I have deeply deplored the fact that I could not "pass it along." To the few friends who have seen the paper in our home it has seemed shocking, knowing me to be a strong W. C. T. U. woman and worker.

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"LET·THE·NATION·OWN·THE TRUSTS"

WILSHIRE'S

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XIV No. 3 NEW YORK, MARCH, 1910 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

The Futile Meat Boycott

IT is a comparatively easy method of disposing of a movement that has palpably failed of its avowed object by merely alluding to it as foolish and absurd. Even when its failure can be confidently predicted beforehand, it may have some significance in other aspects.

The recent meat boycott is a case in point. Its foolishness and absurdity were quite evident, and its futility, as generally predicted by the Socialist press has been demonstrated. It has practically disappeared, leaving meat prices a little higher if anything than when the boycott started. It has proven about as useless as a hunger riot, and much more contemptible. However, it was a more or less concerted attempt to do something. And when one considers the overwhelming ignorance of the American public on matters social and economic, it was perhaps the best they could do—better at any rate than useless whining and lamentation. The underlying idea and intent was to hit the Beef Trust in its tenderest part—its pocket. The intention was all right, but the knowledge was lacking—the knowledge that the "reward of abstinence" is what capitalism thrives upon, that is, the abstinence of others.

There are, however, several insructive and significant features connected with this attempted boycott, which may be worth a passing notice.

The movement in its inception did not spring from the working class, but from the so-called middle class, and it is highly significant of the growing impotence of that class politically and economically to find it reduced to resort to the hateful weapon of organized labor—the boycott. The fact also that the labor unions whose indorsement was asked for this move, in most cases refused, and instead advised their members to strike for higher wages that would enable them to procure more meat, is commendable in that it substitutes the militant aggressive spirit for the spirit of passive resistance, asceticism and abstinence. The group which feels itself growing weaker is satisfied with the passive boycott; the other, conscious of growing strength, suggests the aggressive method—the strike.

In pre-revolutionary days the middle classes of Boston were not content with boycotting the British Tea Trust of that day; they boarded the tea ships in the harbor and confiscated and destroyed the cargoes, even though tea was not a necessary of life. Their degenerate descendants, however, content themselves with the boycott. A general attack on the Trust's cold storage plants will never be recorded of them. A dying class cannot make "history repeat itself" in this manner. It lacks both strength and courage. And so our present middle class resigns itself to the situation, adopts self-imposed sumptuary laws and waits patiently—patience is a virtue—for the Government—owned by the Trusts—to hearken to its bitter cry and investigate.

On the other hand, it is most encouraging to find the workingmen refusing the policy of self-starvation, and declaring that the way to get meat is to strike for more wages with which to buy it. Not that this method is likely to be much more effective than the other—the illusive character of the wage system not being very well understood by them—but it is at any rate an aggressive policy, the policy of a class rising into power and destined to control the society of the future. It has left the passive resistance stage behind to be adopted by a class weaker than itself.

That the increased production of gold is the chief factor in the rise of commodity prices is undoubtedly true, but the knowledge of that fact helps nothing, and is no more a remedy for Trust extortion than the "publicity" which a few years ago was widely advertised as a panacea. The fundamental cause of high prices, prices that debar a majority of the people from obtaining sufficient food, is our system of private ownership of the means of life. It is not that a few groups of capitalists own these means, not that private ownership has concentrated into monopoly, but that the monopoly itself is based on private ownership. And unless this system of private ownership of the means of life is made impossible, unless and until its right to existence is challenged by the American people, hunger and the difficulty of procuring food will ever remain with us. Self-imposed abstinence from food is not and cannot in any way remedy the situation; on the contrary, it must and does intensify it, as the general effect of this recent boycott shows. To reduce consumption voluntarily, by adopting idiotic suggestions like that which recently came from a Harvard professor, only lowers the standard of life for the workers. The working man does not get enough now, and though he has no very clear idea of how to get more, his merit is that, like Oliver Twist, he wants more, and as his want increases, so will knowledge come to him of how to satisfy it. Consequently he very properly treats all such suggestions with the contempt they deserve.

To banish hunger and want, we repeat, private ownership in the means of life must be abolished. When the San Francisco earthquake was taken advantage of by some of the bakers to demand an abnormal price for bread, the United States troops interfered promptly and sternly. In like manner during the recent floods in Paris, when the provision dealers in the inundated districts raised the prices of foodstuffs, the Government interfered at once and prevented the attempted extortion, just as the inhabitants were beginning to take forcible possession of the stores.

This much, however, may be said for our meat boycott, that it is a valuable experience in the art of "how not to do it," and a series of such experiences is probably necessary before the American people learn that to abolish hunger permanently they must change the motto of "Let the Nation Starve the Trust" to "Let the Nation Own the Trust."

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Our Undemocratic Constitution

A Review of Professor Smith's Recent Work, "The Spirit of American Government"

MANY years ago the great British statesman, Mr. Gladstone, described the Constitution of the United States as the most wonderful document ever penned by the hand of man. This opinion has been widely quoted in the United States, as might naturally be expected, though Mr. Gladstone, being a passed master of the vague and ambiguous, his exact meaning—if indeed he had any—is difficult to define. However, the adjective "wonderful" covers a wide range of possible meanings and can be interpreted in many ways.

In this sense, we believe the majority of the readers of Professor J. Allen Smith's recent volume, "The Spirit of the American Government," will not be inclined to differ with Mr. Gladstone.

That a document drafted by men essentially distrustful of, and antagonistic to democracy, should still, after more than one hundred and twenty years, be regarded by practically ninety million people for whose suppression and subjection it was definitely designed, as the highest expression of democracy, the guardian and preserver of their liberties, is certainly wonderful. In the entire world's history of political fakes and fetishes, there is nothing that for one moment approaches it.

Professor Smith, who occupies the chair of Political Science in the University of Washington, on the Pacific Coast, in a volume of four hundred pages, makes this fact of the anti-democratic character of our Constitution so plain and indisputable as to be convincing to all except those who worship the Constitution as an African savage does his fetish, and as yet, unfortunately, these latter are in the immense majority.

It is not, of course, the first time this subject has been touched upon, but never before to our knowledge has it been so thoroughly and exhaustively investigated and analyzed. Socialist writers before this have made us familiar with the general attitude toward democracy, of the gentlemen who drafted and imposed this "wonderful" document upon the American people, quoted extracts from their speeches and writings showing their fear and distrust of the masses, and their anxious solicitude for the preservation and maintenance of capitalistic property, but it has remained for Professor Smith to give us the completed picture, and he has done so faithfully, thoroughly and artistically.

The work contains fifteen chapters, beginning with English government in the eighteenth century, and from thence to the American government of the Revolutionary period, in which democracy made itself most strongly manifest, before the reactionary Constitution was promulgated. The author traces the workings and development of the Constitution afterwards in the usurpation of the Federal Judiciary, the difficulty of amendment, the system of "checks and balances," the present party system, the general undemocratic development of the country, the corruption in municipal State and national government, and concludes his work with a chapter on "The Democracy of the Future."

We quote the following interesting paragraphs from the preface of the work, in which the author gives his reasons for placing it before the public:

> Our political writers have for the most part passed lightly over the undemocratic features of the Constitution, and left the uncritical reader with the impression that universal suffrage under our system of government ensures the rule of the majority. It is this conservative approval of the Constitution under the guise of sympathy with majority rule, which has perhaps more than any other thing misled the people as to the real spirit and purpose of that instrument. It was by constantly representing it as the indispensable means of attaining the ends of democracy, that it came to be so generally regarded as the source of all that is democratic in our system of government. It is to call attention to the spirit of the Constitution, its inherent opposition to democracy, the obstacles that it has placed in the way of majority rule that this volume has been written.
>
> The general recognition of the true character of the Constitution is necessary before we can fully understand the nature and origin of our political evils. It would also do much to strengthen and advance the cause of popular government by bringing us to a realization of the fact that the so-called evils of democracy are very largely the natural results of those constitutional checks on popular rule which we have inherited from the political system of the eighteenth century.

Professor J. Allen Smith, LL.B., Ph.D.

All of which is undoubtedly true, but the question of how to secure this general recognition is not so easily answered. To address argument and historical evidence to the average man who has by constant repetition from boyhood up, been deluded into regarding the Constitution, not only as the guarantee of his liberties, but as a document of such sacred character that to criticise it is to profane it, is practically wasted effort. With the average reformer who champions what he honestly thinks popular government, the case is in no wise different. Ninety-nine out of every hundred of this type sincerely believe that our political evils, far from having their source largely in our undemocratic Constitution, are on the contrary due to neglect or violation of its spirit and provisions. It would seem a safe prediction that no direct attack on the Constitution as a reactionary and undemocratic document will ever be made by the masses of the people, or that, if it does materialize, it will come as the after effect of a widespread comprehension of Socialism and the consequent perception of its necessity to realize democracy.

The probabilities are, however, that the Constitution will continue to function as a barrier against popular government and the expression of public opinion until the entire structure is swept away by a revolutionary uprising of the masses. And if this event is realized without an adequate perception of the necessity of supplanting the old order with a Socialist form of society, the prospect is not a particularly reassuring one.

Leaving this and other speculations aside, however, the fact remains that Professor Smith has given us in this volume one of the most valuable works that has appeared in many years. To the Socialist who knows how to make use of it, it offers an armory of facts, unobtainable in such compact form elsewhere, that should do efficient service in the cause. For it seems to us that after all the only considerable body of thinkers and agitators that can make use of such a work are Socialists, for, outside of a certain number of isolated students like the author, and possibly some of the shrewdest of the legal fraternity, there is no organized body in existence save the Socialists, where a general recognition of the truths contained in Professor Smith's book exists, nor from the present outlook is it at all likely that such a body, apart from the Socialists, will ever come into existence and develop as a political factor. In the meantime, so far as the American public can be awakened on this matter, no more effective instrument than this volume can be found, and the thanks of every Socialist are due the author for bringing it before the public.

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. By J. Allen Smith, LL.B., Ph.D. Cloth, 402 pp. $1.25 net. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The main reason why everybody agrees that the cost of living has gone up is that it isn't possible to deceive anybody, even the stupidest of the working people, by pretending otherwise.

It is an indisputable fact in physics that heat expands and cold contracts, but it works just the opposite way with that peculiar institution, the bread-line.

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The Why of the Postal Deficit

ONCE again the necessity of curbing the output and circulation of the radical and Socialist press is being forced upon the plutocracy which forms the American government, and the periodical postal deficit of $17,000,000 is again being used as a pretext for an attempt to increase postage rates on the magazines and periodicals that form the bulk of the "second class matter" which is now carried at the rate of one cent per pound. Naturally enough the proposal comes from the chief political spokesman of capitalism, Mr. Taft.

The fact that this deficit is really caused by the unscrupulous robbery of the government through the extortions of the railroad and express companies, is calmly ignored by Mr. Taft and his supporters in this matter. That Canada, for instance, which carries the same class of matter over fully as spacious a territory for a quarter of a cent per pound, shows a surplus of $1,000,000 annually in postal revenue, simply because the Canadian Government does not permit itself to be gouged by the railroads and express companies, is an illustration, among many others, which Mr. Taft and his adherents find it convenient to overlook.

The magazines and newspapers threatened by this proposal have piled up mountains of financial evidence of this nature as to the real cause of the postal deficit. We take pleasure in reproducing from the New York *American* a concise summary of the facts of postal mismanagement responsible for the defict:

1. The Post Office pays $1,000 a year rental for each mail car in addition to transportation charges. The rental last year was $5,000,000. A mail car costs only $5,000 to build. No express company, merchant or corporation pays any rental for cars carrying their goods.

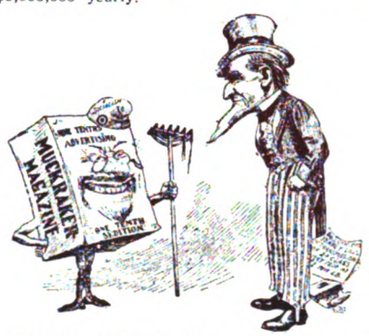
2. The post Office paid railroads $50,000,000 last year for mail transportation. Within the last twenty-five years general freight rates have been reduced on the average fifty per cent. But the United States is still paying rates ninety per cent. of what they were in 1885. It is also paying from 100 to 300 per cent. more than any express company or other corporation.

3. The Post Office charges one cent a pound for second-class mail matter, and loses $63,000,000 a year. But in Canada, whose total population is only equal to that of Greater New York, they charge one-quarter of a cent a pound for such matter and, with longer hauls, make $1,000,000 a year profit out of it.

4. The railroads fix their mail carrying rates by dividing the country into four districts and by weighing once every four years for a period of ninety days all the mail carried through each section. Postal reform organizations assert that this loose method uniformly results in an overcharge of about 5 per cent., or $2,500,000, through over-weighing.

5. Packages weighing more than four pounds, by a regulation inspired by the express companies, are unmailable in the United States. All such packages must be sent by express. To send an eleven-pound package from New York to San Francisco costs $1.65. But packages up to eleven pounds may be mailed in England and be distributed by express all over the United Kingdom at a uniform rate of twenty-five cents.

6. The Government has absolute power to monopolize carrying of all mailable matter. It has made carrying of letters a criminal offense, but has never exercised its right over four-pound and less packages—fourth-class mail. Profit to the Government upon the latter is forty per cent. A $2,000,000 surplus was shown through it last year. But the express companies have been allowed to take eighty per cent. of this business from the Post Office, robbing it of $8,000,000 yearly.



UNCLE SAM: "'Tain't wuth while taxing myself to circulate you."
—*Morning Oregonian*, Portland, Ore.

7. The average amount of monthly revenue derived from each of the 40,000 rural free delivery routes is $14.92; the cost of maintenance of each route is $72.16. The two-horse rural delivery wagons carry on an average only twenty-five pounds a day. The department showed last year a deficit of $28,000,000. But one of the great express companies carried a ton and a half every day on each of its wagons, and, charging no more for its service, paid $300 dividends on each of its shares. A parcels post would add $50,000,000 a year to Post Office revenues.

8. The Post Office pays freight on returning postal equipment, empty mail bags, etc. But empty milk cans pay no return freight, nor do certain other receptacles by "private arrangement" with the roads, while rates on returning crates and barrels of "non-exempt" corporations and private merchants are from twenty-five to fifty per cent. lower than on postal equipment.

9. It costs the Post Office $5,000,000 a year to handle the mail of the other departments of the Government. By its system of bookkeeping this is charged up against the expenditures of the Postal Department, when it should be divided pro rata among the other departments themselves.

10. The Postmaster-General has the power to stop and open any man's mail, and there is no appeal from his decision.

It might well be asked in any case why a public service of this kind should be required to be operated at a profit. Our government spends hundreds of millions of dollars annually on the army and navy and the production of munitions and weapons of war, and no question of profits is raised. Schools where the young are provided with information are not expected to yield any direct profit, and it may be remarked that the original intention of providing a cheap rate for second-class matter was that the progress of information might be facilitated, which is just as truly educational as are the schools. Mr. Taft also favors a ship subsidy, another form of Government expenditure without a view to profit—except for the individuals subsidized.

However, the whole question is one not of argument, but of strength. There is indeed hardly any concealment of the real object of the plutocracy in proposing an increase of second-class rates. The cartoon which we reproduce here is taken from the *Morning Oregonian*, of Portland, Ore., a supporter of Mr. Taft, and openly displays the real reason animating the proposal.

Fortunately it is not possible to hit at radical and Socialist journals alone without involving others, and as a consequence the struggle is a test of power between the magazine and periodical interests of the country and those who propose to raise the postage rates on them.

In this struggle the masses of the reading public can also play a powerful part by protesting to Washington. Already Congress has been deluged with avalanches of letters of protest from all parts of the country, Chairman Weeks, of the post office committee, receiving hundreds daily. Every Socialist can register his protest in this manner. Write to your Congressman and insist on knowing how he stands on the question. The House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads is composed as follows: John W. Weeks, Chairman; John J. Gardner, New Jersey; N. D. Sperry, Conn.; W. H. Stratford, Wis.; Geo. F. Huff, Pa.; J. S. Fassett and Cyrus Durey, N. Y.; S. C. Smith, Cal.; Frank O. Lowden, Ill.; Thos. B. Hamer, Idaho; Francis H. Dodds, Mich.; Victor Murdock, Kans.; Ralph Cameron, Arizona; John A. Moore, Tenn.; David E. Finley, S. C.; James T. Lloyd, Mo.; John H. Smail, N. C.; T. M. Bell, Ga., and Wm. E. Cox, Indiana. These men, all of whom can be reached at Washington, D. C., have the fate of this proposal in their hands by reporting favorably or unfavorably upon it. You can influence them by adding your protest to the scores of thousands already forwarded.

If you are not prepared to have your paper shut out from the mails, or to have a clique of plutocrats at Washington decide what you shall or shall not read, the time to protest is now. Let Washington hear from you with no uncertain sound.

Is Labor a Commodity?

WHEN a Socialist makes the statement that labor power is a commodity, and that the laborer's wages generally approximate the cost of his subsistence, the statement is usually resented by capitalist opponents as a falsehood degrading and insulting to the laborer. However, when the capitalist calculates on investments the cost of the laborer is always figured in this way, as the following bald admission taken from the Mining Magazine of London for September will show. The writer is making estimates on the cost of mining in Korea. He says:

As bearing on this question, it is well to reflect on the extremely low cost of some articles in the countries where cheap labor exists. In China, in the province of Shansi, I have seen good coal sell at the entry for a shilling per ton, and inferior coal for five pence. In this same province cast iron of good quality sells for £1 per ton—a record price. Turning to foods, I find that eggs sell in Shansi for as low as two cash each, or at the rate of less than sixpence per hundred. In the Ural I have bought potatoes for about 30s. per ton. These remarkably low prices show, in some directions, a very low labor cost; similar lo costs will be reached in mining and other departments of human industry when this cheap labor is properly organized and administered

Find out how much it costs to feed the working man, and you have his "natural" wages under the present system.

Why should there be any friction between the United States and Japan, when both desire the same things—peace with all the world and control of the Asiatic markets?

It is an indisputable fact in physics that heat expands and cold contracts, but it works just the opposite way with that peculiar institution, the bread-line.

The fact that there is some agitation about the private capitalists getting control of the water-power of the country, merely implies that they are going to take it anyhow.

It may be true that "no man can get a million dollars honestly," but it is still more true that, while the present system lasts, such considerations will never prevent them getting it.

Subscribers and readers who miss the customary advertising in this issue are invited to write us and express their opinion about it.

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JOSHUA WANHOPE.....*Managing Editor*

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WHEN, at the beginning of the year we changed the form of WILSHIRE'S to its present size and asked the opinions of our readers regarding the change, we had no conception of the number of answers we were to receive to our request. However, they have been pouring into the office at such a rate as to make it impossible for us to print more than a very small percentage.

It is very gratifying to know that the change in the form and contents of the magazine has seemingly given universal satisfaction, the elimination of the advertising meeting unanimous approval. We publish in the present issue as many such letters as we can conveniently find space for.

The one thing that WILSHIRE'S needs now is circulation to ensure its continuance and improvement, and for this we must in the main depend upon those of our readers who have expressed their satisfaction with the magazine in its new form. We feel with them that it is much easier to secure subscriptions from their friends and acquaintances now that the objectionable features have been eliminated, and nothing remains to offend the most scrupulous or fastidious. In the meantime it shall be our object to constantly improve the reading matter and to that end we shall spare no effort, so that the message of Socialism shall be made ever more effective. It is true that there are prejudices against Socialism that are difficult to remove, but our aim is, without surrendering a single particle of Socialist doctrine, to present the matter in such form and appearance as to minimize that prejudice as much as possible and enable our many friends to do their best work for the cause by increasing the subscription list of WILSHIRE'S.

POSSIBLY there is no statement made by the Socialist so objectionable to the powers that be as his insistence that the cry of returning prosperity is a fake and a humbug, and that conditions instead of improving are growing worse.

Taking the city of New York as an illustration, we present to our readers some statistics compiled by the City Charity Bureaus and the Municipal Lodging House officials, so they may judge for themselves as to the truth or falsehood of the Socialist contention.

From 1904 to 1909 the increase in the suicide rate of the city has been 50 per cent. Last year, 890 inhabitants of New York gave up the struggle for existence by taking the suicide route.

Among the vital statistics of the city, the fact that one out of every ten persons who died within its limits was buried in Potter's Field, used to be widely circulated by Socialists. It is no longer true. The figures now are one out of every seven. In 1902 the percentage was 10.29. In 1909 it had risen to 13.74, that is, an increase in the number of those who filled nameless graves of nearly 32 per cent.

Besides the above, in the entire city the increase of charity burials in the seven years from 1902 to 1909 was 28.5 per cent.

In 1906 the number of homeless people who applied for shelter at the Municipal Lodging House was 40,872. In 1907, it had increased to 53,741. In 1908, the panic year, it jumped to 96,934, and last year, the year of returning prosperity, it had grown to a total of 102,421. And the officials of the establishment add that the present year promises to be the biggest in its history.

In 1904 the number of applicants at the Bureau of Dependent Adults was 32,995. Last year it was over 61,000.

In 1904 there were 617 cases in court dealing with non-support of wives and families. Last year, 1,768, or an increase of 186.54 per cent.

The above are but a small part of a mass of statistics of similar import issued by the officials. If the abolition of poverty by the literal extinction of the poor be an indication of returning prosperity, there is no doubt but that it has returned with a vengeance.

IT should be a source of much gratification to our Roman Catholic friends to note the respectful attitude of the press on the opinion of His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, that the recent disastrous floods in Paris were in the nature of a visitation from the Almighty caused by the wickedness of the French nation in persecuting the Church and the religious orders. Taken in connection with the recent statistics issued by a religious publishing house in Milwaukee, which gives the number of Roman Catholics in the United States at 14,347,027, this attitude is perfectly natural. Any opinion backed by such numbers cannot fail to command respect. Even Socialists, were they 14,347,027 strong, would obtain vastly increased consideration for their views. And it is quite probable on the contrary, that were His Eminence's supporters as weak numerically as the Socialists, some disrespectful press criticism of his remarks on this subject might have appeared.

Notwithstanding this—if we may be permitted to say so without having our opinion construed as an attack on religion—we venture to disagree with the eminent prelate. We incline to the opposite view that the Almighty thus afflicted the French nation for not sweeping the churches and religious orders completely out of the country—that, in short, the punishment came for sins of omission instead of commission. This opinion we have formed from reports that several churches and religious edifices of various kinds were injured or destroyed by the flood, while there is nothing to show that any anti-clerical establishment suffered.

We cheerfully admit, however, that the evidence supporting this view is most meagre, and only incline toward it because there seems to be no evidence whatever for the opposing view. We would, of course, hold it much more strongly were we certain that it would be sustained and accepted by 14,347,027 people, but this not being the case its real weakness when contrasted with the Cardinal's view is at once apparent.

COMMANDER PEARY, the recent discoverer of the North Pole, deserves well of the American people, and it gives us great satisfaction to believe that there is one request he makes which will not be disregarded. The great explorer hopes that no efforts will ever be made to civilize the Esquimaux, declaring that "such efforts, if successful, would destroy their primitive communism which is necessary to their existence." "Once give them," continues Commander Peary, "an idea of real estate interests and personal property rights in houses and food, and they would become as selfish as civilized beings, whereas now any game larger than a seal is the common property of the tribe, and no man starves while his neighbor is gorging. If a man has two sets of hunting implements, he gives one of them to the man who has none. It is this feeling of good-fellowship which alone preserves the race."

The gallant commander may rest easy. Civilization will not murder the Esquimaux by intruding its ideas upon

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them. There would be no profit, and therefore no object in civilizing them. Lack of incentive on the part of civilization, is their guarantee against interference.

The primitive communism of the Esquimaux will remain undisturbed, simply because neither the Esquimaux nor the regions they inhabit can be made to produce any surplus beyond a bare subsistence. Capital can find no remunerative investment among them, therefore benevolent assimilation is needless waste of effort.

If rubber-trees could be grown on their desolate wastes, civilization might perhaps be induced to dispense upon them the manifold blessings it has poured out on the Congo region. Or if the seal, walrus and whale crop were enormously and permanently augmented among them, civilization might deign to bless them with packing houses and cold storage plants like Chicago. But inasmuch as the Esquimaux cannot exist without consuming all he is able to produce, and his labor therefore leaves no surplus to be appropriated by civilization, he will not be intruded upon.

It is a noble plea that Commander Peary makes, and fortunately for the Esquimaux, a superfluous one.

"SHIRT-SLEEVES diplomacy" having failed to intimidate Japan, the Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, has substituted for it another method of persuasion described by the press as "dollar diplomacy," but with no better success, his proposal for the neutralization of the Manchurian railroads being promptly turned down both by Japan and Russia. The latter power replied that the acceptance of Mr. Knox's suggestions would injure the political and industrial interests of Russia, while Japan declared that the scheme would be of no advantage to either America or Japan, as the latter was strictly adhering to its pledge of an "open door" and equal trade opportunity for all.

Mr. Knox and the capitalistic interests he represents thus get from Japan an analogous answer to that which they themselves so frequently hand out to organized labor when the latter protests against the maintenance of the "open shop."

On this matter the capitalist insists that the open shop is best for all concerned, laborer and capitalist, union man and non-union man, just as Japan declares that the "open door" policy which she is pledged to support, affords equal opportunity to all, and no change is either necessary or beneficial. Each side knows the other is lying but dares not say so, until in the cant phrase, "the resources of diplomacy are exhausted," and one or other declares for a test of physical strength to settle the dispute.

Our capitalists have failed to either frighten or persuade Japan into surrendering the political and industrial domination achieved in the late war, or sharing any part of it with outsiders, just as the capitalist, unawed by the threats of the labor leader and unmoved by his arguments, insists that he must and will "run his own business" without dictation from outsiders.

The struggle for the world's markets is equally as irrepressible as the struggle between capital and labor, and a war with Japan in the near future is not one whit less possible and probable than a strike of laborers against capitalists when the diplomats have exhausted their resources and both sides remain inflexible.

ONE James Henry Stark, a Boston historian of recognized standing, has roused a storm of patriotic indignation by publishing a work in which he applies modern muck-rake methods to the characters of some of the fathers of the American Revolution.

Mr. Stark alleges that Ben Franklin rifled the post office mails, Samuel Adams embezzled the funds which he had gathered as tax collector, John Adams, John Hancock and others were defaulters, thieves, smugglers and general all round crooks, and Patrick Henry a bankrupt and demagogue.

Had Mr. Stark been content merely to make these charges, the matter might have passed unnoticed. His real offence, however, was that he demonstrated from indisputable documentary evidence that the charges were true. Hence the indignation. Mr. Stark has been subjected to all manner of abuse and vituperation, but no attempt has been made to refute the charges he makes.

The press in its editorial columns, instead of essaying the hopeless task of rehabilitating the characters of the "fathers," cleverly dodges by attacking the motives of the historian. He appeals only to "factional opinion." He is one of that numerous type of persons who "take diabolical delight" in smirching the characters of the mighty dead by recounting the minor evil deeds they have committed and ignoring the good ones.

This may be true, but on the other hand it is equally true that the virtues of these people have been persistently paraded as an appeal to "factional opinion" by people who took perhaps not a "diabolical delight," but at least a crafty interest in suppressing everything which might injure the characters of those they wished to have considered spotless. Mr. Stark has simply reversed this process, and that is the worst than can be said of him Too much praise invites criticism. Besides, it is equally obvious that this unmingled praise was not without questionable motive. Patriotism is not necessarily the *last* refuge of a scoundrel. Its advantages as a place of customary habitation are often apparent to the scoundrel long before he is driven to it as a last refuge.

Cost of Producing Gold

(N. Y. Evening Post.)

MUCH of the discussion that has come up in connection with the world's increased output of gold has been over the point that as output increases the margin of profit to the mining companies grows less. Last year the Rand mines of the Transvaal turned out more gold than ever before; profits also increased to high record levels. Statistics relative to individual concerns show that out of some fifty-five companies whose returns are embraced, over a score show expansions of really important extent in their profits, gains ranging from $1,210,000 in the case of one company to $150,000 with another.

Two of the Transvaal companies showed for the year 1908 a profit per ton exceeding by $1.85 that of 1907. In the case of one, the "Jumpers," the whole of the increase arose from economy in working expenditure, the ratio for 1908 being no less than $2.35 below that of the preceding year. As to the other, the "Unified," the bulk of improvement was due to advance in grade, saving in costs figuring out at only 43 cents per ton. Taking a more average illustration, a gain of 66 cents in profit per ton, recorded by the "Ginsberg," practically 50 cents was accounted for by reduction in outlay.

Regarding decrease in average profits reported by some companies, the decline in a number of cases was not an adverse feature, being due to extension of plant for the purpose of dealing with low-grade ores. Following are the details of the sixteen undertakings in the Rand, showing the change in average cost of production last year and the change in profits:

	Cost, ton.		Profit, ton.	
Company.	1908.	1907.	1908.	1907.
Increased profits—				
Ferreira Gold..	$4.62	$5.02	$7.87	$6.52
Ginsberg	5.06	5.58	2.52	1.60
Jumpers	5.75	8.12	4.31	2.45
New Goch.....	4.05	5.35	2.66	1.85
New Heriot....	6.33	6.25	4.77	3.47
New Modder...	5.10	5.54	3.66	2.75
New United....	5.14	5.54	2.97	1.14
Princess Estate.	6.35	7.14	3.50	2.75
Simmer & Jack.	3.25	4.45	4.66	3.60
Decreased profits—				
City & Suburban	4.06	5.20	1.75	2.75
Crown Reef....	3.95	5.02	4.14	5.14
French Rand...	5.81	5.54	.18	1.10
Geldenhuis Est.	3.41	3.91	2.60	3.68
Meyer & Charl..	4.60	5.08	3.22	3.95
Robinson Deep.	3.52	4.14	7.81	8.52
Robinson Gold.	3.12	4.47	9.89	11.08

Figures as to cost are given, as well as profit per ton, because the former, apart from being of interest in themselves, serve the purpose of indicating to what extent, if any, the change in the ratio of profit is due to variation in the yield. More than half of the mines embraced in the tabulation here given worked last year at under $5 per ton of ore milled. The low record is claimed by the Robinson, at $3.12.

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Consumption of the Lungs

By EUGENE WOOD, *Author of "Back Home," "Folks Back Home," etc.*

FTER your friend has coughed until it scares you just to listen to him, and he's kind of got his breath back, you say to him: "I'd go see a doctor about that, if I was you."

"Oh, no," he answers, and it makes your heart ache to hear him say so, "I am all right, only for this little cold I've got that seems to hang on, I don't know why. I'm kind 'o run down, but as soon as the weather gets settled the cough'll wear itself away. I'm takin' medicine for it. Dr. Hardman's Compound Extract of Prune-juice and Bug-juice—that's said to be very good for lung trouble—and I'm building up my system with Ryan's Real Rotgut Whiskey. Oh, I'll be all right in a little while."

And then you give his wife a look that says: "Consumption. He's a goner if you don't get him out of doors," and she gives you a look that says: "I know. But he won't listen to me."

I think I know who invented optimism, this cheerful habit of always looking on the bright side of things, the fellow that goes around telling such awful lies about people making themselves sick by thinking about it. It seems to me that one of his feet is a hoof, that he has horns, and has a tail with an arrow-headed stinger in the end of it. The Devil has so far discovered no quicker way to destroy us soul and body than to make us think that we're all right, and that it is dangerous to take precautions against the measles, for instance, because taking precautions is what gives you the measles. And the saddest thing of all about the consumptive is his incurable hopefulness. If you could only throw a scare into him! Well, it's one of two things: Either he makes a teetotal change in his way of living, or it's the cemetery for his.

And that's just your fix, my foolish mud-head friend.

"Who, me?"

Yes, you.

"I ain't got consumption."

Perhaps not much of your lungs is gone, but I will bet you any money you like that there is a scar there where tuberculosis has been or there will be such a scar before you die. And if you don't die of it it will be more by good luck than good judgment, for the same thing ails you that ails the consumptive, taking the cheerful view, looking on the bright side of life. And that's what ails this country of which you are a part and are to blame for your part. Like the consumptive, you have your afternoon fever, which you call "flush times"; like him you have your chill all the rest of the day, which you call "hard times"; like him, you have your convulsive, racking cough in which you try to throw out of your lungs the phlegm that chokes and smothers, only you call that "labor troubles"; and just as the hemorrhages scare the consumptive when they are Nature's effort to heal with the shedding of blood, so you are scared at "violence" and "lawlessness" far beyond any necessity; like him, you won't listen to reason, but to every old quack that comes along with something he has to sell, Direct Nominations, Dr. Hardman's Compound Extract of Prune-juice and Bug-juice, Tariff Reform, Punk Pills for Pindling People, Anti-gambling Laws, and Ryan's Real Rotgut Whiskey—anything on God's earth rather than get out of doors, breathe the fresh air, feed up, sleep well, and play a little. That will cure you if you aren't too far gone. But *nothing else will.* Put that in your pipe and smoke it. And the nation has got Poverty, which is to it just exactly the same thing that Consumption of the lungs is to the individual. If you don't get well of it, by making an entire change in your way of living, you'll die, and that's all

"I don't want my country to die"

there is about it. You think: "Not me. Somebody else, but not me. Some other nation, but not the United States." Ah, my son, nations have died before this; big, strong, hearty, red-cheeked nations—just pined away and died—and so will America if it doesn't take care of itself. And just as with individuals who let the thing run on too long, so with peoples. History's graveyard is full of tombstones of nations which have perished by this consumption which comes from overwork,

"The thorn turned into grateful beauty of flower and fruit"

underfeeding, lack of play, lack of fresh air. That's Poverty. And you've got it.

"Who, me?"

Yes, you.

"Why, no," you tell me. "I'm not poverty-stricken. Do you mean to insult me?"

Uh-huh. I do. If it's necessary to save your life.

"Why, poor folks," you explain to me, "starve to death. I'm not starving to death, keeling over dead for the want of food."

No. Very, very few ever do that. But if every grown man and woman in this country had a soldier's ration of food—leave the children out of it—the flour and meat raised in this country now wouldn't be enough to go round, let alone ship any of it away. Somebody's going mighty light on grub in that case. Is it you?

"No," you answer. "Why, we had a piece of flank . . . let's see, now . . . was it Tuesday or Thursday, Mollie, that we had meat? Tuesday? I knew it was some time in the early part of last week. So you see . . . "

Like the man in the minstrel show, you "had a peanut last week."

"And," you continue, "I got a nice flat here; four rooms and a sink in the hall, and a quarter-in-the-slot gas-machine. Two of the rooms are nice and light, fine view from the front of across the street, and out of the back you can see the washings hanging out on the pulley-lines. And I got plush furniture on the installment plan. I'm a little behind on the payments, but I'll get something somehow before they come and take away the things. And look at the children. Ever see finer children than they are? They don't look poverty-stricken, do they? Jennie has the tooth-ache just now, and Willie'll have to get glasses, his eyes bother him so; and Eddie's head's kind o' stopped up so's he has to breathe through his mouth, and the baby's bow-legged, but that's because she started to walk too soon. Good thing she's a girl. When she grows up and gets long dresses on, nobody'll ever notice it."

I see. And the only reason you haven't an automobile is that the darn thing'd be more bother to you than good. And you wouldn't concede a piano house-room, because the racket gives you the willies. And the reason you do not own a large and comfortable house, with hardwood floors, improved plumbing, electric light, lawn for the children to play on, cow and chicken and garden-patch, is because you don't want to be tied down. If you had 'em you couldn't pick up and run over to Europe for a couple of months the way you can now. And you don't care for a library, because it always makes you sleepy to read, and you consider the time better put in out on the golf-links. I see.

A thick, juicy steak with mushrooms on it—Faugh! You're sick of all such stuff. (Did you ever have it?) Champagne? Your pledge won't let you touch it, but if it did, a "crock o' suds" would fit your face better. As for tobacco, give you a good clay pipe full of Mrs. Miller's Best, the choicest sweepings of a wooden bridge. These three-for-a-quarter cigars are no good. The clothes you wear are these all-wool eleven-dollar suits that fit you as neatly as if they had been made for—somebody else. And your feet stand in the very best two-dollar shoes that money can buy. You're satisfied.

And you are not starved in mind any more than you are in body. You get the evening paper, with the racing news and the baseball score and pictures of big fists doubled up, and the Sunday papers with the artistic red-and-blue-and-yellow comic page. For music you have the street-pianos and the mud-gutter band. For drama you have the moving-picture show and the continuous vaudeville. What more can anybody ask?

Other people have better things, don't they? Why not you?

"That's different."

How is it different? "They've got the

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money," you say. And you haven't. Why haven't you? You're paid when you work, and they're paid when—*you* work. You're paid what it will cost a single man to live on, and out of that you have to keep your family. And they're paid out of the difference between the cost of your keep and what the things will sell for that you make. And when things can't be sold, as at this present, because you can't buy, they go on living, and you get along the best you can without wages.

When you die, you'll be buried. You'll have to be. But you expect to miss the Potter's Field, because "the old woman" is paying ten cents a week to an industrial insurance company to take care of that. And, if you are lamed for life, or are taken down with this consumption we are talking about and linger along and linger along, seemingly unable to die, or live either—Oh, well, what's the use of looking on the dark side? What's the use of borrowing trouble? If worst comes to worst, "the old woman" can look for a few washings to do, and the kids can find a job, Jennie in the department store, Willie as a messenger boy. They won't get much of an education, but education's mostly frills and fads anyhow. You're all right. Your cough will wear itself out as soon as the weather gets settled, and as soon as business picks up you'll lay up money again. Why, before the panic struck us you had close onto a hundred dollars in the bank. Think of that! Close onto a hundred dollars! Why, you could keep an automobile two or three weeks on a hundred dollars.

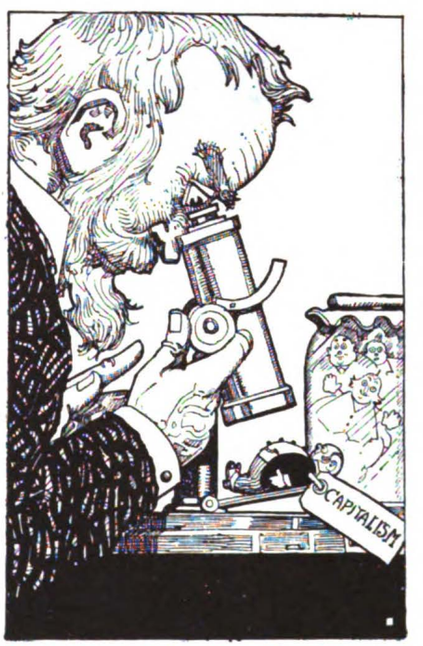
There are some cases of consumption that are too far gone for anything more than easing their pathway to the grave. Don't cross 'em. Let 'em have what they want. Just look out that what they spit out of their rotting lungs is disinfected, so that it won't bring other people to their dying condition. There are some far-gone cases of poverty and contentment just like that. Let 'em alone. You're wasting your time with them. It's sad, but it's hopeless.

But in the early stages of tuberculosis it is necessary to talk plainly. No use in mincing words and softening your explanation. Consumption is a mighty serious matter. You can't fool with it. When you see that the cold hangs on, that you are losing flesh, that you feel flushed and hot in the evenings, every minute counts. Get right out of doors. There is fresh air there in any climate. And it is fresh air that does the curing. Sleep in the open air. Sleep warm and comfortable, but be in the open air night and day. Put away all the sweet milk and fresh eggs your hide will hold. Don't work, don't worry. Play a little and make it your business to get well. (Isn't it easy to say?) You've got to put your body into the most fit and favorable condition possible, comfortable, happy. Dr. Hardman's Compound Extract of Prune-juice and Bug-juice won't cure you. But Nature will, unless you're too far gone. No need to rack your stomach with poisons to "kill the germs," which is like "punishing criminals." Anything that will kill germs will kill you; anything that "punishes criminals" punishes the state, for the state is made up of people, good and bad, the good being those who don't need to be bad to get a living, the bad being those who must be bad or starve. Nature is the great healer if she gets the chance while there *is* the chance; taken too late she does her best to kill, and rid the world of what is useless. In the blood of the body are germ-destroyers. Supply the strength which comes from food, rest, and fresh air, and these germ-destroyers in the blood will do their duty.

That's how to get well of consumption.

But just your own recovery isn't all you've got to think of. What you raise from your lungs, if spat out and left to dry up and blow about will spread the disease. Some bright boy, some lovely girl, whose parents are all wrapped up in them, will perish just because of your selfish ignorance. It is no excuse to say: "I didn't go to." You don't need to "go to" to kill people; all you've got to do is to be selfish and ignorant and careless. Spit into paper and burn it up. The infection lies in what you spit out. And not only in what consumptives spit out. Even the noses and throats of well people are full of these consumption germs, which are inhaled, but which stick to the moist surface of the inside of your nose and throat, and when you clear them out and spit them away just that may be the implantation of germs that will be the death of somebody. If you are strong enough you can resist the ordinary implantation, but there can be an extraordinary amount implanted that the strongest will give way to.

All this is the practical side of the Tuberculosis Problem. Anybody can understand that much. Anybody can do that much. If we all took care that what we spat out was spit where it could never infect others; if we all had enough to eat, lived in well-ventilated rooms, were out of doors a good deal, had such short hours that work would be a pleasure and not a weary, dragged-out existence; if we all felt sure of a job as long as we were able to work, and a pension when we got too feeble, so that "the old woman" wouldn't have to go out washing, and the children could stay in school until their bodies and minds were formed—why, it wouldn't be more than twenty-five or thirty years before Consumption, which now kills one in every nine, which is the Captain of the Men of Death, would be as negligible a cause of mortality as smallpox now is.



"What Robert Koch did for the Tuberculosis Problem, Karl Marx did for the Poverty Problem"

Very few of us, though, have the special skill that would enable us to do what Robert Koch did, discover definitely the bacillus of consumption and separate it out and experiment with it. Very few of us will ever look through a microscope and see those bacilli, let alone being able to discern the difference between them, and, say, the Klebs-Loeffler bacilli. The scientific side of the problem is 'way beyond us. Yet look how important that scientific side is. Before Koch discovered the special bacillus of tuberculosis, the doctors were all working in the dark. They didn't know whether it was an inherited disease or not. If it was, then it was a hopeless matter. You couldn't help yourself. You would have to say: "The consumptives ye have always with you," just as folks now say: "The poor ye have always with you," and consider that that settles it. They didn't know whether consumption mightn't be in the climate. If that were so, you'd have to get out of that climate, like picking up and moving West to get rid of poverty.

But look what grew out of the discovery that there was a specific bacillus that caused the disease. That made it certain that it wasn't a punishment for having been born to certain people and in a certain locality. It was an infectious disease, and as such, it passed from the domain of the private physician and into the domain of the Board of Health, out of private enterprise and into collective enterprise. It ceased to be a matter of: "Everybody for himself and the devil take the hindmost," and became: "The injury of one is the concern of all."

(Hallelujah! I see the light! Don't you? Right ahead. Look! Right where I'm pointing.)

Just so, though not all of us are able for the study of these deep books about political economy, and cannot reason it all out on the scientific side, yet none of us but has sense enough to understand the practical side of it. What Robert Koch did for the Tuberculosis Problem, Karl Marx did for the Poverty Problem. Out of his discovery that riches are gained by a certain set of men living off the difference between what it costs to keep the workers going and what the goods the workers make will sell for over the counter (just like bacilli that don't care how they exhaust the strength of the body so long as they fare well), grows the discovery that it is no longer a matter of each man's curing himself, not caring what happens to other people; grows the discovery that it is a matter for what you might call the Board of Health; grows the discovery that there is no other remedy than putting the body politic into the fittest possible condition, with all the food that can be stuffed in, with lots of fresh air, lots of play, short hours of work and a comfortable and happy world for all. The thing to do is to change our whole mode of life. Teetotally change it. Or die. One of the two. There is no third choice.

First of all, the sick nation with its tubercles that matter and infect; its thieves, petty and grand; its women who sell their souls for a dollar or a million dollars; its hoboes on the blind baggage or on the touring car; its lunatics in and out of asylums; its fevers of flush times and chills of hard times; its loss of flesh by no marriages, marriages blessed by no children, and what children there are destroyed in body and soul in department stores and messenger service, so that population increases only by immigration—the sick nation must, first of all *resolve to get well!*

It must make that resolve solemnly. At the ballot-box, let us say. How? Vote the Republican ticket? Vote the Democratic ticket? That is only the sick man turning himself painfully in the bed, seeking rest and finding none. That isn't getting well. We've tried that and are no better. Worse rather. They're no good, the old parties.

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"Maybe the Socialists wouldn't be any better."

Maybe they wouldn't. But they're different. You're going to die the way you are. You can only die anyhow.

And maybe they would be better. Maybe they can cure the nation of its death sickness. No country has ever yet taken the full treatment, but in Germany, in France, in Belgium, in England, in New Zealand—in any of the countries which are not quite so mud-headed as America; not so conceited and obstinate—wherever they have tried the least little bit of the treatment, they have been helped a lot. The difference is noticeable.

At any rate, what harm can it do to express the *wish* to get well? Suppose the Republican party or the Democratic party does lose the next election. Is that anything to *you?* What do *you* care for that? But it will make *them* get busy. It bothers the bacilli when a man begins to try to get his strength back.

Personally, if it was just you, you mud-head, that was to die in misery, I wouldn't care so much. I'd hate to know about it, but I'd try to keep from thinking about your misery, and that deeper depth of misery that is not to know that it *is* misery, and not to care. But you drag me down, too. I don't want to die. I don't want my family and friends to die. I don't want my country to die. So much blood has been shed for it; so many prayers, so many aspirations have been offered for it; the hope of so many has been in it, that it would be too terrible for America to go the way of Spain, of Rome, of Greece, of Babylon, of Egypt, of Assyria.

But die it will, and of the very same disorder, unless it can cure itself by teetotally changing its mode of life, thus gaining the strength to throw off the poison of its own rotting tissues which the bacilli have infected and are feeding on.

* * * *

Just a word to wind up with. They showed me once in agar-agar jelly some of the lineal descendants of the very bacilli that Robert Koch himself had separated. They were living along as nicely as could be. And *they were quite harmless!* You could be inoculated with them and take no hurt at all. *Their nature had been changed.* You hear a lot about how "you can't change human nature." I suppose you will agree that you are much more able to change human nature than bacillus nature. Nevertheless, these plants that are so deadly to the human race that one in every nine that dies, dies of tuberculosis, had become as innocent as sweet milk. Out in the garden are vegetables that once were wild and poisonous. They had to struggle for a living and they didn't care who they killed if only they might live and their descendants. But we took them out of the wilderness and fenced in a place for them from their enemies, dug up the ground around them, and made conditions favorable, and lo! out of the eater came forth meat and out of the strong came forth sweetness. A little bit of kindness, and all that ingenuity of defense that hitherto had expended itself in bitterness, in poison, in thorns, in rank odors, turned into grateful beauty of flower and fruit and fragrance. Just so with those bacilli, those molds and funguses of civilization that now breed the tubercles that matter and infect, those sores upon the lungs of society, of petty thieves and grand thieves, the women that sell their souls for a dollar or a million, the hoboes on limousines or on the trucks.

They are all men and women, our brothers, our sisters. Can't we arrange it so that we shall all live harmlessly together like brothers and sisters? Can't we say that we *want* it to be that way? Then put your X-mark under the Arm and Torch, or the Hands Clasped Around the World. "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain!"

Death Claims Agitator

ON January 24th there passed from the ranks of militant Socialism a man who was perhaps the most indefatigable fighter for the Cause that the country has ever produced. Surrounded by a band of loyal friends and comrades, and in the presence of his devoted wife, Ben Hanford, his body wasted by years of sickness, but with spirit indomitable and clear to the last, passed into the great unknown. Fifteen years of service for Socialism into which Hanford threw every atom of mental and physical energy of which he was possessed, and into which he compressed double and perhaps treble the work of the average agitator, comprised the record of his life service to the Cause, its end marking the close of a career of such splendid activity and consistent unfaltering purpose that those who knew him intimately can only appreciate the extent of the loss the movement has sustained by his death.

BEN HANFORD

Hanford had been dying for years, and the end was not unexpected. He knew it, his friends knew it, but nothing, not even the approach of death, could daunt that splendid courage and unconquerable purpose. He died almost literally in the Socialist harness, died fighting for Socialism with his latest breath.

The Socialist party knew and appreciated his worth and had showered upon him what honors it could bestow—honors that meant what was to Hanford the breath of life—more work for Socialism. Twice he was the candidate for Vice-President, three times for Governor of the State of New York, and once for the Mayoralty of the city. A staunch trade unionist, a striking and effective speaker, debater and writer, Hanford brought all his splendid talents into the campaign work necessary at such times and never spared himself.

His last book, "Fight for Your Life," published by the Wilshire Book Co., and which has enjoyed a very large circulation, gives a glimpse of this man of action at his best, and is treasured by thousands of his friends and comrades as a memento best expressing his strength of character as a militant propagandist. Hanford's work appeared frequently in WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, where he was regarded as one of its most valued contributors.

The funeral was attended by thousands of New York Socialists who knew the man and his work, and at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, where the last services were held, thousands were turned away for lack of room in the building. The body was cremated. Hanford leaves behind him a devoted wife, but no family, as he married during his later years. He was about fifty years of age.

Still another Socialist agitator who has passed away recently is Comrade M. W. Wilkins, well known as a writer, editor and lecturer for Socialism. Wilkins had been employed many years by the National Executive Committee as a National Organizer.

We have also to record the death of Miss Jean Reynolds, daughter of Comrade Stephen Marion Reynolds of Terre Haute, Indiana. Miss Reynolds accidentally mistaking a phial of carbolic acid for the medicine she was used to take, drank part of the contents and died soon after. The death of Miss Reynolds has cast a gloom over the entire locality. The family has been closely connected with that of Eugene V. Debs, who was one of the most valued friends of the dead girl, her father and family.

Death has also been busy among British Socialists, Pete Curran, a prominent labor leader and Socialist Member of Parliament, having died on February 15. Curran was an extremely active worker in the cause, and had made several visits to the United States, where he was well known and respected by American Socialists.

In addition to the above, we note the death of Moses Harman, the well known lecturer, writer and editor of *The Journal of Eugenics.* Harman had been frequently a victim of the law that declares the discussion of sex questions obscene, and had recently served a term of imprisonment for this alleged offence, though nearly eighty years of age.

Publicity for the Warren Case

In the January issue of *The New West Magazine*, published in Portland, Ore., is a five-page article on the Warren case, by George Allan England. This article, under the caption, "Is Kidnapping Legal?" is illustrated with reproductions of the original documents of the case, and with an excellent portrait of Warren. It is printed as the leading article in the magazine. Covering, as it does, the salient features of the case, and exposing fully the illogical position of the government, it forms not only a story of great interest, but also a valuable propaganda document. We advise all our readers to procure the magazine and to help circulate the article.

The New West has scheduled other Socialist articles, to appear shortly, from the pen of Comrade England. Progress and sympathy for Socialism are keynotes of the publication. All Socialists should do their best to support and forward the interests of *The New West.* We need such a magazine, and should show our appreciation of its good work by heartily contributing to its success.

If you want to assure yourself that prosperity is really returning, go down to the pier and watch the millionaire landing from the Atlantic liner after doing the season in Europe.

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ECONOMIC AND STATISTICAL

It is estimated that not less than six billion dollars is invested in electrical enterprises of all kinds in the United States. Five and a half million telephones, representing capital to the extent of $550,000,000 are in use while the 40,247 miles of electric railroads using nearly ninety thousand cars are capitalized at $4,557,000,000. Practically the entire industry has come into existence within the last thirty years.

The recently elected British Parliament is composed of 274 Liberals, 273 Unionists, 82 Irish Nationalists and 41 Labor members. The Unionists have gained 106 seats, while the Liberals have lost 91, the Labor Party 14, and the Nationalists 1.

The average fare on the Paris subways is 2.7 cents with a minimum fare of 1.19 cents at certain hours of the day. When the entire system is completed universal transfers will be issued which will enable a passenger to travel from any one quarter of the city to any other for one fare.

At the close of 1908 the membership of the trade unions of New South Wales, Australia, was 113,918. The total population of the State is about 1,600,000, so that about one in every fourteen persons is a member of a labor organization. If the same ratio prevailed in the United States the membership of our labor unions would be between six and seven millions.

Natural gas and petroleum in great quantity and excellent quality has been discovered in the province of Cadiz in Spain, and is being exploited by English and Belgian capitalists.

The "German Employers' Association for Indemnity for Loss by Strikes," is the latest development of the industrial class conflict in Germany. It is gaining adherents fast, increasing its business rapidly and promises to become a permanent institution.

It is reported, and in all probability correctly, that the Standard Oil group of financiers have acquired the immense mail order establishment of Sears, Roebuck & Co., of Chicago, a concern doing a distributing business of upward of $40,000,000 per annum.

The British Government has loaned $125,000 to the Nigeria Bitumen Company, a private corporation, for the purpose of exploiting the petroleum deposits of the west Coast of Africa. The loan is without interest and there is no obligation on the part of the company to repay any part of it until oil has been obtained.

The wheat yield of Canada last year broke all records with the enormous total of 166,744,000 bushels, an average of 21½ bushels to the acre. In 1908 the total wheat production of Canada was 112,434,000 bushels averaging 17 bushels per acre.

A European inventor has succeeded in combining the cinematograph and the stereoscope so that the figures in the moving pictures stand out as distinctly as in the stereoscope. The device completely eliminates the flickering effect which all moving pictures heretofore exhibited, an absolutely steady and faithful reproduction being secured.

The largest and most powerful lifting crane in the Orient has just been installed at Nagasaki, Japan, by the Mitsu Bishi Dockyard and Engine Works. It was built in Great Britain, stands 177 feet high, is worked by electric current, and has a lifting capacity of 150 tons.

Fair competition is where you do the other fellow up in business. When he does you up, that's unfair competition.

In point of population Buenos Ayres is now the fourth city on the American continent, being exceeded only by New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. According to the last census (October, 1909) its population was 1,189,662. It is also the largest city south of the equator.

Two immense woolen factories have been established by the Chinese Government, one at Shanghai, the other at Ching-Ho, which will turn out clothing for the army. Both are strictly up-to-date and can turn out sufficient clothing for one million men.

According to the estimate of the Canadian Census Bureau, the population of Canada was at the close of last year, 7,350,000. During the year, 150,000 immigrants entered Canada, of which over 90,000 came from the United States. Most of the latter were farmers from the Northwest, who have settled on Government lands in the Dominion.

For the first time the United States takes second place as a wheat exporting country, the Argentine Republic having displaced us last year from the premier position in wheat exports.

How define Art or Labor? We might dryly attempt to sum up the artificial distinctions between them by saying that—(1) Art is the inventive use of tools and material. (2) Labor is the mechanical use of tools and material.

But on examination (regarding the whole field of handicraft) the two would be found to be so closely connected—so much art or skill in even the simplest operation of labor, so much labor involved in even the simplest form of art—each so involved in the other, that it would be very difficult to draw the line and to say where labor ends and art begins.—WALTER CRANE.

In 1908 there were, according to *The Banker and Investor* magazine, 304,912 shareholders in the railroads of the country. Next year (1909) the figures had diminished to 288,160, a decrease of nearly seventeen thousand.

On the great gold fields of Witwatersrand in the Transvaal there are employed 145,104 colored persons, 3,204 Chinese and 19,458 whites. The net profit of these mines amounted to $4,638,758 during last October, the gold produced amounting to 602,790 fine ounces.

A factory for the manufacture of radium has been started in London, which is equipped with appliances and processes which will reduce the time for the production of radium from nine months to six or seven weeks. The total known amount of radium which has been extracted throughout the entire world is estimated at something less than one-quarter of a pound.

After a war there is generally glory enough to go around, and if there isn't, it can be manufactured. But it's different with markets, for which all wars are fought.

In order to provide employment for the local unemployed the London County Council has decided that in all contracts for public work in the county of London the contractor shall give preference to workmen who are bona fide residents of the county. Violation of this order means that the offending contractor will be placed on the list of persons from whom the County Council will not accept tenders.

The Labor and Socialist parties of England in the recent election polled nearly half a million votes, a considerable increase on the total of the election of four years ago. Of this number the Labor party accounts for upward of 470,000, while the Social Democratic Federation and several Socialists contesting seats "independently" added another 25,000 to the number.

Japan Suppresses Socialism

PERHAPS there is no government on earth to-day conducted with more sagacity, shrewdness and far-sightedness than that of Japan. In adapting the empire to the requirements of the existing political and industrial world environment and preparing in anticipation of expected developments both in politics and industry, those who direct its destinies have won the admiration even of their rivals and competitors, while at the same time exciting their fear and commanding their respect.

However, in the matter of dealing with the growing world problem of Socialism, the ruling class of Japan seem about as short-sighted, ignorant and idiotic as their fellows elsewhere.

For instance, the following appears in a government document, justifying the suppression of a Socialist publication in Yokohama and the imprisonment of the editor. It is the Minister of the Interior who personally issues the statement:

It is simply a question of protecting the morals of the public and preserving order. The Socialists have carried matters to an intolerable extreme. Even the sanctity of the throne, which is held in such high homage and reverence by every Japanese subject, is not respected by the Socialists. This is frightful.

Moreover, the doctrines which they preach regarding the relation of the sexes tend to reduce human beings to the level of brutes. The government will be held responsible for this and must do all in its power to check the wave of these abominable doctrines, consequently the authorities are resolved to do their duty.

It has been proved that Socialism has now taken root in Japan, but it is merely a sort of madness and should be treated in the same way as the cholera and the plague. In other words, it should be attacked and destroyed before it is too late.

There is not a capitalist country on earth in which the same twaddle has not emanated from official sources. Roosevelt, Kaiser Wilhelm, Premier Balfour and the Czar have from time to time delivered themselves of similar drivel. And yet this "mere madness," wherever it has "taken root," has invariably grown ever stronger, and has everywhere thriven wherever the "should be attacked and destroyed" policy has been carried out. If there was even one single exception to this fact, something might be said in extenuation of the advocacy of such a policy.

However, the Japanese Minister of the Initerior is no more stupid than other capitalist statesmen elsewhere, who could never be convinced that it was always "too late" to attack and destroy Socialism, until they had made the attempt and failed.

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OUR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

Conducted by **MRS. GAYLORD WILSHIRE**

BLIGHTING THE BABIES

An Address Delivered before the New York Branch, W. N. P. L., by **MRS. L. SCOTT BOWER**

WE see and know so much of the evils of the economic system under which we live, we see it in its paralyzing effects on all industry and on the lives of men, but we seldom think how its grim hand is laid even on the cradle, that the poverty it engenders begins, even with the birth of the child, to blight and deaden and decay.

Of course, in speaking of the present economic system, one necessarily speaks of poverty. It is the accompanying and unfailing adjunct of any scheme of existence which places one man in the power of another, and himself and his family at the mercy of that other's greed. In this system the grown man is helpless with all his strength and mentality, and the child, where it is permitted to live at all, grows up puny, weak, inefficient and unfitted for the battle of life.

The period of infancy is one of extreme pliability. Science declares that almost all problems of physical, mental and moral degeneracy originate with the child, so that it is a terrible thing that the under-feeding, improper clothing and housing of children should not only mar a youth that should be joyous, but menace the strength and existence of the race.

That the present wage system compels people to live from hand to mouth is well known, and that a month's illness or unemployment brings them to want is also well known.

Then it is that the cry of the child for food that its mother is unable to give it, is heard. But this accidental deprivation and stunting of the body through lack of food is not the worst the child has to undergo. It is the chronic under-feeding to which it is subjected during the period of growth that tells on it most. There may be food sufficient in quantity, but qualitatively poor and almost lacking in nutritive value, which it lives on and which its poor parents have no means of knowing is unfit until some great moral upheaval comes along and the sawdust and poisonous subterfuges that form their staple diet are analyzed and publicly exposed. Even then the parents of the anæmic children have no means of punishing, or preventing the continuation of the sharks that fatten on their miseries, but must even accept the system as it stands and see their children perish around them.

That the dreadful mortality that obtains among grown people and children is confined to the working class admits of no doubt. In London the death rate of Bethnal Green is twice as high as that of Belgravia. In Paris the death rate of the poverty-stricken district of Menilmontant is twice as high as that of the Elysée. In Chicago it varies from about twelve per thousand in the wards where the well-to-do reside, to thirty-seven per thousand in the tenement districts. As we descend the social scale the span of life lengthens and the death rate diminishes, that of the poorest class of workers being three and a half times as great as that of the well-to-do.

This difference is even more strongly marked with children. In Wolf's studies, based upon the vital statistics of Erfurt, Germany, it was found that of every thousand children born in the working men's homes, five hundred and five died during the first year. Among the higher classes, eighty-nine died during the same period. Significant, is it not?

This dreadful disparity has been so marked that it has been the occasion of government alarm in one country at least. England, frightened at the physical inferiority of her soldiers during the South African war, made a most rigorous investigation of the causes, with the result of discovering that poverty in childhood was the main cause. The sadness of all this is that the cause is wholly preventable. In this country at least, where child mortality is on a par with England's, each workingman in the country, according to statistics, earns $2,500 a year; that he only receives $437 of what he earns is the fault of a social system that places the fruits of his toil in the hands of others and sacrifices the lives of his children that those others may give monkey dinners—that deprives his children of clothing, that their dogs may be clothed.

The remedy, that not only idealists, but practical thinkers and economists of every race are insistently pointing out, can only be found in Socialism.

When the workers shall own the means of production, then only will there be found a happy and prosperous commonwealth, with each child enjoying to the full, its share of the world's joys, and growing up vigorous and efficient—a factor for the further upbuilding of the race, rather than an object of charity, a weakling or a criminal.

The shortsightedness of a society that refuses to see this is phenomenal, and can only be counteracted by the unfailing patience and faith of those of us who see the light and are educating the world for the future.

Then the blighting of babies will only remain as one of the nightmares of the past, to which a really civilized world will look back with a horror too great for utterance.

MISS IDA M. TARBELL.

Among American literary women, Miss Tarbell occupies a most prominent position. A well-known authoress and journalist, her best known work is perhaps the celebrated "History of The Standard Oil Co." Miss Tarbell is a native of Pennsylvania, and is an active member of many literary, artistic and historical societies in this country and Europe.

Our Monthly Study Course

TEXT BOOK—SPARGO'S "BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN."

Compiled by MRS. MARY OPPENHEIMER.

Lesson IV. Chapter II, continued. Pages 88 . . . . 124. Main points to be noted: Section 7. Deals with questions of the average lunch of the poor school child. Section 8. Physical effects of such underfeeding as is disclosed by the investigations cannot be easily overestimated. No fact has been more thoroughly established than the physical superiority of the children of the well-to-do classes over their less fortunate fellows. Section 9. Dull and backward children. Section 10. These conditions a fruitful source of criminality. Connection between underfeeding and mental dulness. School meals. Section 11. Summary of the problem of poverty as it affects school children.

CELIA MAY BEACH, Farson, Wyo.

The January number of your Magazine was a source of great pleasure. We like its new form and size, and find it convenient to hold and easy to read. The Woman's Department is always interesting, but the Children's page is a new and attractive feature in our family, where it is made a special study by our little ones. We shall preserve the lessons and use them widely and well.

Our daughters became personally interested in Socialism through "Spargo's Readings For Children," which present an instructive subject in an attractive manner. Vital questions are put so clearly and forcibly that the book appeals to the child's keen sense of justice, while it widens his sympathies and presents Socialism as the great constructive force which is to unify and beautify the race.

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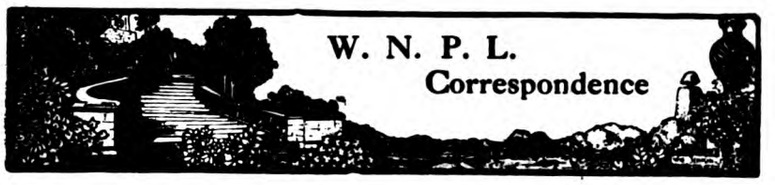

Report of W. N. P. L., South Sharon, Pa.

We held twenty-three enthusiastic meetings during the past year, have twenty-six paid-up members, bought and distributed a great many books, magazines and leaflets, and organized a branch of the Young People's National Progressive League at South Sharon, which now has about thirty-five members. We had the National Organizer, Miss Walling, come here and organize a Woman's League at New Castle, Pa., and we subscribed $13.50 toward the expenses of the "Red Special."

We feel that we are gradually becoming educated to understand the terrible conditions now existing in the country under the rule of capitalism, and that we need a government of, for and by the people, viz., Socialist Government.

It would be better for the poor, for they would not have to work all the time, and better for the rich, for they would get enough exercise to make them healthy so that they could enjoy life to an extent they have never yet even dreamed of, for where there is no health there is no happiness.

We hope the workers everywhere will buckle on their armor, and with renewed strength work undauntedly to gain the victory in the near future.

MRS. JULIA MCKEOWN.

At the last meeting of the South Sharon Branch of the W. N. P. L., an eloquent tribute to the memory of Ben Hanford was embodied in the form of resolutions adopted by the Branch. We regret that the limited space on these pages prevents their publication in our columns.

MARY ANDERSEN, Cor. Sec. W. N. P. L., Rock Island, Ill.

Enclosed find voting slips for National Officers from the W. N. P. L. of Rock Island. Also please find P. O. money order for $8.00, to apply per capita assessment for members of above League.

Received letter and National Treasurer's Report for 1909, on January 8, too late to consider at our first meeting in January. It was read at the last meeting and the secretary was instructed to request a semi-annual report according to the constitution.

PEARL ALICE LANPERSICK, Newport, Ky.

Some time ago I received your letter and bundle of children's leaflets. We did not have an opportunity to use them until last Sunday.

We distributed the lessons among the advanced-class pupils and went through the entire pamphlet, song and all. They enjoyed it very much. Each one took a turn in answering the questions and another one repeated same in his own words. Several good points were brought out. We decided not to use the pamphlet in the primary class, but the advanced class, which we shall now call a "League," has asked me to order ten copies of the second leaflet. Next month we may order more.

The advanced class has enjoyed Spargo's book very much.

New Branches Organized

Two new branches of the W. N. P. L. have just been formed, one in Delhi, Oklahoma, the other at Davenport, Iowa. Details of the formation of these branches will appear in the next issue.

Woman's Day at Carnegie Hall

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has again set aside the last Sunday in February (the 27th) as "Woman's Day," on which day demonstrations for woman suffrage are to be held all over the country. Local New York is planning to make a very big thing of this year's meeting, and with this in view has engaged Carnegie Hall for the afternoon of February 27th, and is preparing an attractive program. Franklin H. Wentworth is to be one of the speakers, the others will be announced later.

It is a great undertaking to fill this huge hall and to raise the money for expenses, and we need the earnest co-operation of all comrades to make this a highly successful propaganda meeting for Socialism and Suffrage.

Will you help us by taking a box? We are selling them at the unusually low rate of $5.00 a piece, and each box holds eight persons. Checks should be made out to Anita C. Block. Except for the boxes, admission will be free. We also ask you to advertise this meeting as extensively as you can, to make a point of being present yourself and to get as many others—Socialists and non-Socialists—to attend as possible. This is extremely important, as the meeting cannot be successful if the hall is not well filled.

For further information address the Secretary of the Committee on Arrangements, Mrs. Anita C. Block, 746 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City

THE CRY OF THE CHILDREN

"How long will you smother the cry of the children, O land of the spindle and loom?
How long will you feed the machines of your commerce with souls which your engines consume?
How long will the smoke of your child-eating factories shut out the sunshine from their eyes?
How long will the roar of the wheels drown their wailings that echo reproach from the skies?
Ye law-givers whose feet tread the summits of Sinai, reach up for the tablets of stone;
Give God's statutes a place in your journals and codes; give the Infinite charge of His own.
How long will your silence dishonor the maxim that holds evermore to be true
That your souls are the brothers to all other souls, and all others are brothers to you?
The ages will not hold you guiltless, O statesmen; there is might in a little child's prayer;
And the plea of the children shall find in the future a broader humanity there.
Ye masters of money, ye princes of power, you rule in the kingdom of greed;
Who made you the gods of the pygmies whose worship is toil to support your base creed?
They tread the wine press, but drink not the wine; thresh your harvest—you give them the straw;
You preach to your spinners; the voice is of Jacob; you rob with the hand of Esau.
They know little of love, or of faith, or of God; feel no hope of the bright afterwhile;
There's no rapture of song in the throats made for singing, no laughter on lips made to smile.
They know not the fragrance of roses or jasmines or any wild flower that blooms;
They are parts of your engines and spindles and wheels—living shuttles at work in your looms.
Better sink them beneath the cold tide of the Ganges, with a heathen's dim faith as your guide;
Better bind to the crags of Taygotus, whose vultures will hasten your infanticide.
You have made their sun rise through the fogs of your avarice, and set ere the glory of noon;
And the chill of their winter to come in the May-time, with frost on the flowers of June.
Take off your fine robes; their rich crimson is blood from the veins of your wee little slaves;
Take them off—they're the cerecloth of white baby faces, whose labor you paid for in graves.
Take your gifts back and straighten the shapes you deformed; lift the souls you have doomed from their hell;
You are but patron saints of the dead undertaker, with no law but your money-mad spell.
O how will it be when God's judgment shall reckon of crimes you have wrought in your greed?
When the eyes you have dimmed and the foreheads you have sloped back shall witness the woe of your deed?
Justice will not forever be cheated, ye lords; you must answer somewhere in your line
For these waifs of the spirit, these dwarfs of the human, these travesties on the divine.
O Christ of the children, how long will these Herods send forth their inhuman decrees?
The slaughter goes on while the heavens are still; there's no flight into Egypt for these.
Lord of Hosts, is the earth not Thy Temple? Money-changers have held it so long!
Scourge them, Lord! Drive them out! Let the voices of children make glad the wide world with their song!"

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OUR CHILDREN'S PAGE

SOCIALIST LESSONS FOR CHILDREN

By JACK BRITT GEARITY

[NOTE.—*These lessons are merely outlines, suggestive, and the teacher must supply the illustrations, which for lack of space cannot be given here.*]

LESSON VII:
Why We Study.

Why do we study?

In each one of us the strongest impulse is the desire to know what things are, to know what is in them, how they live and move, what they do and their use. This is equally true of boy or girl, man or woman. All of us are very curious, which causes us to examine everything we see and to ask many questions whenever we meet with a new creature, a new form of life or a new idea.

How does this desire first find expression?

The earliest form of curiosity is individual. As babies we watch every move that we ourselves make with the greatest interest, we are curious about our own legs and arms, eyes and ears and voice. Curiosity first finds expression in the baby's desire to get acquainted with itself.

How does the child satisfy its curiosity?

From the moment it begins to walk and talk the chief interest life holds for a child is the asking of many questions about everything it sees, and pulling things apart with its fingers and teeth to find out what is in them. Watch a little child when given a new toy—the boy will play with a ball or a horse on wheels for a few days, and then he will try to find out how it works, what is in it; the girl will play with a doll for a brief time, and then she will try to find out how the doll was made and what is in it. So with everything that the child, boy or girl, sees.

What is the first group expression of curiosity?

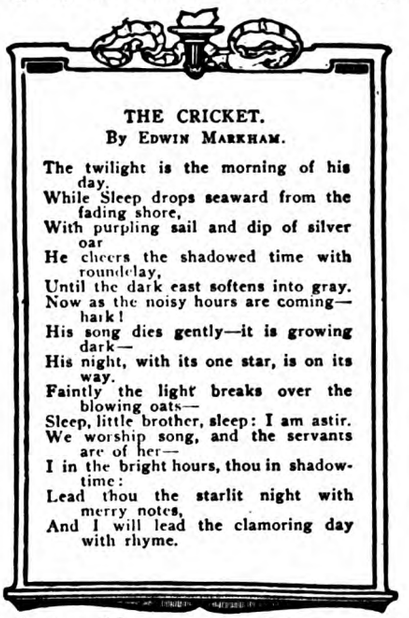
Our first group studies begin with our earliest playmates, although they are not intended to be studies, but merely new forms of expressing our curiosity, our desire to know and understand things. Naturally, two or more boys or girls can think of more questions about a thing than one could. Then, too, each boy and girl has a father and a mother to go to for answers to puzzling questions. And when they are given answers they do not keep them locked up in their own minds, for each one of us likes to tell what he knows.

Why do we go to school?

Our parents want us to receive an education, which means that they desire to fit us for life, to give us the benefit of all that grown-ups learned. We go to school to get this knowledge because schools are made to teach the meaning of life around us, to satisfy our great curiosity and our craving for knowledge.

How does our curiosity change?

First we are curious about ourselves, then curious about the reasons why certain things are black, others brown, and so on; why some animals walk, others fly and others swim. As we grow, our natural curiosity changes



THE CRICKET.
By EDWIN MARKHAM.

The twilight is the morning of his day.
While Sleep drops seaward from the fading shore,
With purpling sail and dip of silver oar
He cheers the shadowed time with roundelay,
Until the dark east softens into gray.
Now as the noisy hours are coming—hark!
His song dies gently—it is growing dark—
His night, with its one star, is on its way.
Faintly the light breaks over the blowing oats—
Sleep, little brother, sleep: I am astir.
We worship song, and the servants are of her—
I in the bright hours, thou in shadow-time:
Lead thou the starlit night with merry notes,
And I will lead the clamoring day with rhyme.

from a thing of personal interest into a social interest, a deep interest in our playmates, our schoolmates and the world of grown-ups. We become, as we grow, more and more deeply interested in all human beings and the whole world.

LESSON VIII:
How We Study.

How do we study?

Our first real study begins in the kindergarten or the primary class or grade in school, with slate and pencil or paper and pencil and primer as our tools, with a number of boys and girls as classmates, where we learn how to read and write and figure. Before this time our world was limited to our home and perhaps a neighbor's yard and a couple of playmates, now we are in a world full of classmates. A new factor enters into our lives, we study hard to keep up with our classmates, we emulate them. Shortly, we try to do better than anyone else in our class, we seek the honor of being the best pupil. We are now part of a class or group, and while we wish to be the best pupil in our class, we also feel a sense of group pride and desire to see our class one of the best in the school.

How do our studies change as we grow?

After mastering reading and writing and simple arithmetic, we take up geography and learn about other people, the black, brown, red and yellow, how they live, what they do. Our curiosity now outgrows the bounds of home, of school, of town or city and country, and becomes as broad as the world.

Later we begin to study history. We commence with the history of our own country, with the hopes of the people who settled it long, long ago, and their struggles against Indians, animals and forests. After going over this we study the history of the great modern nations, and delve into the history of the past and the world.

Where do we get the materials to study?

Most of our studies are carried on with the aid of books, maps and pictures, which may have been made hundreds of years ago by a German, a Frenchman, a Greek or a Roman. In order that we might study the work of these people who didn't speak our language, their books, the names of places on maps, and the descriptions on their pictures had to be translated into English. So, you see, the materials from which we learn about the world, its history and its people come from men and women in all parts of the world and all ages.

How are our studies carried on?

Our studies are pursued in groups or classes, and they are social in more than one sense. The buildings in which we study were built by the labor of many men. Our textbooks, maps and pictures were made by many men and women. Our teachers are paid for their labor of teaching by the city or town. It is clear then that our studies are made possible because men and women all over the world have worked, and are now working, to make the things that we use in our studies.

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Propose To Grab National Property

WHILE the Yosemite National Park is widely known as one of the most beautiful scenic landscapes in the United States, if not in the entire world, few people are aware that almost half of the area of this piece of national property is known locally as the Hetch Hetchy Valley, and for natural beauty is not surpassed by the Yosemite Valley itself. This region was created a national park by special act of Congress in 1890.

It is possibly due to the fact that this name is not so well known as that of Yosemite, that a proposal to abstract the Hetch Hetchy Valley from national ownership and transform it into a reservoir for the water supply of San Francisco has not as yet evoked a protest throughout the entire nation.

Attracted by the possibility of securing without expense a source of water supply, the municipal authorities of San Francisco, representing, of course, the property owners and taxpayers of that city, have turned covetous eyes on the beautiful valley and now propose to flood its entire floor, a level piece of ground about three and one-half miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide, utterly destroying the beauty of a locality which is a favorite resort of thousands of tourists, campers and other sightseers.

Seven years ago Hon. E. A. Hitchcock, then Secretary of the Interior, refused the application of the San Francisco taxpayers on the ground that the United States government specially sought by law to preserve the Yosemite region as a national park for all coming time.

However, though Secretary Hitchcock's decision was sustained by succeeding officials, so persistent were the would-be grabbers of the national domain that they finally secured from Secretary Garfield a permit to flood the Hetch Hetchy Valley, but the bill making the permit effective died in the Sixtieth Congress, the vote of the House Committee charged with its presentation being a tie. The matter, therefore has yet to be fought out, and the friends of the national domain, now being thoroughly aroused, will spare no effort to frustrate the scheme.

There is absolutely no justification for the confiscation and destruction of this beautiful valley, except that the taxpayers of San Francisco want to avoid the expense of paying for another site, as may be seen from the admission of Mr. Warren Olney, one of the most prominent advocates of the scheme, who, in a circular addressed to the members of the Sierra Club, an opposition organization, says:

> Yes, there are sources of water supply for San Francisco other than the Tuolumne River, but those supplies are in private ownership and are not so good nor so accessible as the Tuolomne. The rights of those private owners would have to be extinguished. It has been estimated that this alone will cost ten millions of dollars. In addition reservoir sites must be purchased and longer pipes laid. But say that ten million dollars will cover the increased cost; that is a very large sum of money. Are the trees and flowers of Hetch Hetchy Valley worth it? Then who will pay this ten million dollars? The bulk of it must be paid by the home owners, and the bulk of them have as heavy burdens as they can bear, etc., etc.

The above candid admission differs very little from the opposition view of one of the members of the Committee of Public Lands in the House of Representatives, who is thus quoted:

> The fact of the matter is that San Francisco, having its eye on the Hetch Hetchy, has not thoroughly investigated other systems . . . . . Certainly the Federal Government is not bound to give up to San Francisco two-fifths of a national park simply because it is cheaper. Why is it cheaper? It is cheaper because having been made a national park, it has not been possible for private interests to file upon the water in the same manner that they could have if there had not been a national park. Had private interests been allowed to file upon the water, San Francisco would not have thought of going to Hetch Hetchy any more than to any other place. It would have chosen the place that it most cheaply could have condemned. It goes to Hetch Hetchy mainly because it is cheapest. Hetch Hetchy is cheapest because it belongs to all the people instead of to some of the people.

HETCH-HETCHY VALLEY—THE TUOLUMNE YOSEMITE

There is in fact no reason for this attempt on the public domain except the bait of cheapness. Scores of eminent civil engineers testify to the existence of numerous other local sources of an adequate water supply elsewhere in the mountains. It is not as if the good people of San Francisco could obtain water nowhere else. The idea is simply that the public domain shall be plundered to save the dollars of the San Francisco property owners. The bill is to be again introduced in the present Congress at once. Let all those who believe that our great national wonderlands should be preserved unmarred as places of rest and recreation for the use of all the people, now enter their protests. Let them ask their Congressman to do his part in rejecting this destructive bill, and also urge that the present National Park laws be so amended as to prevent now and for ever after such assaults on our system of national parks.

Socialists, especially, should interest themselves in preserving the principle of

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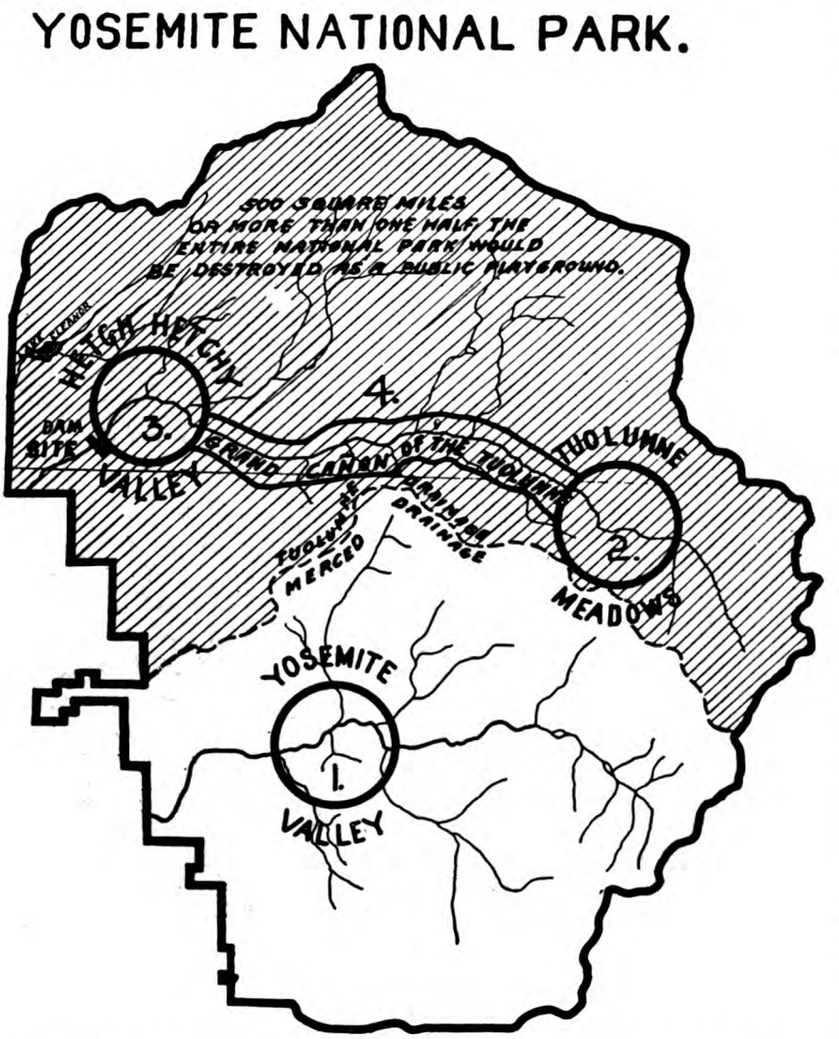
national property against all such attempts. Already such societies as the Sierra Club of California, the Playground Association of America, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Society for the Preservation of National Parks, and many others have put in their protests and are waging vigorous war against the proposed seizure of the public domain. If this project goes through not a single piece of the public domain in the country will be immune from similar seizure, if the principle is once established that it is lawful to appropriate national property because it can be acquired more cheaply than property which is privately owned.



Shaded Portion represents the proposed grab of the San Francisco property owners.

BACK TO THE LAND!

MR. BOLTON HALL, the well-known Single-Tax advocate, sends us a copy of a publication called "Ariel," with the following editorial passage marked:

"Agriculture is the natural, basic occupation of man—a plot of ground and a handful of seed and a Man—this is Reality; Adam and Eve in a garden—the workers and their jobs—universal.

"He who is incapable of self-support where an acre is within his reach and his neighbor willing to teach, needs a factory and an overseer, a mill and a boss, a mine and a master, a shop and a foreman, a poorhouse and a keeper; yes, poor wage-slave, you need a capitalist to provide jobs for you, though you curse him for his providence. And when he is 'up against it' and must withhold the jobs, which is it—an unemployed problem, or a charity problem?"

On the margin of this pronouncement, Mr. Hall has inscribed the words, "How is this for a Socialist? Do you think it is true?"

When a question is put up to us in this fashion we don't propose to dodge it, so will state right at the beginning that, while it is mighty poor stuff considered as a Socialist expression, it is quite capable of explanation unconnected with Socialism. Mr. Hall seemingly imagines that a Socialist must inject Socialism into everything he writes—which isn't so, any more than that Mr. Hall must necessarily inject Single Tax theories into his business when writing legal opinions.

The passages submitted start with indefinite assertions incapable of demonstration, exactly like the logic a preacher usually delivers himself of, assertions which, being made in a positive, rhetorical manner, are, therefore, expected to pass unquestioned.

The assertion that "agriculture is the natural, basic occupation of man" is mere rhetorical rubbish. In connection with occupations the words "natural" and "basic" have no concrete application. Hunting, fishing and the raising of animals for food preceded agriculture everywhere. If "basic" means the earliest form of occupation, then agriculture is not "basic," and if it doesn't mean that, then what does it mean? In this case it is merely a word that sounds well when joined to "natural," and we venture to say that was the only reason it was used.

And "natural"! If agriculture is the natural occupation of man, then all other occupations, even those that preceded it, must be un-natural. If it means anything at all, that is a fair inference, and if the writer has any objection, let him define his "natural" and tell us what criterion he uses to adjudge some occupations more natural than others.

"A plot of ground—a handful of seed—and a Man—this is Reality!" Is it indeed? Well, why so, more than other possible combinations? How about a child—a cradle—and a Woman? Is that any less a Reality? Or a fire-cracker—a punk-stick—and a Boy. An ocean—a ship—and a Sailor. "A Jug of Wine—a Loaf of Bread—and Thou." Are not these and a million other combinations, "reality" just as much as the one made by the writer? What is all this cackle about "natural, basic occupations" and "Reality" but a series of "blessed words" that can be applied equally well to any old thing that a word juggler desires to boost?

The next paragraph is nothing more than an assertion based on a false suggestion, and obviously intended for the consumption of "he who is incapable"—of reasoning. The assumption it starts from is that modern capitalist production was brought into being because a large portion of the human race became "incapable of self-support," and therefore certain philanthropists transformed themselves into capitalists in order to act as a "Providence" for the incapables, by providing them with work. The capable capitalist doesn't need the wage-slaves, but the wage slaves need the capitalist. That's what all the mills and factories and shops and masters and overseers and poorhouses exist for—so that the capitalist can provide for the incapable wage slave. Then when the philanthropic capitalist provider is "up against it" he has the nerve to suggest that the jobless wage slave shall go "back to the land" from which his class was originally drawn for the enrichment of the capitalist. But the impudence of the exploiter who originated this suggestion is fully matched by the idiocy of the "Socialist" who re-echoes it.

We suggest in turn that the reason the wage-slave doesn't hearken to the advice or notice the foolish taunt, may be that he is determined to stay in the cities where the capitalist has herded him and eventually wrest the means of "self-support" from his benevolent master—the mills, factories and machines. He may possibly decide that it is more convenient and sensible to stay where he is and accomplish this than take a chance "where an acre is within reach and a neighbor willing to teach." Certainly when he notes the drift from the "natural, basic occupation" into the cities, he is well warranted in coming to this decision.

So, when asked "How is that for a Socialist?" we can only reply that, while it is foolish, it doesn't necessarily follow that the writer is a fool, though his assertions smack somewhat of the preacher, which was heretofore his "natural, basic occupation." He may be a Socialist, but he "isn't working at it" when writing stuff of this kind. The real explanation is that he is writing, not from the viewpoint of a Socialist, but from that of a real estate dealer. This, however, is no reflection upon him, as the Socialist recognizes that, under present conditions, the occupation of selling land is quite as "natural" and "basic" as working upon it.

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How About It?

M. C. M., Dryden, Mich.—Under Socialism what would take the place of gold and silver as the medium of exchange?

The question assumes that when Socialism is established, money in the form of gold and silver will cease to be used, an assumption for which there is no basis. It also indicates the conception in the mind of the questioner that Socialism is a scheme or plan to be worked out in detail before being capable of operation, another erroneous view. The frequency with which this question appears is largely due to ancient Populistic and Greenback theories of money, with their frequent denunciations of the "Money Power," leaving the impression that metallic money is a special evil to be got rid of, a conception that has been foisted onto Socialism. There is no reason for supposing that under the initial stages of Socialism money will not be used, though it is possible and perhaps probable that further evolution of Socialist society will eventually dispense with it, when exchange, as we now know it under capitalism ceases to have any importance. All this is, however, a matter of minor speculation and in no way essential to a comprehension of Socialism.

A. C. S., New Orleans, La.—Do Socialists believe in placing the negro on a footing of equality with the white man?

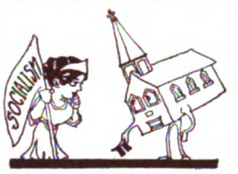
They do. That is, placing him in a position of economic equality with all others, the only kind of equality that can be established. The negro under Socialism will have the same opportunity to make a living as any other human being, and the same right to use and enjoy the entire social equivalent of the product of his labor. Socialism will see to it that no human being, regardless of color, shall be exploited by his fellow. As for social equality, that is a matter out of the power of society to deal with. Under Socialism people will associate with those most congenial to them, and no one can force his company on those to whom it is unwelcome.

C. S., Chicago, Ill.—Why is it that the Socialists in this country as a whole seem so indifferent to the establishment of co-operative enterprises as a step toward Socialism?

Co-operative enterprises may, and in all probability will be established by American Socialists in the future, but undoubtedly the majority now think that the movement has not yet developed to that point where it would warrant the effort expended. At present. Socialists in general seem to agree that their main efforts must be centered on propaganda and spreading the principles of Socialism, and there are even yet few enough to do this work. No doubt as the movement gains in adherents a larger number will feel at liberty to direct their efforts to co-operative production and distribution. In the meantime, those Socialists who are fully convinced of the necessity of co-operatives now, cannot do better than follow the suggestion of a member of the national Committee who proposed a national convention of all those Socialists who desire to expend their efforts in this direction.

Mrs. K. W. Algona, Wash. When you Socialists get into power what are you going to do with the Catholic priests and bishops, and their church property, and with the church property of other denominations?

Socialist platforms and programs do not make any special and detailed declaration on this subject. However, as they one and all declare that capitalist property, that is, property used for exploitation, shall be transformed into collective property, this would necessarily include all Church property of that description. As for the churches and other buildings used for religious purposes, Socialists have no special designs on them, and they would in all probability remain as they now are while being used by the congregations. For instance the ownership of the building known as Trinity Church here in New York would remain as at present, but the vast city real estate from which this church corporation draws rent from the wretched tenants in its wretched tenements, would become public property. As for the clergy of all denominations, Socialism would not directly affect them, while their congregations were willing to support them in return for their services. The churches would remain the private property of the congregations for their personal use, but should it be decided to levy a tax of any sort on this description of property, no exception would be made in favor of the church, as is now done.



A REVIEW OF DIXON'S "COMRADES"

(*Chicago Daily Socialist.*)

THE secret of popularity of the dime novel is its "action." There is something doing every minute. Its weakness lies in its utter disregard of the laws of probability which constantly chafes the intelligence of the reader. The strength and weakness of the dime novel are strikingly apparent in "Comrades," the latest novel of Thomas Dixon.

You have not forgotten the style of your boyhood favorites: "The fearless hero, fleeing from the devastating forest fire, leaping over the towering precipice, lighted squarely upon the back of the untamed mustang below. Digging spurs into the animal he shot along the narrow pathway to where the villain was abducting the heroine. Seizing her in one powerful arm, he spurred his horse into the fastness of the fortress just as the escaped burglar blew open the safe and snatched the pa-a-pers from their hiding place, and—"

Well, that is the way "Comrades" goes, with the same overpowering mass of action, the same disregard of the laws of probability, and the consequent necessity for the child-like mind on the part of the reader.

The story opens with the father of the hero reading a Socialist handbill worded: "Down with the Stars and Stripes; Up with the Red Flag of Revolution—the Symbol of Universal Human Brotherhood! Come and Bring Your Friends." The hero and his fiancée decide to visit the meeting and find that "the hall is a famous redlight dancing dive in the heart of Hell's Half Acre." They find it marked "with the blazing red torch."

From then on there is "something doing." The speaker was known as the "Scarlet Nun," being garbed in a "peculiar scarlet robe, * * * the color of human blood," a description which will at once satisfy the reader that he is now dealing with the real thing in Socialist meetings. Of course the hero, who is heir to millions, is converted. He joins the Socialist local and starts out with the "Scarlet Nun," who is also the secretary of the Socialist local, to accompany her on the regular round of duties of local secretaries.

She tells him: "My work, as secretary of the club, includes, as you see, a wide range of calls. I'm a dispenser of alms, the pastor of a great parish, the friend, adviser and champion of a lost world. * * * You shall be allowed the honor of accompanying me to the county jail, to the poorhouse, to the hospital, and to the morgue. * * * We must hurry. I've another sadder visit after these."

Now, we must submit that this is really "going some" even for the secretary of a Socialist local.

We also discover that "The Socialist Club served this simple, wholesome meal to all who asked for it after the weekly meetings."

This is only the starter. The real thrills begin when the new convert gets busy.

When two months had been spent in mastering the details of the Socialist program, in studying its history and the condition of its movement, he called a meeting of the council of the Socialist club, and fairly took away the breath of the Wolfs and Barbara by the magnitude and audacity of a scheme which he proposed to launch immediately.

He had secured, without consulting any of his associates, an option on a rich, beautiful and fertile island off the coast of Southern California. * * *

His eyes flashing with enthusiasm and his voice ringing with conviction, Norman closed his description of the island of Ventura with a demand for its immediate purchase by the Socialists.

"It can be bought," he declared impetuously, "for $200,000. A million dollars' worth of improvements are already there. I propose that we immediately raise $500,000, buy this island, establish a steamship line, plant a colony of ten thousand Socialists, found the Brotherhood of Man, build a model city, and create a vast fund for the propaganda of our faith."

Of course, the Socialist local jumped at this strikingly original idea. The "Scarlet Nun," whom we have previously been informed was one of the most widely trained of the Socialists, educated in Germany and speaking a half dozen languages, now exclaimed with enthusiasm, "It's a wonderful idea, comrade! I congratulate you! We will accept your plan, and I move that we appoint you our agent, vested with full power to collect this fund from the enemy."

After this the action gets so far off the earth and out of the realm of possibility as to cease to be even amusing. Of course the colony is formed. It becomes a horrible autocratic tyranny from which the victims are at last rescued by the intervention of the United States army. The country is saved. Socialism is demolished and the Stars and Stripes wave triumphant.

Those who enjoy "Old Sleuth" would read this with eagerness if it were sold for a nickel at the newsstands. The extent of its sale in its present form will be a good test of the number of people whose intellects are still in the dime-novel stage.

* COMRADES. By Thomas Dixon. Cloth, $1.50. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

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Any book mentioned in these columns can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. Unless otherwise stated, prices do not include postage.

MARRIAGE AS A TRADE. By Cicely Hamilton. Cloth, $1.25 net. Moffat, Yard & Co., publishers, New York.

The author has given us what I consider one of the very best books yet written on the subject of marriage. She is an English woman, and, I should judge, a Socialist. The literary style is excellent and, from a Socialist point of view, the arguments are valid. It should be a very welcome addition to the literature on the subject. The basis of her theory is that the ordinary woman to-day has but two channels of gaining an existence. One by working for a capitalist, and the other by performing household duties for a man called a husband, and in the latter case the woman is bound to turn herself body and soul over to her husband for life in payment for the living he provides for her. As, under our capitalist system, working for a private employer presents no great delight in life, and as on the other hand working for a husband seems to offer still less, the woman of to-day seems in rather a bad way.

THE INCREASING GOLD SUPPLY. Compiled by Thomas Gibson. Cloth, 134 pp. $1.00. The Gibson Publishing Co., 15 William St., New York.

In this valuable work, Mr. Thomas Gibson, who is a prominent Wall street operator, has compiled for the general public a series of essays, which recently appeared in the form of market letters issued by his firm and most of them dealing with the effect of increasing gold supply upon the cost of living. Mr. Gibson, who himself contributes one of the essays, is emphatically of the opinion that this factor of increasing gold production should be given first place as the predominant cause of rising commodity prices. When we bring together the two series of facts, that since 1896 the world's output of gold has increased from two hundred and eleven million dollars to upwards of four hundred and fifty million dollars last year, and that since the former year the cost of living has gone up fifty per cent., a prima facie relation that seems very probable is established. Most of the other writers whose views Mr. Gibson publishes, agree in the main with him, though there are one or two dissenting views given also.

The most striking essay in the volume, however, is perhaps the opening one by Mr. Byron Holt, who states his opinion that "the best thought of the best economists is reaching the conclusion that the cost of producing gold determines or tends to determine, the exchange value of gold with other commodities, just as the cost of producing other commodities determines their exchange value with each other. This being true, it naturally follows that when the cost of producing gold, measured by other commodities, is low, both the production of gold and the supply of gold will increase. As the quantity increases, the quantities of other products for which it exchanges will gradually decrease. That is, the prices of commodities will rise."

It is gratifying to know that "the best thought of the best economists is reaching the conclusion" that Karl Marx reached nearly forty-five years ago, even if they are unaware of his doing so.

Mr. Holt's forecast for the future, based on the extreme probability of a steadily increasing output of gold, is not a reassuring one. He declares that by 1913 we shall more than likely see commodity prices 25 per cent. higher than at present, and by 1918, 50 per cent. higher than they now are.

And as wages slowly and painfully limp behind rising commodity prices, an era of labor troubles, strikes, lockouts, boycotts, socialistic agitation and "demagogic" appeals to class hatred may be confidently looked for.

However, without these accompanying results the era of increasing prices tends inherently to complete the unavoidable "vicious circle" of capitalist production, as Mr. Holt clearly sees. On reading the following paragraph from Mr. Holt, the Socialist reader will at once recall its similarity to Frederick Engels' masterly analysis of the periodical crisis in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific":

"When prices are rising, the owners of property that is increasing in value are getting richer and richer; hence they are spending freely. Because prices are rising, merchants are buying more goods, farmers more land and real estate speculators more lots and houses than they need. Everybody is trying to get ahead of everybody else. The monopoly and forestalling game goes on at accelerating speed, until something happens to call a halt. Then suddenly everybody wants to sell and get out. Prices tumble, possibly a panic occurs, and then follows one, two or three years of depression and recuperation." We have had many requests from readers for literature on the relation of increasing gold supply and commodity prices, and we have no hesitation in recommending this work as one of the most compact, simple and instructive we know of. Though not written by Socialists, it largely employs Socialist analysis in reaching conclusions. We may add that it also contains a large mass of matter dealing with the effect of the gold supply on bonds, stocks, securities and speculative matters in which capitalists are mostly interested, but which space does not allow of being treated here.

FINANCING AN ENTERPRISE. A manual of information and suggestion for promoters, investors and business men generally. By Francis Cooper. Two volumes, $4.00. The Ronald Press, New York City.

This is not a dry reprint of legal formulas, nor a fake manual purporting to teach you in ten lessons how to amass ten millions. It is so to say a natural history of "the enterprise," from the "idea" rough and undeveloped to the payment of the first dividend. During fifteen years of legal work connected with the financing of enterprises, the author had many opportunities to watch some undertakings that succeeded, and many schemes which to the present day have remained mere schemes. Being a good deal of a philosopher he finally formulated a few conclusions as to enterprises that go, and enterprises that cannot go. Being conservative and very much in earnest he prefers to give warning than to deal out encouragement, and is never caught betraying his readers to gullible get-rich-quick-combinations.

This makes the book worthless for wild-cat speculators and their usual victims.

The first volume is divided into four parts:

Part I. The enterprise, the requisites of a successful enterprise, the relative status of the undertaking, capital and management.

Part II. Investigation of an enterprise, methods and results of investigation, speculative and non-speculative enterprises, experimental work.

Part III. Protection of an enterprise; patents; trade-marks; copyright; monopolies.

Part IV. Capitalization of an enterprise; the basis of capitalization; present value, good will, probabilities; excessive capitalization.

If the statements contained in the chapter relative to capitalization cannot be given as an absolute rule for determining what enterprises are to be successful, they will at least save many readers from the painful experiences connected with the launching of unreliable schemes.

The second volume, which contains part V and part VI, is devoted to the methods of presentation and promotion of an enterprise.

Part VI contains among other things a very lucid explanation of various words very much misused by promoters and advertisers: Trust fund guarantee, guaranteed stocks, guaranteed bonds.

The chapter on "promoters" presents a deep psychological interest and delineates very picturesquely some shady types haunting the financial district.

Finally, one of the chapters contained in the appendix is especially worthy of careful reading. It is entitled: the investor's questions, a title which is self-explanatory but does not do justice to the wealth of experience summed up in that list of questions an investor ought to ask himself or at least propound to the "promoter" before losening his purse strings to an appreciable extent.

This earnest study of up-to-date business methods of the legitimate type is made most readable by examples taken from the history, sometimes from the inside history, of many modern enterprises. Those illustrations reveal what a deep knowledge the author possesses of the financial world of America.

The names of the enterprises discussed are generally given in full, and the very presentation of the various cases disproves every possible suspicion that the author might have an axe to grind.

There is no advertising of any security in the present book, and when the study of an enterprise becomes a eulogy, the product or stock eulogized generally enjoys a national or international reputation.

The style is surprisingly clear and easy for a book with so serious a purpose. Technical terms are always well defined whenever employed. Such a book ought to appeal not only to the few who have "ideas" susceptible of large development, but to the general public as well. Whether the reader is a small business man looking for progressive though thoroughly conservative suggestions, or an investor with a few hundred dollars, or an inventor with a patent to exploit, or a sociologist eager to analyze financial ethics, "How to Finance an Enterprise" will prove a work of standard value.

ANDRE TRIDON.

SOCIALISM VERSUS CHRISTIANITY. By Edward Hartman. Cloth, $1.50, net; $1.60, postpaid. 263 pp. Cochrane Publishing Co., New York.

We have been accustomed to hear so often that Christianity and Socialism are antagonistic, and the statement has been so generally accepted by the non-Socialist world, that its demonstration has rarely been attempted at any great length, consequently Mr. Hartman's book will have less competition than usual. There are numerous volumes which attempt to demonstrate the opposite, and this work may be regarded as a counterblast to their influence.

We may, without surrendering anything, frankly admit that Mr. Hartman has fully demonstrated the incompatibility of Christianity and Socialism. The trouble is that *his* Christianity is not the Christianity of the Christian Socialist. For instance, when we find Mr. Hartman declaring against the evolutionary theory of Socialism, by stating that "the doctrine of evolution does not harmonize at all with the record of Genesis concerning the creation and fall of man," we are inclined at first to agree with him. But he overlooks the patent fact that what doesn't apparently agree can be made to agree by a little judicious fashioning and modifying. The Christian Socialist finds little difficulty in accomplishing this, if compelled to undertake the task.

Mr. Hartman's Christianity if brought properly up to date could possibly be made to harmonize with Socialism, but he absolutely refuses to modernize it. "Christianity," he says, "is an old and established truth. It takes more than argument to overthrow it." That being the case, it seems a waste of time to bring arguments against Mr. Hartman's Christianity, while he regards it as impervious to argument. But it is a curious speculation as to what would happen did a Christian Socialist opponent claim a similar immunity for *his* Christianity. However, what isn't amenable to change, the world leaves behind as if it did not exist. And we suspect that this universal process isn't exactly an asset either to Mr. Hartman's book or his Christianity.

A POOR MAN'S HOUSE. By Stephen Reynolds. Cloth, 320 pp., $1.50, net. John Lane Publishing Co. The Bodley Head, 114 W. 32d Street, New York.

SIXPENNY PIECES. By A. Neil Lyons. Cloth, 305 pp., $1.50. Same publishers.

The two works noted above deal essentially with the same subject—the lives of the working people—but are certainly unique in their treatment of this much-discussed question. Both are written by English authors, the style and treatment being remarkably similar in both cases. Mr. Reynolds finds his subject in the fortunes of a fisherman and his family on the coast of Devonshire, while Mr. Lyons introduces a "professional" man, a doctor among the poor of the slum districts of East London—"a sixpenny doctor," so called from the size of the fee he charges. Both stories are delightfully interesting and hold the attention of the reader from start to finish. Both authors also have a strong sense of humor which, however, does not prevent them presenting realistic pictures of the people and the events described in their respective volumes. The usual conventional form of relating the "short and simple annals of the poor" generally makes very dull reading, but Messrs. Lyons and Reynolds have handled their work so effectively that in neither book from beginning to end is there a dull page. Mr. Lyons is one of the editorial staff of Blatchford's well-known paper, "The Clarion," and his work is naturally somewhat Socialistic in character—the "sixpenny doctor's" philosophy of things being strongly colored by Socialist views. Both volumes present a lively series of sketches, well calculated to pass away a pleasant hour when more serious reading becomes tedious.

Do you want the most radical Daily west of the Rockies? 8 pages. 30 cts. a month. THE DAILY TIMES. Tacoma, Washington.

A LIVE WIRE. The *Oklahoma Socialist*, published at Duncan, Oklahoma. **Send 25 cents for three months' trial subscription.**

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If you are a Craftsman that delights in making beautiful things in any line, woodworking, metal working, glass working, needle working, etc., male or female, I would like to correspond with you. I have an idea that we can do good work for the cause of Socialism in the kind of work we love to do.

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SOCIALISM MEANS LIFE FOR THE WORKERS

"What is the most effective method by which you can make this Fight For Your Life?
"Wage-workers! Join the Socialist Party. Read Socialist books and papers to inform yourself. Then instruct your fellow wage-workers and get them to read Socialist books and papers, and to join the Socialist Party. It is the only way."
—BEN HANFORD.

Though Ben Hanford is dead his spirit still lives in that splendidly virile work—his last, by the way—entitled "Fight for Your Life!" which we published about a year ago. Into this book Hanford threw all his fiery energy and intense enthusiasm for the Cause of Socialism, and no propaganda work of recent date has surpassed it in efficiency. We reprint, under the portrait of our dead comrade, the adjuration with which he bids good-by to his readers at the end of the volume. Hanford had a Cause and worked for it as few men have worked. He knew the value of reading to lift man beyond the mere animal stage, and incessantly urged the continuous and increasing circulation of Socialist literature.

The Wilshire Book Co. has for sale a supply of the book in which Ben Hanford demonstrates his powerful personality and effectiveness as a champion of the Cause of Socialism. The first edition of the work having been quickly exhausted, a second edition became necessary, and we are contemplating in the near future a third edition.

BEN HANFORD.

"You, reader of this little book, if this little book has helped you to see the light, and if you think it might be of service in helping your fellows to help themselves, see that they have a copy. There are others and will be more. Do something in this world besides getting something to eat and drink. An animal gets that. Have a cause. Make sacrifices for the Cause you think greatest and best. And be your sacrifice ever so great, the Cause will do more for you than all that you can ever do for it."—Ben Hanford in "Fight for Your Life."

The volume is printed on superior stock and strongly bound in paper covers, bearing a portrait of our late comrade. No better memento of this valiant fighter for our Cause can be secured than a copy of his last work. Hanford had thousands of personal friends among the comrades, all of whom would naturally desire some remembrance of him. What better remembrance could be suggested than a copy of his last literary work, "Fight for Your Life!"

The price of this volume is 25 cents a single copy. Eight copies for One Dollar. Twelve copies for $1.50. Fifty copies for $6.00.

WILSHIRE BOOK COMPANY
Clearing House for all Socialist Literature
200 WILLIAM ST., NEW YORK, N.Y.

A Socialist Book for Children

Q. What makes the needless poverty, sorrow, and pain?

A. The laws and customs which make it possible for a few to own the things which all depend upon for life—the things which Socialists want to make social property.

Q. How does the ownership of these things by a few make needless poverty, sorrow, and pain?

A. Because when a few own the means of life upon which all depend, those who do not belong to the class of owners must work for wages and make the owners rich. They have to toil hard and give most of what they produce to the owners and remain poor themselves.

The above questions and answers are taken from a catechism which fills ten pages at the end of the book, "Socialist Readings for Children." This catechism is one of the many features which make the book very valuable for the education of children along Socialist lines. It is being used with great success among leaders in children's Socialist Schools.

SOCIALIST READINGS FOR CHILDREN. By John Spargo. Price, $1.00 per copy. 5 copies to one address, $3.75.

Woman's National Progressive League, 200 William Street NEW YORK, N. Y.

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By R. C. PUNNETT

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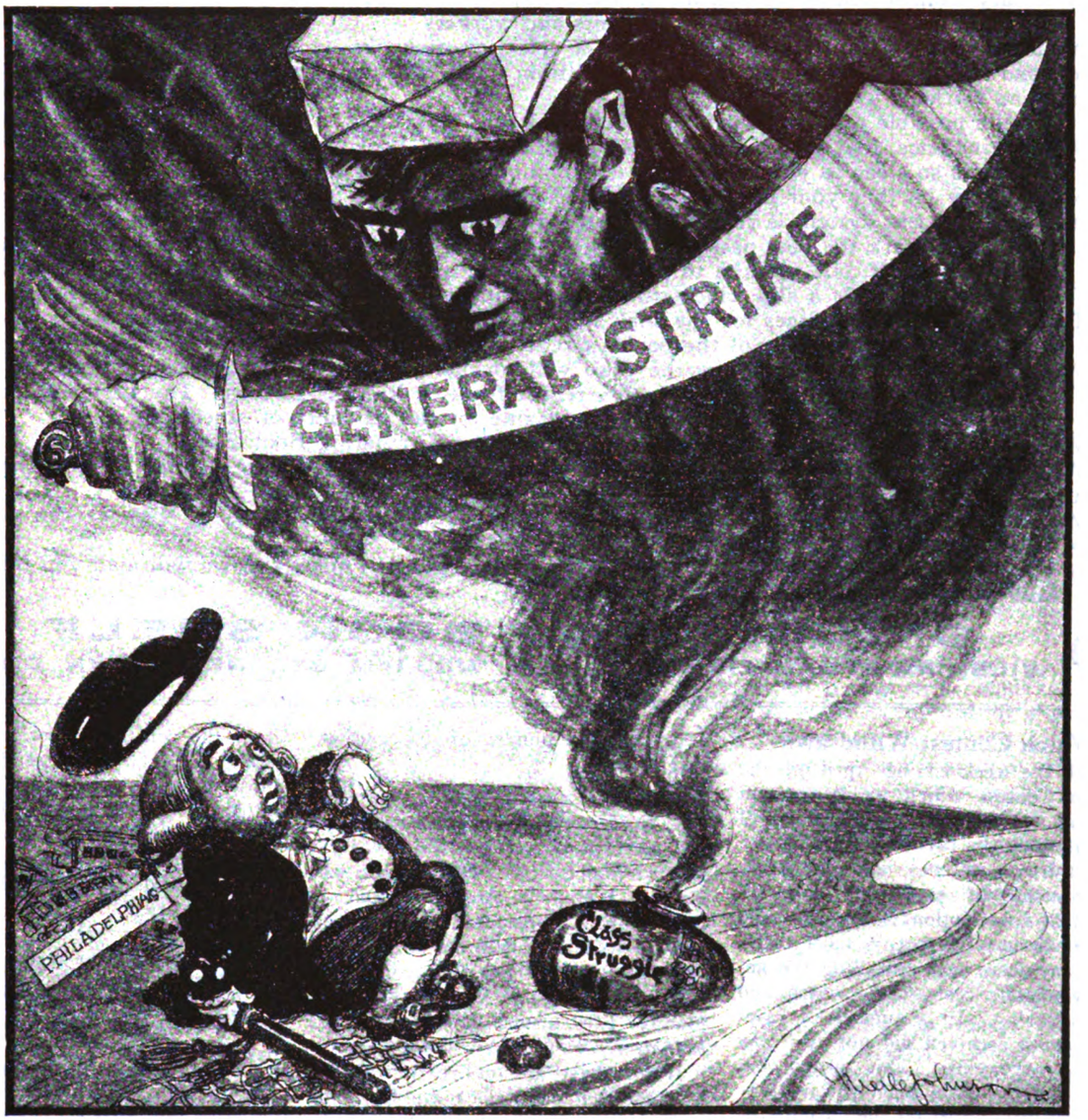

THE FISHERMAN AND THE GENII

A MODERN INSTANCE

When the fisherman opened the vase, a thick smoke issued from it, which rose to the clouds and collected itself into a solid body which took the shape of a Genii twice as large as any of the Giants. The sight of this enormous monster was so terrifying that the fisherman wished to run away, but his fear was so great that he was unable to move.—*The Arabian Nights.*

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The Circulating Book Shelf

If we are going to work we must have tools.

Tools are weapons in the hands of those who know how to use them.

Books are tools.

A good book will cut its way through ignorance and the right book will make a Socialist nine times out of ten.

It is up to you and me to get busy with the tools!

From time to time people have visited our book room full of enthusiasm over results obtained from the loan of a good book or pamphlet to an acquaintance.

The results seemed so good for the small amount of work and money invested that it got us to thinking, and we finally evolved the idea of the circulating book shelf.

We would like you to start a shelf in your town. Where the towns are large you can divide up into sectional shelves. Our object being to establish a national library for circulating Socialism, there will be a central library from which books and information may be obtained at the least possible cost. We are also planning special courses in Socialism for students and workers.

A committee will be appointed to make a selection of books which will be especially useful for the shelves, and also to supply all necessary information. The Club is particularly anxious to interest young students and workers.

It is quite possible to start a shelf with one book.

Say, for instance, that you have just read an illuminating book on the economics of Socialism, which has made things so clear to you that you feel like shouting it from the housetops.

Now it may be that your next door neighbor has never taken the trouble to think about economics. He knows the present system is rotten, but that's about as far as he gets. Take this book that has done so much for you—mark the best passages and get your neighbor to read it. Don't let him return the book when he has finished it, but get him to pass it on to someone he knows who might also become interested.

The Club will provide a slip which can be pasted inside the cover of each book.

This slip will contain places for the shelf number, the name of the owner, the name of the borrower and space for remarks on the history of the book's circulation.

When a shelf contains ten books the Club will furnish a card system for keeping track of them.

The Central Library will expect a monthly report from each of its shelves. The best pointers brought out by these reports will be published in this magazine for the guidance of others.

We are anxious to get your personal opinion about the Circulating Book Shelf.

We want to know just what you think of the idea. We also want any helpful suggestions you can give us.

We believe that from the united efforts of small circulating book shelves that we can achieve big things in the way of spreading a better knowledge of Socialism.

If you would like to start a shelf send in your application at once, and we will mail you full information. Address applications to

CIRCULATING BOOK SHELF
WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE 200 WILLIAM ST., NEW YORK CITY

Watch Contest Withdrawn

With the week ending April 9th the Watch Contest which we have been running since the first of the year will be withdrawn. We will have given away thirteen watches, one each week. The amount of money we have received in subscriptions from each one of the winners has not, in most cases, come anywhere near equalling the actual wholesale cost of the watch and the engraving. In a number of cases the amount received did not even pay for the engraving. This means that these watches have been given away for very little effort on the part of the winners.

As we have said many times, it does not require a great amount of effort to win any of the prizes offered by WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE. It is quite evident that "My Partners" will not work any harder for prizes than they will for the mere joy of working for Socialism alone.

Following is a complete list of the winners up to the time of going to press, with the number of subscriptions they secured:

Week ending	Name of Winner	No. of Subs
Jan. 15	Herman Rahm, Staunton, Ill.	8
Jan. 22	S. R. Bozeman, Cordell, Okla.	11
Jan. 29	Ralph Hollar, Winston, Ill...	60
Feb. 5	J. H. Pride, Amherst, S. Dak.	14
Feb. 12	E. L. Christ, Antwyne, Wash.	8
Feb. 19	G. T. Nugent, Brockton, Mass.	22
Feb. 26	O. E. Stallman, Chicago, Ill..	27
Mar. 5	James Baird, Marland, Kans..	16
Mar. 12	Tony Lombardi, B'klyn, N. Y.	14
Mar. 19	W. K. Gold, Youngwood, O..	111

If you have any desire to win one of these watches, take a tip from me and get in a good list of subscriptions before April 9th. You may win one of them.

Terms are: A beautiful hunting case watch, 20-year gold filled, 17 jewel, Waltham movement, size 16, engraved with the Arm and Torch and motto "Socialism the Hope of the World," will be presented to the person who sends in the most subscriptions on the contest during each week until April 9th. It is necessary, if you wish to enter the contest, to notify us to that effect. To each person sending in eight subscriptions we will give a beautiful watch fob engraved with the same design, no more than one fob to any one person. In case of a tie, the value of the prize will be divided between the persons so tied.

From Some of the Watch Winners

R. A. HOLLAR, Williston, N. D.

I received the gold watch I won as a prize in the sub. contest. It is a little beauty and I thank you very much for it.

HERMAN RAHM, Staunton, Ill.

Yours of Feb. 28, advising me that I had won the watch offered for the greatest number of subs. in one week. When I entered this contest my only object was to get the watch fob offered to every one who sent in eight subs., therefore, you can imagine my surprise to find I was the only one with nerve enough to enter and win the watch. I received the watch today, and it will always be prized by me as the easiest thing I ever won. I thank you for the watch from the bottom of my heart.

J. H. PRIDE, Amherst, S. Dak.:

When I sent in those fourteen subs, I did not expect to get a watch for them, and thought if I did, it would be some cheap timepiece, but when it arrived, it was certainly an agreeable surprise. It is undoubtedly a very beautiful present, for which I thank you a thousand times. I wish I was in a position to get you a hundred more subs, not only from gratitude, but also because I think your paper makes splendid food for the public mind.

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"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

WILSHIRE'S

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XIV No. 4 NEW YORK, APRIL, 1910 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

Enter—The General Strike

HATEVER be the immediate result of the ominous conflict now raging in Philadelphia: whether the local Traction and general capitalistic interests of the city are victorious or defeated—there is every reason to believe that this somewhat unexpected revolt of the workers marks a new point of departure, which will definitely and strongly affect future struggles between labor and capital. A hitherto untried method of warfare—the general strike—has for the first time in America been adopted by the laborers, and assuredly it will not be the last.

It is worth noting that the adoption of this method was in no sense due to any systematic advocacy of the theory of the general strike as a more efficient weapon in the war of the classes. It was rather the result of the inspiration of the moment than a decision reached through a deliberate process of reasoning. The local situation seems to have furnished the proper conditions that called forth the general strike as a logical result.

Given a public service corporation cordially detested by the populace it exploits, a corporation that has shown itself autocratic, tyrannous and deceptive in its dealings with the public; add to this the fact that the mayor and higher city officials are themselves among the most important stockholders and controllers of the hated corporation, and it can readily be seen why these unusual conditions evolved an unusual form of opposition.

During the great street car strike in New York several years ago, if, let us say, Mr. Belmont had been Mayor of the city, and Mr. Thomas F. Ryan Police Commissioner, and the municipal offices of the city generally filled with Traction capitalists and stockholders, it is quite possible that a general strike might have resulted. It is much safer for the capitalists to use the professional politicians as their representatives in the city government, and throw upon them the burden of maintaining "law and order," than to directly occupy the official seats themselves.

However, once it is admitted that an irrepressible class struggle exists in the very nature of our industrial society, it is idle to speculate on the so-called mistakes of either side in the conflict. Whether the general strike can be ethically justified or not, makes not a particle of difference. It is as useless to denounce the Philadelphia capitalists for their blindness, obstinacy and brutality as it is to accuse the workers of maliciously crippling the industries of the city by a general stoppage of work. Complaints about the injury done to the "innocent public" are equally beside the mark. All are directly or indirectly interested on one side or the other.

We strongly incline to the view that the Philadelphia episode is but the preliminary skirmish in a tremendous and nation-wide struggle between labor and capital, that has been a long time preparing and is now ready to begin. It is worthy of notice in this regard also that the workingmen of Philadelphia instinctively feel that in this struggle the organized labor of the city is fighting for its very life, and the suggestions that at this juncture are pouring in from all sides, that in case of necessity the strike should be extended over the state and ultimately the entire country, shows that the feeling of the Philadelphia workingmen is shared by the workers everywhere. When the entire situation is carefully considered, when due regard is had to the growing intensity of the struggle for markets, and the necessity of reducing the standard of living for the American workers, so that our capitalists may be able to successfully compete with the cheaper labor of their competitors, while at the same time the cost of necessaries of life is going up by leaps and bounds, it is not difficult to perceive the outlines of the coming mighty struggle on the economic horizon. Labor has met the emergency at the very beginning, by abandoning the old and outworn methods of orthodox trade unionism. It has definitely broken from the policies of such leaders as Mr. Gompers and John Mitchell, not because of Socialist criticism and agitation, but rather because it feels the impossibility of dealing with the situation by the old methods. In the present situation, Gompers plays no part whatever nor was his advice and counsel for one moment sought or considered. The struggle between labor and capital is, without doubt, entering a new phase.

Labor unionism of the old type has apparently no future before it, and will have no function in the more or less anarchic struggle that lies ahead. Its real part in the march of progress after all lay, perhaps, in its social utility as an important factor in the steady elimination of the smaller capitalists, its "exactions" and "extortions" being peculiarly disastrous to the exploiter with limited means of production. The growing intensity of the class struggle manifested by the resort to the general strike, tends to leave it abandoned on the road of progress, its principle of the identity of interests between capital and labor no longer finding any support among the workers.

It may also be admitted that the Socialist propaganda has not sufficed to cope with the situation, its educational work in the political field having apparently failed of preventing the class struggle taking the form of physical force. None the less, however, it must and will proceed with the work of education. It may be true that the workers of Philadelphia would not have been compelled to resort to what may prove the beginning of a civil war, had they listened to the message of the Socialists, but the past cannot be undone. We know that the ultimate outcome—the social revolution that shall usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth—is certain, though the method of reaching that goal is not determined by us, but rather by social and industrial forces outside the control of capitalist, laborer or Socialist agitator.

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In Stricken Philadelphia

A STRANGER rambling casually through the streets of Philadelphia about the middle of last month, unless particularly observant, would not have noticed many surface indications of the great struggle being waged between local capital and labor. Active hostilities were not in evidence, the populace having been clubbed into seeming submission some time before. Street cars were running with fair regularity and in the business parts of the city at least seemed to be comfortably filled. There was, however, a marked diminution of transportation engaged in the carriage of goods, and a considerable increase in the number of police officers and other uniformed persons entrusted with the duty of preserving the peace. Otherwise there was little externally to show that the city was in all probability on the brink of the most momentous conflict in its history since it issued to the world the famous Declaration of Independence.

A Riot Scene in the Kensington District.

And yet the industrial life of the community was practically paralyzed. More than one hundred thousand workers at that moment were idle. Hundreds of factories and plants of all kinds were closed down and hundreds of others operating with diminished forces. While the general strike was far from complete, it was none the less a situation with which no American city had ever before been confronted, and the general uncertainty and suspense as to what the immediate future might bring, while universally felt, was perhaps most pronounced among those upon whom had been thrust the direction and control of the situation from the side of the workers.

From the capitalist camp came no word, hint or suggestion of future policy. The autocrats of the city, the unpopular Mayor and the still more detested "Director of Public Safety" were both silent and inaccessible. They had nothing to say and were saying it. There was "nothing to arbitrate," and therefore no need of further public discussion in the press or elsewhere. "Law and order" would be maintained as heretofore. There was no need of speaking softly, but the big stick was always in evidence.

Both sides were "marking time." In the camp of the workers there was much apprehension for the immediate future, and on the whole a pessimistic spirit prevailed. This general strike was a new and untried weapon of which none had learned the use, and there was little time to learn. It had not been deliberately prepared, nor had there been any systematic arrangement agreed on beforehand in regard to it. Six months before, a labor leader had threatened it as a last resort in a previous strike of the Traction employees, and now that the same conflict had again appeared, he felt that it was up to him to make his threat good.

The situation bears some analogy to the Oriental myth of the magician who by his incantations succeeded in raising the devil, and then discovered that he could neither lay nor control the fiend. It is fairly certain at the present writing that the general strike in Philadelphia is by no means under the effective control of the labor leaders and strike committees of the city, and that the latter have practically no system and no facilities for intelligently directing it.

In response to the call, thousands of workers, organized and unorganized, promptly abandoned their jobs, but there is certainly little knowledge among the labor leaders as to the reliability of these masses of strikers or how far they can be depended on as a permanent asset until the close of the conflict. So far, some have returned to work, while others, obeying the call, about offset them. But there are everywhere persistent rumors of defections to come, which can neither be positively contradicted or verified, but which serve to keep the strike leaders in a constant state of uncertainty and apprehension. There is no competent information bureau, no systematic method of getting local information, no center from which the strike committee can get a comprehensive and instantaneous view of the situation at any given time. And at the very time when matters have reached such a critical point that scores of thousands of workers may decide to resume work as suddenly as they abandoned it, there is no way of telling to what extent the workers throughout the State will respond to a call to extend the strike, it being left to the last moment to discover their willingness or unwillingness by taking a vote of their membership.

Of course the strike committees and labor leaders cannot very well be held responsible for this condition of affairs, and they are doubtless doing the best possible under the circumstances. It has long been contended theoretically that the success of a general strike is absolutely dependent on the highest attainable perfection of organization beforehand, so that all possible eventualities will be provided for in advance once the strike is called, and certainly this condition has not been attained either in city or State.

There may be sufficient solidarity among the workers in many cities to assure a ready response to the call for a general strike, but insufficient to sustain it when once called, and we fear very much this is the condition in Philadelphia.

On the other hand, the capitalist's sense of solidarity is almost certain to increase during the conflict. The Traction Company was bitterly hated by thousands of business men, and its obstinate stubbornness condemned in forcible language, as causing the ruin of the city's industries. But as the conflict continues, the class-consciousness of the business element reasserts itself. They instinctively recognize the broader aspect of a struggle between labor and capital and naturally tend to range themselves on the side of the latter. They may still dislike the Traction Company and condemn its attitude, but they hate the strikers still more, and their hatred increases as the struggle proceeds, being gradually transferred from the Traction autocrats to the strikers.

Such was the condition and apparent tendencies of the situation in Philadelphia about the middle of the month. By the time this issue reaches our readers, more developments will in the ordinary course of events have taken place, and what they may bring forth is a matter of speculation. It is easy of course to say that the decision for the general strike was hasty and ill-considered, and the attempt to use it altogether premature, but such criticism has little value. In a certain sense every method employed for the first time is a premature attempt, but sooner or later new weapons must be tried in the conflict between labor and capital, even if at first failure seems probable. And in a still larger sense the weapons used by the workers are not altogether a matter of deliberate choice, but rather of necessity.

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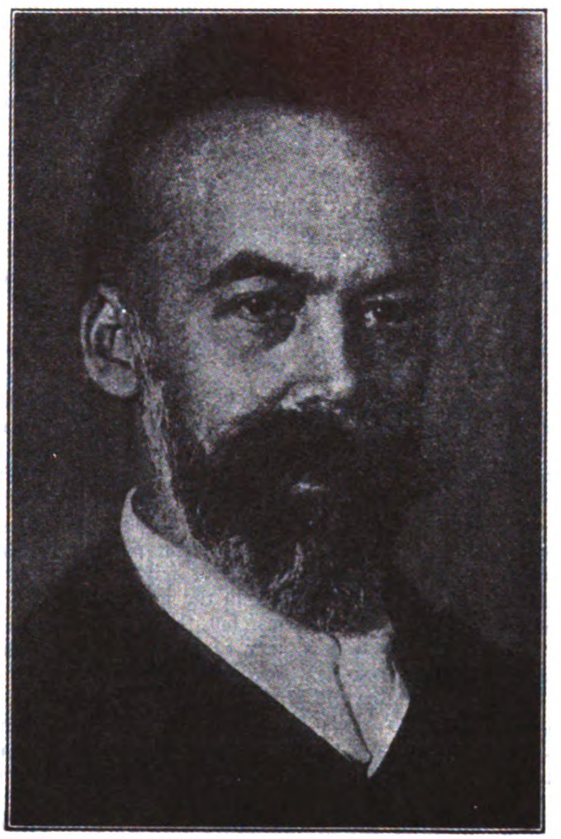
The America of Lincoln

By GEORGE D. HERRON

I HAVE lately been reading one of the greatest of modern books. It is a book about the country of Lincoln, and is called "The Valley of the Shadows." Its author is an English musician, whose early childhood was spent in the country of which he writes. His name is Francis Grierson. It is a great prose-lyric Mr. Grierson has written—one of the abiding books of literature; one of the rarely vivid and truthful pictures that words have painted. The book is Greek in its purity, worthy to stand besides Xenephon or Thucydides. Or he has told his story in some such manner as Luke the beloved physician tells his story of Jesus, and of the Christian springtime. He has set forth the soul of the America that Americans do not yet know. It is about this America, in which and of whose people I was born, that Mr. Grierson's book has set me thinking.

And there is an America that Americans do not know. It is the America of the middle rivers; of the regions embraced by the two great arms of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and spreading out below the Missouri; and more especially of the lands that lie before and beyond the Wabash—the counties of Indiana and the prairies of Illinois. The peoples beside the Wabash and the Sangamon were ever the most characteristically American. New England was never other than what its name indicates. But the peoples of the Wabash and of Illinois were as different from New England as New England is different from Provence. Here, in the bosoms of these prairies and beside these rivers, was the incipient soul of America to be found in the early years before the Civil War; and here it now sleeps. America is not a nation yet: it is only a mob—a mob of conflicting capitalist interests and their slaves. But when this mob becomes a nation, when the New People emerges from the American melting-pot into which the tribes of the world have been cast, the living soul thereof will rise from along these middle rivers—where it slumbers so long and deeply, or but stirs to troubled dreams. If America becomes a distinct spiritual being, that being will proceed from the life and love of these earliest westerlings, enlarged and enriched by the vast and varied Slavic and Latin elements of our more recent populations.

These were the romance-peoples of America. In their lands of malaria and mysticism, of ferocious feuds and kindliest fellowships, entered whatever we have had of the ancient chivalry. The first settlers were from France. They were the ardent devotees of religion; or else they were the exiled devotees of the sword, or of fair women, or of statecraft, or of intrigue and conspiracy, or of other dissipations of the old noblesse. While the English were establishing themselves along the Atlantic, the French were making Vincennes-on-the-Wabash their gay little stockade-capital. Even up to a few years ago French was still the language of the older parts of Vincennes. The Wabash valley, and the counties of Illinois that parallel the river's course, have always crudely preserved somewhat of the blended devotion and gallantry of old Catholic France. But though their influence was permanent, the French were few among the final settlers. The focal geographical points of the French missionaries and explorers became the radiating centers of the frontier families that came from Scotland, Ireland and England by the way of the Virginia mountains and the Kentucky meadows. The English and their language were predominant of course; but they were not the English type that Massachusetts knew, and that made the traditional mind of America. It was rather the descendants of Cavalier England that poured into these settlements. They were often ignorant and impoverished. They were sometimes lawless and superstitious. But in them whatever was left of the old romanticism was resurgent. Its ways and weapons were rude, but the romanticism was there; and there, in distinction from the Puritan thought of life upon the Atlantic coast, was life still looked upon as a quest. It was there also, as at Paris in the beginnings of the Great Revolution, that the human spirit refused to be bound.



Dr. George D. Herron.

Then with all the superstitions of these peoples, with all the wildness of their religious revivals, with all their high and habitual melancholy, with all the mysticism that pervaded their actions as well as their words, there went a shrewd rationalism. Their lives were ever expressive of a strangely mingled intuitionalism and scepticism. They were as realistic in their habits of thought and action as they were religious in feeling. It was from them that Lincoln came, who was their true word and flesh—the word and flesh of what they are, as well as of what they were. And it is Lincoln who reveals, though unto a blind nation, what the real and yet unrealized nation is.

This America of the Wabash and of the Illinois prairies is much more akin to Saint Francis and to Dante than to John Hancock and the Adams family; is much nearer to Isaiah or to Omar Khayyam than to the comfortable merchant-minded Boston that took to literature in Hawthorne, Emerson and Lowell—for New England literature was always a disguised Puritan theology; always a masquerade of the essentially immoral Puritan morality. There is vastly more kinship between the Wabash and the Arno or the Euphrates than there is between the Wabash and the Connecticut. There is as much of Provence or Persia in the prairies of Illinois as there is of New England. The spirit of the first peoples of these middle rivers was the spirit of wide spaces, of great breathing places, of unfettered human being.

But perhaps the most underlying element in their life was the sense of neighborhood. I am not sure but what this was their chief distinction. I am sure that in this the settlements of Illinois and Indiana stood in strong contrast with the anti-social spirit of the Puritan settlements. These frontier families had their strifes, their feuds, their guerilla wars; and not infrequently were there murders among them. But the sense of neighborhood was never absent; while their attitude toward the guest with whom they had once broken bread was much like that of the Arab. Each family was moved by an inner necessity for ministry to the other families of the vicinage; and the vicinage, in these days, meant a wide circle of territory; one's intimate neighbors might be miles away. By this sense of neighborhood, begetting a spirit that was at once intensely individual and widely social, these communities repeated some of the characteristics of the early Christians and the first Waldensians.

This real America has passed from the memory of the living. I have said that it sleeps—and who knows when it will awaken? Nor was it ever the manifest mind of the nation. It flowed high, for one great moment, bearing Lincoln upon its crest. But then it ebbed again. The Civil War left not only the youth of America under the sod: it buried the soul of the nation as well, at least for a long time. It was the Puritan, not the prairies, that formed the nation's moral and mental habits. And the Puritan still rules the land. Into our dark-omened present, into our terrible capitalist society,

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A LITTLE more than three years ago, before the Get Together Club of Hartford, Conn., Professor Thomas Nixon Carver of the Chair of Political Economy at Harvard University, and Gaylord Wilshire, proprietor and editor of this journal, held a joint debate on Socialism. Wilshire, of course, attempted to demonstrate the certain coming of Socialism as a result of the development of our industrial system, a conclusion which Professor Carver strenuously denied; he saw no tendency whatever in that direction—the Trust development did not tend to greater concentration — competition, though at times seemingly eliminated, would reassert itself and continue indefinitely—there was no future for Socialism, etc., etc.

Since then Professor Carver has received his economic sight—partially at least. Glancing over the papers recently, the following press item attracted our notice:

Boston, March 7.—That Socialism is surely coming; that the times, economically, are out of joint, and that the tactics of the capitalists are digging the grave of the present system, were statements made by Prof. Thomas N. Carver in a public address, which are causing much discussion here to-day.

Professor Carver denied that the trusts were the product of orderly evolution. They were caused, he said, by a monopoly of distributive means, not production, and he challenged proof that the trusts have ever lowered the cost of production of a single article as against the output of individual concerns.

"To-day," he said, "it is generally understood that the unskilled laborer is the victim of the capitalist. This is due to the unequal distribution of the worker. We have the unskilled laborer, the capitalist seeking investment, demand for goods, and land seeking employment. What we lack to-day is the skilled business manager able to take the four units and utilize them. We are now seeking to remedy this unequal distribution by education."

Assuming that Professor Carver's utterances are correctly reported above, he must evidently base his belief as to the certainty of the coming of Socialism, on the assumption that what Mr. Mallock calls the "ability" of the capitalist is failing and cannot be restored If this is so, it is evident that the statement that we cannot find "the skilled business manager able to take the four units and utilize them" is about the same as admitting that the task is impossible—which it most certainly is, under our competitive system. It is a somewhat round-about way of reaching the conclusion of the inevitability of Socialism, but, though it carries with it some apparent contradictions and confusions, is essentially the Socialist position; the capitalist, despite his "ability," cannot possibly carry on production under our present system indefinitely. To transform this into lack of ability alters nothing—the result is the same.

Professor Carver is to be congratulated on the decided progress he has made in the last three years. He has in his own peculiar way discovered a very important truth, which, we have no doubt, he will be able to expound more clearly as time passes.

IT is very questionable if anything is gained for the Socialist cause by branding millionaires and very wealthy persons as "robbers."

Mr. Joseph Fels, a very prominent Single Taxer and himself a millionaire, recently made this confession publicly as regards himself and his fellow millionaires, presumably in the interest of Single Tax theories, but though such an incident is a very rare occurrence, it has seemingly secured little consideration beyond leaving the impression that Mr. Fels is an eccentric person, who should not be taken too seriously.

When the time comes to establish an economic system under which the millionaire and multi-millionaire will be impossible, the real reason will not be a general conversion of the public to the idea that they are robbers, and should on that account be suppressed, but rather that the system that produces them has itself become impossible, though it is quite likely that the "robber" charge will be extensively used as an apparent pretext.

What is now happening politically in England is a case in point. The decision to tax the landed property of the aristocracy carries with it the apparently brand-new discovery that landed proprietors are "parasites," fattening on an "unearned increment," and in the popular mind this is sufficient to explain the determination to tax them. The real reason, however, is that the money is imperatively needed and there is nowhere else to get it. The workingmen can yield very little more in the shape of taxation, and the industrial capitalists are not likely to tax themselves when they find they have power enough to make the landed interests pay up. The discovery of the "robber" theory and the "unearned increment" is merely an auxiliary argument to help in securing the popular assent.

The capitalist has little to fear so long as he can continue "robbing" the workers. It is, on the contrary, when he can no longer "rob" them, because he cannot provide them with jobs, that his finish is in sight.

THE announced decision of Mr. Rockefeller to devote his enormous fortune of more than a billion dollars to establish what might be described as a "doing good" trust, has been received with such universal approval, that it is not unlikely to become a general tendency among our very wealthy citizens. While we object to "paternalism" in our government, we seemingly expect it from our billionaires. While we would not for one moment countenance the taking over of Mr. Rockfeller's property by the nation to be used for the general welfare, we seem to think it an excellent thing if Mr. Rockefeller voluntarily donates it for the same purpose. This is undoubtedly a recognition, though an unconscious one, of the growing conception of the social character of wealth.

It is palpable enough, however, that this particular donation or others of a similar kind that may follow, will have no effect whatever in checking the industrial evolution that is making steadily for Socialism. The funds for the various proposed beneficiencies come from income bearing securities, from investments of capital, and can only be realized from the continued exploitation of hundreds of thousands of workers in the various Standard Oil industries.

What Rockefeller does with his money is not important. It is the method of its accumulation that is really significant, and the method has not been changed in the least. The very most that can be claimed for the benefaction is that it enables Mr. Rockefeller temporarily and inadequately to evade the ever troublesome question of how to re-invest a continually increasing surplus. But that it will have no effect whatever in checking the process of concentration or the march toward monopoly is indisputable. There is no permanent system of "Benevolent Feudalism" possible as an outcome of the Trusts. The "abolition of poverty" which is said to be Mr. Rockefeller's ultimate aim, is only possible through the abolition of capitalistic exploitation, a method which Mr. Rockefeller's scheme leaves not only unchanged, but utilizes as its actual foundation.

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A SERIES of anti-Socialist lectures was recently begun in New York with the approval of Archbishop Farley, the lecturers being priests selected from the Catholic University. The first of the series was given in the Cathedral College by Father W. J. Kerby, who lectured on "Private Property and Socialism" to an audience of about twelve hundred, many of whom were Socialists who were attracted from curiosity. The general opinion of those who attended the initial address, was that the whole procedure was rather too trifling and inconsequential to merit any special attention from Socialists, and the addresses delivered since have seemingly supported that view. Several local papers, notably the *World,* invented a "disturbance" at the meeting. In commenting on this mendacity, *America,* a very high class Roman Catholic publication, denies point-blank the occurrence of any disorder either inside or outside the meetings or any interruption of the speakers.

However, the editor of *America* seemingly expected something of the sort as may be gathered from the somewhat strange conclusion of his editorial note on the subject. He says:

> Catholics, however, sometimes are partially responsible for such disorders. They do not know the malice of Socialists, and hoping for their conversion, invite them to a conference. These accept the invitation, expecting to convert their hosts by confounding the lecturer. In a western city a parochial society of young men invited a priest, a professor of Ethics, to address them on Socialism in their parish hall. When he stepped upon the platform he saw to his surprise the front benches occupied by a compact body of men *bearing all the external marks of the demoniac.* The young men were not to be seen. In their simplicity they thought they had done a good work by collecting all the Socialists in the neighborhood, who were nothing loth to come in. Fortunately the lecturer did not lack courage. He went through his task. But from the beginning his lecture was accompanied with a running commentary from the front benches, and interrupted with contradictions, the usual charges of ignorance, insults and clamor.
>
> Three morals may be drawn: First, don't invite Socialists to Catholic meetings, *as the devil within them will break out.* Second, if a lecturer is to address Socialists, let him know beforehand, and have sufficient material force to compel these to be as decent as possible. Third, learn from what has happened, what tyrants Socialists will be, if ever they get the upper hand.

In like manner, three morals may be drawn from this. First, that the lecturers have no hope of converting Socialists by their work. People who "bear all the external marks of the demoniac" and in whom the "devil" is likely to break loose at any moment, are hardly amenable to argument. Second, that the real object is to scare Catholics away from the consideration of Socialism, and to effectively stop their ears against Socialists by the old mediæval trick of representing them adorned with figurative hoofs, horns and tails. Third, that this particular move, far from being an attack on Socialism, is strictly a defensive one. The real attack has yet to come, and when it does it will not take the shape of open debate on the public platform. Possibly that "sufficient material force" that the editor of *America* feels so desirable may be considered much more efficacious in the future struggle with the "demoniacs."

SEVERAL times during the last two years, editorials have appeared in this journal, dwelling on the probability of war with Japan, that nation being compelled to oppose American control and possession of Asiatic markets. During all this time our great officials, diplomats, bankers and other public men were asserting the utter impossibility of such an occurrence.

Among those who most strongly scouted the notion of war taking place with Japan was Jacob H. Schiff, the prominent New York financier, and head of the great banking firm of Kuehn, Loeb & Co. At the time we were writing these editorials, Mr. Schiff attended a banquet at the St. Regis given in honor of a great Japanese official, and in his after dinner speech declared that the thought of war between Japan and the United States could only be conceived by a stupendous stretch of the imagination.

Since then Mr. Schiff has managed to stretch his imagination not only far enough to conceive the possibility of the thing he then denied, but to actually deliver himself of a public warning that war seemed inevitable between the two nations.

At the afore-mentioned banquet, apparently confident of permanent peace between the two nations, he addressed the following remarks to the guest of the occasion and the assembled company:

> Even though we build great fleets and send them round the world; even though we maintain a large navy—and it is right that we should do so to preserve the peace of our own hemisphere—those battleships will be sold as old junk before the peace between the United States and Japan is broken. Our only struggles will be peaceful struggles for the commerce of the world. Although we have no open door policy here, so long as you maintain an open door policy there will be no disturbance of the peace between us.

It seems incredible that a man of Mr. Schiff's ability could delude himself into a belief of the possibility of "a peaceful struggle for the commerce of the world." To speak plainly we have no idea that he did really so delude himself; he was merely "jollying" the Japanese official. When this war actually occurs, we will almost certainly hear from hundreds of our public men to the effect that they knew all along that such a conflict was inevitable since the conclusion of the war with Russia five years ago.

THERE are a considerable number of persons who insist, and probably with complete sincerity, that Socialism would make much more progress were its ideas taught without specific mention of the word Socialism. The name itself arouses unnecessary prejudice and distrust. In like manner such terms as "materialistic conception of history" should be "softened down" to "economic interpretation," as the word "materialistic" is of bad odor and carries with it a suspicion of atheism and general opposition to religion. The use of "economic interpretation," though it means exactly the same thing, avoids this suspicion and will be accepted where the other term is rejected.

How little truth there is in this idea may be readily seen by an incident which occurred recently at the meeting of the National Educational Association at Indianapolis. Professor J. H. Robinson, of Columbia University, had made a plea for the re-writing of history for children from the point of view of industrial development. "Industrial development" is even a less suspicious term than "economic interpretation," but it was not suffered to pass unchallenged.

Superintendent Maxwell of New York City Schools objected promptly on the ground that such teaching would lead to Socialism. He declared that he didn't want any ism taught in the schools—neither individualism nor Socialism. In giving his idea of how history should be taught in the schools, he is thus reported:

> "Teachers are sometimes blamed for teaching the history of battles and political struggles and wars. The teachers are not to blame, for battles and the like are the only subjects which are treated in such a way as to be understood by the child. It is more valuable to the child to study Abraham Lincoln than the causes of the Revolutionary War; it is more important to study the history of great discoveries and inventions than the evolution to bronze from the stone age. The high school boy and the artisan of the country should study the heroes of the battlefield and the captains of industry."

Mr. Maxwell's denial that he wants individualism taught in the schools may seem somewhat ambiguous in the light of the above, but he can't be fooled even by such an apparently harmless phrase as "industrial development" to say nothing of "economic interpretations" and "materialistic conceptions." And the class for whom he speaks are not to be fooled either.

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The America of Lincoln

(*Continued from page 5.*)

into its unclean and degenerate Puritanism, the real America has disappeared. It will not reappear, the nation will not have a soul, until the last of Puritanism is dissolved in a social humanity.

It is true we have made much of Lincoln. We have made his name a popular asset—a fund upon which the needy may draw: the maker of sounding rhymes, the vagrant editorial writer, the ignorant preacher, the obscene politician. But all that is because we have not understood him. America has enshrined Lincoln without in the least knowing him. Even while his name is the nation's most familiar glory, he is as a stranger in a strange land. Into the wide habitations of this man's soul, his own generation did not enter, and far from his thoughts are the thoughts of the generation after him. We have linked up his name with that of Washington and other patriots and national saviors; yet he had no part nor lot with these. Nor had he any portion with the Puritan; Lincoln and the Puritan are but the antithesis of each other. The American books about him are but superficial chronicles, or vulgar dreams of the scribblers. Purporting to be biographies of Lincoln, they have been written by journalists or lawyers who knew as little of the man of whom they wrote as they did of the dwellers of other planets. The only at all interpretive biography of Lincoln—and by far the best—has been written by a Quaker Englishman, Henry Bryan Binns.

Lincoln was one of those mysterious personal forces that bring with them the silences from which they come; that tarry a little while upon an earth that really never sees or hears them: that light up the thick darkness for the moment they are here; that remain inscrutable to the end; and that go back into the silences without any man knowing whence they come or whither they go. They come, they go, as if earth were a momentary halting place upon a long quest. They are always the supreme national types; and they are always essentially unknown by the nations to which they come—either glorified by the nation's rejection, or falsified by its acceptance. Yet always are they so much more than this. They are universal types as well—more infinite and unsearchable than the heavenly spaces. As one of these, Lincoln looms across the centuries, above racial changes and the shifts of nations, belonging at last to no time, to no special people. He is more akin to Aeschylus or Beethoven, to Moses or Mohammed, to Jesus or Mazzini, than to those whose names we commonly set beside his own. He differs from each of these of course, as these differ one from another; but he is of the same mystery, the same power, the same glory. We may think of him as the greatest mystic who ever took to politics. He did not show what he saw, nor the way in which he walked. There were many things he might have revealed; but he knew the world would not bear them. He said but little of what he really thought; and the little he said was as if by accident, flashing from the clouds that enveloped him.

Of course Lincoln was more than this. It is true that he was mystical. There were abysmal broodings in his soul. No one ever really knew him. But he also possessed the sceptical intellect. His was the mind that refuses to follow its intuitions until they have stood the severest examinations of reason; until they have been tried before the jury of common fact or past experience. It is this duality of great personalities, housing what is essentially the scientific faculty in the same mind with the intuitional sense, that constitutes their spiritual tragedy. It was the tragedy that ran red in the souls of Aeschylus and Jesus, of Beethoven and Mazzini, perhaps of Shakespeare and Leonardo. But in an extraordinary degree did Lincoln combine this immense and profound mysticism with the keenest and shrewdest powers of reasoning. And to some extent he harmonized the two. He knew how to choose the moment, the method, and the available man. He knew how to use the exact word, the sure symbol; and he knew when to speak, and he knew what to leave unsaid, and he knew when to keep silent. In the best sense, America had never had so practical a politician, and never so far-seeing a visionary. And when he died, the heart thus stilled, was the bravest and wisest that ever beat out the world's political redemption.

And what he said, and what his life meant, has had no actual bearing upon our subsequent national development. To truly say this, one has only to glance at the uninterrupted decadence that has proceeded since his time. The declivity down which the Gadarene swine precipitated themselves into the sea was not so steep as is the descent of the nation from Abraham Lincoln to Theodore Roosevelt. It is not merely that we have taken a brutal coward for our present hero; it is that we thus reveal ourselves a brutalized and cowardly nation. It is that this hero, the most deceptive and degrading personal force in our public life and history, has carried the nation in the hollow of his hand; and that he may do so again, when he returns from the joy of his African slaughter. It is fitting, thus, that William R. Hearst and Dr. Lyman Abbott should be our champions of morality and religion.

The nation has fallen on flagrant times. We are deep in political decadence. Doubtless the world has never known such moral pretentiousness, such worthless bombast, as the America of the present day presents. Probably there has never been such brazen and unashamed hypocrisy, such inadequate and insincere professions of reform, such spiritual rottenness, such inclusive corruption of the human soul. In spite of the criminal character of our municipal and state and national governments, in spite of the increasing brutality of our public life, in spite of a suppression of free speech that will soon place us behind Russia, we still boast ourselves the great free nation. And we impose the falsehood upon Europe. But in no nation of the world is there so little freedom for the human spirit, so little intellectual integrity, so little moral initiative, as in America. The Puritan blight is indeed upon the land. The real America, the America of Lincoln and the middle rivers, the America of the pioneers and the prairies, is in the tomb. Or let us say that America is unborn.

But the real America will come unto birth at last. We shall have a harsh and terrible capitalist culmination. We shall have the Empire we want, with Caesars more ruthless than Rome ever knew. Our economic machine, and its inevitable political form, will prove the most destructive of historic tyrannies. The new Dark Ages, spreading from America, may envelop the world. From America will proceed the great catastrophe, the breaking up of what we call civilization. But there will arise a new America, a new human type. It will be the America that we Americans do not now know—the America whose seed is the frontier people of the first west, whose sign is Abraham Lincoln, and whose fulfillment will be a commonwealth that is at once economic and social and spiritual; a commonwealth that is the living synthesis of inclusive association and unhindered individual liberty.

Salvation Through Jobs

OUT of the recent controversy over the refusal of the Pope to receive Mr. Fairbanks comes a number of charges against the Methodist Society in Rome of attracting converts by the promise of money and jobs. One such incident related by *Current Literature* (quoting from the *Tablet*, an English Catholic organ) may be worth consideration in this regard.

One Roberto Palazzi, an Italian workman, a native of Nemi, with his wife and four children went to Rome seeking work. Roberto was an ordinary good Catholic and his family likewise. He was unsuccessful in finding work and with starvation staring him in the face, some one directed him to the Methodist Society, telling him that they would supply him with money and work if he declared he would join them. Roberto approached the Methodists, who promised him work on condition that his wife and children, as well as himself, became converts. He consented and went home and told his wife, who was so horrified by the prospect of becoming a Methodist that she went to the Superioress of a religious community and laid the case before her. This lady at once communicated the facts to a local "Society for the Preservation of the Faith," which in turn got busy and provided Roberto with a steady job of sweeping out the front yard of an hospital. The ultimate result was that the Methodists lost six prospective converts.

The *Tablet*, while denouncing the tactics of the Methodists in this instance and gloating over their defeat, overlooks the fact that the method taken to hold Roberto to the ancient faith was exactly that taken by the Methodists to lure him from it. The disagreeable fact that religious affiliations are frequently determined by economic interests, and that proselytes of all creeds know this and act upon it, is too dangerous to be generally admitted. As a consequence it receives a limited application, each advocate denying it so far as his own special group is concerned, but insisting on it as an important factor with all others. All recognize it as a shameful procedure, while at the same time they thoroughly understand its effectiveness.

The Roberto Palazzi episode could easily be used as a text leading up to the much discussed subject of why workingmen don't go to church.

That statement of Senator Aldrich to the effect that he could run the Government for $300,000 less annually, is no doubt intended to leave the impression that he isn't actually running it now.

"Mr. Morgan," says the *Baltimore Sun*, "goes away now without even stopping to lock his country up." Perhaps so, but he hasn't neglected to tie up the fellows who might have possible designs on it in his absence.

Just now in Germany the argument against Socialism has been reduced to muskets, sabres and pistols. If it proves effective, perhaps the other side might be induced to adopt it also.

Philadelphia's general strike seems a trifle belated. It should have begun eighteen months ago at the ballot box with a Socialist vote of a hundred thousand or so.

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THE PASSING OF THE OLD GUARD

By ODON POR, *Special European Correspondent, Wilshire's*

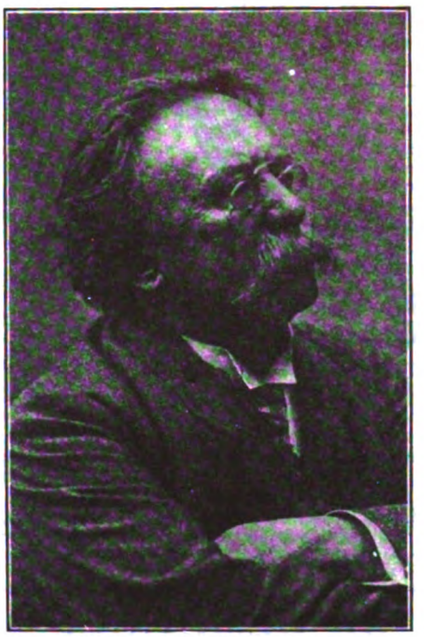
ONE by one the great old fighters of the "International" die—leaving behind a void which never can be filled. The old fighters, who helped Socialism to be born and who fought its hardest battles, the old fighters who were tracked down by the police, jailed and driven from one country to another—but who always returned to the dangerous work with even more enthusiasm! The old fighters whose never abating struggle has made of Socialism the strongest force of our culture and the mainspring of the evolving social civilization.

Andrea Costa was one of these fighters. I never will forget that wonderful First of May festival in Rome, on a field facing the old Roman Coliseum, where in ancient times orgies of blood were held for the proletarians who were crying for "Panem et Circenses"—Costa spoke there to an immense crowd of conscious proletarians, who instead of begging for bread and amusements, brought there with them their red banners symbolizing their enlistment in the fight for social happiness. Costa spoke there with inmost conviction that, carried by a sonorous and passionate voice, revealed all his confidence in the force of the awakened masses.

He made us all a-tremble, touching deep our social instincts, making our own faith still stronger. After the festival we went toward the city—but the authorities went mad and ordered out the soldiers to stop the march of the masses. Old Andrea put himself at the head of the crowd and put his breast against the swords. The soldiers dared not advance.

During his service for forty years Costa was always the same, always a man of action, always in the front, risking his life a hundred times, organizing armed insurrections, secretly publishing papers and pamphlets, organizing the workers, instilling enthusiasm into the youth, fascinating the oppressed crowds and making himself loved by them by his straightforward, dignified and tenacious action, by his proud and generous spirit. He was and will remain the symbol of social revolution. He was not a scientific man and there lay his force. He was a poet, an idealist, a rebel, full of the romance of revolution, a generator of forces, a source of inspiration.

The Province of Romagna, where he had unfolded most of his activity, is now the strongest Socialist center of the world. There some twenty years ago he and the other Socialists were looked upon as malefactors and treated as such. Now a couple of hundred thousand organized workers command respect by the force of their moral and intellectual culture, by their organic capacity of realizing the Socialist ideal in the daily economic, political and social life of their country. These workers, before ignorant and indifferent, have now conquered many municipalities and become experts in the affairs of the various political and educationaal and economic institutions of these cities. By their vast industrial and agricultural co-operatives of production and consumption and



Andrea Costa,
Born, November 30, 1851—Died, January 19, 1910.

their strong union organizations they have come nearer to the definite realization of Socialism than the workers of any other part of Italy or the world.

"Good Andrea is gone . . ."—but his work is here to stay with us for ever!

In Stricken Philadelphia

(Continued from page 4.)

The workers of Philadelphia in this conflict have at least reached the conclusion that the old methods of the American Federation of Labor were useless, but they had not reached the conception of using the Socialist ballot. As a consequence, the general strike was perhaps the only method available under the circumstances. How they will fare with it we must wait and see.

Perhaps the whole situation can best be summed up in the vigorous sentence with which Mr. Charles Edward Russell concludes an article on this subject in a special strike edition of the *Appeal to Reason*:

"But whatever comes out of the Philadelphia strike, the workers are some day going to learn, even if it has to be beaten into them, that the ballot is mightier than the club and that the printed paper will prevail even over the bullet. They ought to know by now that the Republican and Democratic parties are both rotten, both opposed to the worker when it comes to a show-down, and that absolutely their only hope is in the Socialist ballot."

Jefferson Davis, the Arkansas Senator, recently expressed a desire to see John D. Rockefeller "incinerated in the flames of his own burning oil." Jeff evidently wants to be considered an "ultimate consumer" with a definite object in view.

When law and order is to be preserved the Berlin police seem quite as efficient in starting a riot as those of Philadelphia and other American cities.

Judging from present indications we incline to the opinion that since Judge Grosscup has gone to Egypt, the Hatters' Union will experience considerable difficulty in finding a judge to declare the recent fine against them unconstitutional.

No doubt it will be something of a surprise to Col. Roosevelt on his return from Africa to find Socialism not only alive, but growing, despite his ferocious attack on it before leaving.

The Biology Professor's Ode

By George Allan England.

List, wife! I have a lyric ode in mind
For our first-born. I'll read you the rough draft.
What's that? He's sleeping? There! Don't be unkind!
I won't awake him. Now that I have quaffed
The liquor of paternal joy, I must
Read this, or—er—er—as vulgar folks say, Bust!

ODE

Hail to thee, anthropoidal child of mine!
(Mendelian riddle—dominant, I hope,
Yet possibly recessive.) Spark divine!
(Not proved, however. Science doth not cope
With sparks of just such wave-length.) I opine
That there is no joy quite equals this, to think
That I
Have a live offspring, sentient, all a-blink,
All salivatious—quite! . . .
Thou kick'st when I apply
Mine eager finger—so—to palpitating
Pithecanthropic fuzziness of still
Un-osseous soft spot on thine infant skull,
Debating,
I wonder, ah! what will
Thy future evolution be, small drooling bundle
Of non-Malthusian humanity? To trundle
Through life as through one vast continuous park,
The world thy p'rambulator? Say, shall this
Be thine?
Or must thy way be strait, thine ending dark,
And thy (supposititious) soul plunge down th' abyss
Of (now abolished) Wrath, oh child of mine?
(Red, pulpy child!)
Darwinian and Wallace-ian lantern-slide, to shine
On the wide screen
Of evolution!
Each bloating convolution,
Those inturned feet, that nose up-snubbed, that ear,
Opposible thumb, dentition (see wife, here!),
All prove, dear babe, we once were jibbering Sim-
Ians; yea each blobbly, wabbly limb,
Prehensile toes, dwarf bandy legs, and slim,
Benuzzling wits, plus between two and three
Hundred vestigial traces all make clear to me
Thine origin, bear witness to the tale———
Eh? What? *That* minds me that thy coccyx, too,
Once grew much longer and projected through!.....
Say, turns't thou pale, fond wife?
At thought that thou
Hast given breath and Life
To a mere nexus of vestigia, maybe?
Is that less sweet than to imagine how
The one-time angels bent beside the crib
Of new-born and Wordsworthianly immortal baby?
Nay, wife, not so!.....
See how this floating rib,
Right here, the one I'm poking, proves that once
Our forebears hung inverted in a mango!
What's that? I'll wake the child? There, there he goes!
Note lung-exansion, ape-like paws—how fast they *can* go!
Observe, my dear, the would-be grasping toes,
The rudiment'ry—eh? *What?* Drive me out? I swear
But that's just like the female genus homo!
That's all the thanks man gets for wear and tear
Of teaching you, who'd rather "do" your hair,
Who much prefer cheap candy and a chromo,
Or novel with a yellow back, or lace,
Or such-like gewgaws—or a pretty face—
To all the science, learning, wisdom, wit,
Of my *Monatsheft für Allgemeinen Entwicklungswissenschaftlichen Fortschritt!!*..

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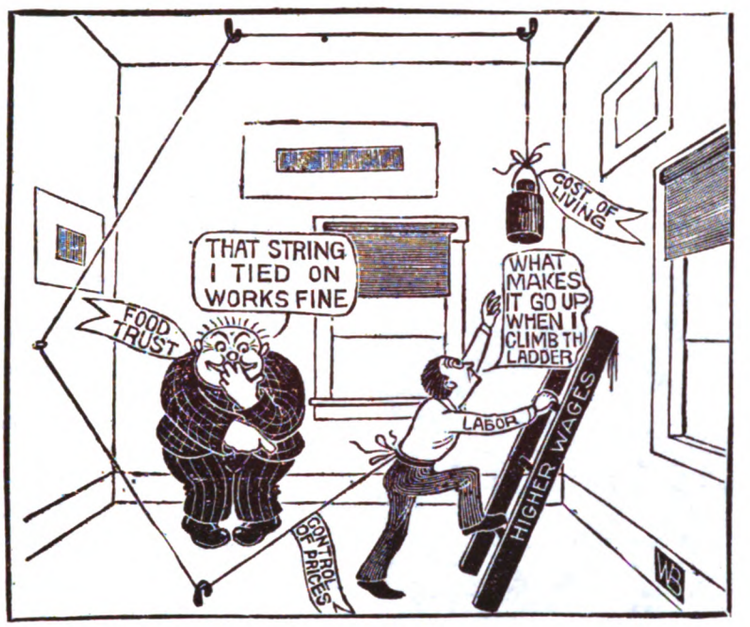
WAGES AND RISING PRICES

It is always an ungracious and unthankful proceeding to predict beforehand the failure of any popular movement which has behind it an apparently worthy purpose, as had the movement to boycott the Meat Trust by abstaining from flesh food. This movement, which originated in Cleveland, Ohio, and was loudly heralded as the only method by which to bring the haughty Beef Barons to terms, has now completely



evaporated, leaving the prices of meats something higher than before. The Socialists who derided the movement from the start and predicted its certain failure, have hardly added to their popularity thereby, despite the fact that they proved accurate prophets. Most people resent the "I told you so" attitude as a general thing, and perhaps even more than usual when circumstances force the Socialist to assume that attitude, as in this case.

The cartoon which we reproduce here from *The American Eagle* of Estero, Fla., may perhaps tend somewhat in the opposite direction, by injecting an element of humor into the situation, while at the same time correctly illustrating the process.

THE ACQUITTAL OF DEMETRIUS

RECENTLY we received a postal card from the editor of *The Sunday School Times*, with a request that we should feel ourselves free to comment upon the matter it contained. This publication, which we receive regularly among other exchanges, doesn't usually afford much opportunity for criticism or comment from a Socialist journal, but this time the editor has furnished us matter so interesting that we hasten to take advantage of his kind permission. The postal contained this editorial advance notice:

Muddy Vision in Practical Christianity

When a bill that required safety devices in factories was recently pending before a State Legislature an officer of a great association of manufacturers sent to the members a circular that called attention to the bill, and inquired: "*How will this affect your business?*" When the first Christian missionaries began preaching in Ephesus, some nineteen centuries ago, a well-to-do silversmith named Demetrius, who found that Christianity was reducing the sales of the silver shrines and images of the goddess Diana, opposed the new movement vigorously by calling together his fellow business men and declaring: "Sirs, ye know that by this business we have our wealth." He added as an after-thought that their city's religion was also being endangered.

Professor George A. Coe, the well-known writer and lecturer of North Western University, has just written a severe arraignment of the muddy vision of many otherwise good Christian men of to-day in matters wherein genuine Christianity would diminish financial profits, in a searching discussion of "Demetrius: The Pious Business Man," which appears in the *Sunday School Times*. He even dares to suggest that there is an adroit silversmith in each of us whose prejudice confuses our moral vision. The article will set a good many people thinking.

We have listened to many "severe arraignments" of this same Demetrius in boyhood's unhappy hours, when we were compelled to sit out long-winded sermons in which Demetrius, among other scriptural characters, came in for the usual clerical lambasting. Indeed, the impression we received of this ancient business man was that his conduct, as well as being vile, was also exceptional. We had no idea that Christians could ever be seriously accused of similar conduct.

In those days we had never heard of "economic determinism," and it was a comparatively easy matter to conclude that the plain duty of Demetrius was to welcome the Christian agitators, even though their success meant that his living would be taken away from him. He should have welcomed it as warmly as, let us say, the modern little business man welcomes the trust.

Nor had we heard at the time that many flourishing concerns conducted by Christian business men drive a lucrative trade in manufacturing idols for the heathen in his blindness, and that these modern prototypes of Demetrius do business both in Old England and New England.

So, of course, it wasn't possible to take into consideration that, as Demetrius depended on the manufacture of silver goddesses for his living, and probably considered it of the utmost importance that he should go on living, he should not unnaturally resent the intrusion of the Christian missionaries into his burg. He may have figured it out as a practical business man that it was much better for him to be a heathen with a job than a Christian without one. We doubt, even, if the Christian manufacturers of idols in Birmingham and Connecticut would welcome the destruction of their market by Christian or any other kind of missionaries.

All this, while it may not justify Demetrius, at least explains his conduct. Most people in similar circumstances do just as Demetrius did, and it is hardly reasonable to expect them to do otherwise. So the "severe arraignments" are uncalled for and the charges of "muddy vision" fall to the ground. They don't alter anything. It's "human nature," and neither Socialism nor Christianity can change human nature, as we all know. The fact is that the immense majority of people place their self-preservation ahead of their religion when the two come in conflict. Religion *is* an "after-thought." The fact may as well be accepted: self-preservation, not religion, is the *first* law of nature.

But Demetrius was a hypocrite in that he added, "as an after-thought that religion was being endangered." That may be admitted, but just the same if Demetrius was a hypocrite, he was a hypocrite with the most of us for company. If self-preservation can only be secured by hypocrisy the majority will never scruple to use it. And what holds good for the rest of us also holds good for the business man.

Just so when Socialism is brought to the attention of the business man, he declares that it will destroy religion. What he is really afraid of is its effect upon business—*his* business. And we Socialists absolve him therefor, recognizing his hypocrisy as necessary and expected. We admit that his fear regarding the effect of Socialism on his business is a reasonable one, taking into consideration his inadequate knowledge of the subject. In that respect only is his vision "muddy," but we blame him no more for it than we would "severely arraign" a blind man for his blindness.

Professor Coe "even dares to suggest that we have an adroit silversmith in each of us," etc. He isn't very daring. But his attitude is quite explainable. It is the "silversmith" within him and the editor of the *Sunday School Times* that, perhaps unconsciously, induces them to vaporize an undoubted fact into a "daring suggestion." And when they read this, the same "silversmith" will prompt them to deny this statement, for we don't like to own up that Demetrius abides in us, and Demetrius himself doesn't wish us to recognize him as a tenant. He fears eviction. No blame to them, however. No need for charges of "muddy vision" or "severe arraignments." Under present conditions Demetrius is necessary for our preservation.

If we want to evict Demetrius, let us change the conditions that make him necessary. Let us have Socialism instead of Capitalism and we will have no need of his adroit aid in order to live.

In view of these facts and many others which logically follow from them, but which space prevents us from enumerating, we ask for a verdict of "Not Guilty," both for Demetrius and his modern prototypes. Under the conditions their conduct is perfectly normal.

Stand up, Demetrius! Have you anything to say before a verdict of acquittal is pronounced upon you? He that is without "sin" (?), let him cast the first stone at you!

It is now beginning to dawn upon our statesmen that Japan didn't fight Russia for the purpose of securing the Asiatic markets for American capitalists.

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SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL NOTES

According to *Bradstreet's*, there were 11,864 failures in 1909, with total liabilities of $140,453,081 and assets of $69,408,679. Except 1908, these are the largest figures for any year back to 1897.

German Socialists have now forty-seven members in the Reichstag, having won four additional seats in by-elections since that "crushing defeat" of 1908, that reduced their representation one-half, while increasing their vote by a quarter of a million.

An extensive oil field has been discovered in the province of Alberta, Canada, and a $5,000,000 corporation has already been formed for its exploitation. A railroad of 400 miles is to be built to the field, which will be completed within three years.

It is estimated that the population of Greater London now amounts to about seven and a half millions. In 1908 the total number of passengers carried on city railroads, street car lines and omnibuses amounted to 1,377,630,180 exclusive of cab traffic and the suburban traffic of the great railroads.

One J. Siringo, a labor spy employed for twenty-two years by the Pinkerton Detective Agency, has published a story of his work, bearing the title of "Pinkerton's Cowboy Detective." The Pinkerton agency is prosecuting Siringo and his publishers for damages, and are seeking the suppression of the book. Siringo was chief assistant to the infamous McParland in the famous Moyer-Haywood case in Idaho.

A trust to control the fish trade has been formed in Halifax, N. S., into which four of the largest fish exporting firms have been merged.

The agitation against the three-class system of voting in Prussia is well illustrated by the result of the Prussian general election of 1908, where the Conservatives, with 354,780 votes, secured 152 seats; the Catholic Centre, with 409,340 votes, getting 104 seats, while the 598,520 votes of the Socialists secured them just seven seats.

The editorial and managing staffs of *Solidarity* and *The Free Press*, two Socialist journals of New Castle, Pa., were arrested recently for neglecting to comply with the law which provides that the names of owners, editors and managers of newspapers must appear on the editorial page. The action, which was dictated by the local business interests, is nothing more than an attempt to destroy the papers through legal expenses. Both papers are vigorous advocates of Industrial Unionism, which is growing steadily in the district.

A Mexican architect in Chihuahua has patented a process for making cement houses all in one piece, and has ordered apparatus from Germany with which he will make a practical demonstration.

A proposal has been made to the Austrian Government to make the manufacture of matches a monopoly, the firm making the proposal guaranteeing the Government a revenue of fifteen million crowns annually, until the expiration of fifteen years, when the entire plant will become the property of the Government without compensation.

All the large German match manufacturers have combined in one great trust, whose first act was to curtail the output of each factory by 50 per cent., thus enabling them to raise prices considerably. The trust controls all but 15 per cent. of the entire output of the country.

Gustav Herve, the well-known French anti-militarist agitator, has been sentenced to four years' imprisonment for advising the populace to resent the brutality of the police by physical force.

More than thirty Socialist candidates were elected in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, in the recent municipal campaign.

The recent municipal elections in Spain resulted in the seating of 59 Socialist candidates, chiefly in the large cities. The success is all the more notable inasmuch as the franchise is exceedingly restricted in Spain and only a small percentage of the workers can vote.

A new material for the manufacture of paper has been discovered in "bagasse," which is the dry refuse of sugar cane after the pulp has been extracted. Tests recently made in Cuba have produced paper of excellent quality, and a company has been formed in the United States to exploit the new process.

A workman's compensation act has been passed by the Quebec Legislature. It is modeled mainly after a similar act in England, and includes all laborers except agricultural and seafaring. In case of death the compensation must consist of a sum equal to four years' wages at the time of the accident, and never less than $1,000 nor more than $2,000.

Nicholas Tschaikowsky and Madame Breskowskaya, the two Russian revolutionists who returned to Russia after touring this country in the interest of the revolution, have been tried in St. Petersburg as terrorists. Tschaikowsky was acquitted, while Madame Breshkowskaya was exiled to Siberia for life.

It is not generally known that Great Britain has a larger export trade than the United States in boots and shoes, so far as numbers of pairs are concerned. In 1909 Great Britain exported 10,089,960 pairs of shoes, while the United States sent abroad 6,773,934 pairs. The value of the American export, however, was greater, the average value of a pair of American shoes being $1.69, as compared with $1.11 for the British product.

Of 40 important strikes in Canada last year 30 resulted in favor of the employers, leaving 10 for the workers.

An old age pension bill is on the point of being enacted into law in France. The trades union representatives are vigorously protesting against the age limit of 65 embodied in the bill, claiming that less than five of a hundred French workingmen reach that age.

The Grain Growers' Association of Manitoba, Canada, has submitted a plan to the ministry for Government ownership of grain elevators, claiming that millions of dollars will be saved to them as actual producers that heretofore have been diverted into other channels. It is said that the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta are certain to follow the lead of Manitoba in this matter.

The recent elections in Finland have again swelled the strength of the Socialist party, which has now 86 representatives in the Diet, as compared with 80 in the election of 1907. The Diet consists of 200 members, all told.

Japanese imports of alcoholic liquors fell from over $800,000 in 1906 to about $500,000 in 1909. It is not that the Japanese are becoming temperate, but, rather, that their capitalists have established breweries, whose output has driven the foreign booze from the Japanese market.

Vladimar Bourtzeff, the great Russian revolutionist and exposer of the Czar's spies, declares that the revolution in Russia is not only not dead, but is gathering in such force as to make certain the deposition of the Czar in the near future.

Socialists of Berne, Switzerland, elected 34 Socialists to their Municipal Council in the recent election. Thirty-three Radicals and 13 Conservatives form the remainder of the City Council, the latter having lost heavily.

It is not generally known that the oldest pawn office in the world is that established by the municipality of Amsterdam, Holland, in 1614. It is conducted so successfully and charges such low rates of interest that it has practically destroyed private competition in the business. In 1908 there were 1,146,838 articles pledged, on which $1,947,617 was lent.

Freeman Knowles, a veteran Socialist editor of Lead, South Dakota, has been acquitted on a charge of criminal libel brought against him by a local capitalist. Knowles has had a very stormy career and has many times been subjected to local persecution for his outspoken views. He was at one time a member of Congress on the Populist ticket.

The recent enormous wheat crop of Canada hasn't reduced the price of bread to any appreciable extent in the Dominion. In many Canadian cities bread prices are double what they are in England, the country to which most of the surplus Canadian wheat is exported.

Not a single obituary notice of the late Senator Platt has declared that his life work was an example to aspiring American youth, though he was quite as shrewd and unscrupulous as many on whom that honor has been conferred.

A new paper called "The Real Issue" has made its appearance in Portland, Ore. It justifies its name by expounding and advocating Socialism.

Much indignation is expressed in Roman Catholic journals against a Methodist Society in Rome which makes converts through doles of bread and soup. But why not use the same argument to hold them to the ancient faith? The Italian pauper evidently prefers to be a live Methodist to being a dead Catholic, which is the sort of "human nature" that can't be changed.

Much to his annoyance Banker Schiff was reported as saying that we would have war with Japan, when what he really said was that we were going to have a struggle with the Japanese. It seems that Socialists are not the only people whose utterances are misrepresented by the press.

Coinciding with the eternal fitness of things, a British plutocrat, with the appropriate name of Bull—Sir William Bull—has established an anti-Socialist organization, known as "The Enemies of the Red Flag."

As soon as people become easy marks the trust magnates and politicians tell you public confidence is restored; and when the people get wise to themselves and realize that they are being fooled, the same fellows call it a crisis.—*Puck.*

That "uplift" which society expects to derive from Mr. Rockefeller's billion dollars will only be a trifle compared with the uplift society will experience when the proletariat rises to its feet.

A Federal Court has fined the hatters for a boycott. The Beef Trust has done the same thing to the people of the United States.—*Philadelphia North American.*

The Shuberts announce that they will not produce "The Man Higher Up" this season. None of the graft investigators seem to be able to produce him either.—*Denver Republican.*

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OUR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

Conducted by MRS. GAYLORD WILSHIRE

SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM

By ADA MULKINS

THERE are many women who do not know that Socialism is the only great political movement which includes suffrage in its platform. This fact alone speaks volumes for Socialism and should be an incentive for us to become more and more familiar with its principles and what it stands for. The party that has accepted our cause becomes of vital interest to us. We have ideals and aims in common. In order to achieve we must work together. But it is one thing to accept suffrage as a platform and another thing to make it an active issue. Socialist speakers have been so busy talking straight Socialism that they have left suffrage to take care of itself. The time has come when suffrage should take care of itself! The days of pleading and patience are over. We have deferred too long. We have got to make ourselves heard. We must also learn the art of taking by force what is not given us by strategy. Admitted that in the aggressive policy there are times when it is somewhat difficult to preserve a nice and proper balance, that we leave ourselves liable to be called "masculine" or "unsexed." Man must find some way to hit back, and we must console ourselves that all great causes have their special kind of martyrs.

Men must be approached from different standpoints. Their outlook has been blurred by centuries of ownership. For years they have viewed with quiet disdain the pleading and begging of women to be allowed to vote. They still dismiss the idea with a shrug and continue to go forth themselves to cast their votes for a continuance of graft, crookedness and general mismanagement. Surely even the vote of the average woman is a less fearsome thing than that of the man who cannot sign his own name to the ballot, or to that great mass of men whose vote is controlled by the highest bidder. Somewhere man has blundered.

There are 5,000,000 wage-earning women in the United States alone. What kind of conditions are they working under and how are they represented under the present brutal system of Capitalism? The vast majority of these women are living a hand-to-mouth existence under the worst sort of economic conditions. It is high time to demand justice! The equality of the sexes must become a tangible fact.

Let us consider the question of marriage, as it now exists and as it will become under new conditions. When the average woman marries she adopts a sort of incognito. She not only becomes Mrs. Harry Jones, for instance, but she assumes her husband's mental and moral characteristics. Henceforth it is "Mr. Jones says so and so," or "My husband says such and such a thing." She caters to the man idea and becomes nothing more than a mirror for the reflection of his ego.

What sort of Comrades can these women make in the battle for progress? This is not marriage, but slavery. The dependent woman accepts the yoke of bondage, and man assumes a double economic burden. They are not mates, but slaves. The woman no longer owns herself. This enforced economic dependence of any human being upon another is like a chattel mortgage on the soul. Why does marriage, under present conditions, assume such an enormous risk? One reason is that it has been so largely a question of barter. The majority of women marry for homes. Many a one has frankly admitted to me that she wanted to be sure of a roof over her head for the rest of her life. For this more or less assured covering she is willing to pay a hundred per cent. interest—to remain an industrial slave, but under different conditions. Instead of renting a portion of her brain or the work of her hands for a fixed number of hours a day at a stated wage, permitting her to still retain a portion of her individuality, she sells her entire self mentally, morally and physically for all time, in exchange for that much abused institution designated, "Home."

This is neither a high nor an ideal conception of marriage. It is the forced outcome of present industrial conditions.

Miss Ada Mulkins,
Member New York Branch of Woman's National Progressive League.

Marriage should spring from inner conviction. The conviction that is in one's soul. I have known women, shallow, perhaps, who to appear pleasing in the eyes of certain men have assumed mental qualities entirely foreign to their natures. I have watched a few of these women try to sustain this false pitch throughout their married existence. Just what will suffrage do to better these conditions? In the first place, marriage is not the end, but the ideal fulfilment of life. We cannot force it through artificial means. It must be a dual affair. There must be two personalities, each assisting and supplementing the other. Thus alone can Home become the ideal conception of life.

This can only be brought about by a change in industrial conditions. Suffrage in granting equal rights to woman will not only enlarge the field of her activity, but will teach her by broader education to do her own thinking. In the future woman will be man's mate. His fit companion in all things of common interest to the State and to each other.

The right to vote! There has been a great hue and cry over this most unwomanly demand. Man flies from the woman of politics. She is unfeminine and hasn't the least idea of what she is talking about. For himself politics have become so bad that he no longer votes for a party as such, but for that party likely to cause the least disturbance.

Disturbance means investigation. Investigation means change. Man dreads the risk of change.

Men harp on "privilege." Women don't want privilege, they want justice. When the means of production are owned in common and woman allowed industrial freedom without fear of being caught and mangled under a Capitalist régime, then and then only will she come forth in all her glory.

The passing of chivalry has been so much discussed in connection with suffrage that it has ceased to have any terror for the earnest woman. In her heart she knows it to be a relic of barbarism, and that beneath the smooth surface of its extravagant polish lies a grim menace. It is the attitude of the master to the slave.

The time has come for us to do! We have been slow in taking the initiative. Let us unite in a common cause, not forgetting that with the force of unity and the determination to take what is rightfully ours we are bound to win.

Socialism has adopted our platform. Therefore it lies with us to come more and more in touch with this growing power.

In unity there is power. Let us get together. Let us make the suffrage platform a dominant issue of the Socialist Party. A new order of things is coming to pass.

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The Story of Adelheid Popp

Editor of the Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung, Vienna

A COUPLE of months ago a little book, "The Story of a Working-Girl," created a great sensation in the Socialist movements of Europe. The book was published first anonymously, but its thousands of readers, though guessing the identity of the authoress, wanted to know definitely her name, which, therefore, was soon made public. Adelheid Popp, the first Austrian Socialist woman with her restless activity has succeeded, within a few years, in building a strong political and unional organization amongst the German-speaking women of Austria. The political Socialist branches of the Austrian women have to-day about 10,000 members, while the Socialist unions embrace more than 50,000 working women. Adelheid Popp's "Working Women's Review" is an excellent paper that carries articles on all the vital issues concerning the life, work, health, household and organization of the working women; beside this it runs regularly a well-edited Children's Page that teaches the Socialist principles of education and living. This paper is growing by leaps and bounds and has now a circulation of 20,000 copies.

Bebel in his preface to Adelheid Popp's book says: ". . . the authoress pictures the lowest strata upon which our society rests and in which she was born and lived half of her life. She shows us such a world of misery, of suffering, of moral and spiritual degradation that one desperately asks oneself, how is this possible in our society that prides itself on its Christianity and civilization? But we see also, how, in spite of the pitiful conditions of her environment, she was able to free herself and work herself up to the leadership of her sex, recognized by all who know and esteem her.

"Rarely did a book touch me as deeply as that of our comrade! With burning words she tells us of the needs of life, of the privations and the moral insults to which she, as a poor proletarian child, was exposed and which she as a proletarian woman felt doubly strong, and of which she drank the very dregs.

"Her childhood is spent in a room which cannot be called human. Her father is a drunkard who has no heart for his family; her mother, though good and thrifty, toiling and moiling all day to keep the family above water, is, from the burdens of existence and lack of education, not merely indifferent to all spiritual interests, but she opposes also, and has no understanding for the strivings of her daughter to free herself from the inhuman circumstances into which fate threw her.

Adelheid Popp.

"But finally she frees herself, by her own efforts, through iron assiduity and untiring self-education. She fills the voids in her education in a surprising way. She breaks the bonds of the church into which she was put during her childhood and becomes a freethinker; the girl full of reverence for the Monarchy becomes a republican and the privations and the experiences of her life made of her an enthusiastic Socialist and a leader in the struggle of the whole proletariat for its deliverance.

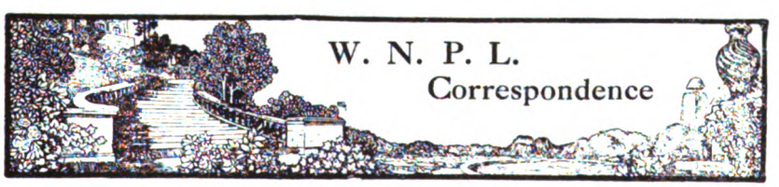
"Thus her life becomes also an example to others. She justly says at the end of her book that courage and self-trusting are above all necessary for making something of oneself. Many women could accomplish similar things if they were imbued with zeal and enthusiasm for Socialism.

"I wish that this book may circulate in thousands of copies."

The keynote of this book is that Socialism or the Socialist movement are the most successful teachers. For Socialism gave a content to the life of our comrade; Socialism made her forget her past and helped her to overcome its dreadful effects; Socialism drew her into the whirl of productive activity. As soon as she came in contact with the class struggle of the proletariat and felt its revolutionary aspirations and realized its ideals, she felt herself changing, her forces multiplied, her talents found free vent in the propaganda work for Socialism, her discouragement vanished, and aided by the solidarity of her comrades she is able to realize her greatest wish: to become an effective fighter for the cause. And now she is one of the foremost Socialist women leaders of Europe.

This book so full of life and inspiration, so wonderful in demonstrating the formative power of the Socialist movement upon the soul of man should be read by all American Socialist women, who hardly have begun yet to organize an effective movement. The book has been already translated into several languages, now it is your turn, American comrades.

Jugendgeschichte einer Arbeiterin. Reinhardt, München, 1909. Price 25c.



Stillwater, Oklahoma, W. N. P. L.

Constitution and By-laws of Local Branch of the Woman's National Progressive League, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

This organization shall be known as "The Woman's National Progressive League of Stillwater, Oklahoma."

The officers shall be as follows: A Chairman, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Instructor, one Literary Agent to each City Ward.

We will appoint teachers to instruct the Club in History, Political Economy and Civil Government.

Anyone wishing to become a member of this organization must comply with By-laws and Constitution of this League.

Said party must send in her name to be voted on by members. She must be known by at least three members, or if not known, a committee of three members shall be appointed to investigate. The result of such investigation not to be made public if applicant is not accepted.

The object of this organization shall be the betterment of humanity in general and women and children in particular.

We believe that God intended that all His children should enjoy the same opportunities and have the same chance for homes and education; that the world and the fulness thereof was made for all and should be shared by all alike.

We believe in equal suffrage for men and women merely as a matter of justice and right.

We believe in and will do all in our power for free press, free speech, free schools, free school books, free worship, temperance, purity and chastity.

We do not believe in war, for war is murder. We do not believe in child labor or peonage. We will do all in our power to suppress these evils and stamp out the war spirit, also the white slave traffic.

We will do all in our power to bring about better legislation for women and children.

It is not the will or the wish of this League to interfere in any manner with any one's religion, but to encourage all in good works that will bring in the Kingdom of God on earth.

This Constitution is to be amended or improved only by the votes of a two-thirds majority of the League's members.

The officers must be members of the Socialist Party in good standing. The dues for the State or Home League shall be five cents per month; for the National League, fifty cents per annum.

A receipt must be given by the Treasurer to each member for dues received, and duly recorded in Treasurer's books.

ELLA F. BALDWIN, Delhi, Okla.:

I have ordered one book and several leaflets. Our League is still meeting every two weeks and we are doing very well. We think it best to get some books and leaflets, as we know we can do much more with them to interest ourselves and get others interested.

Our Monthly Study Course

TEXT BOOK—SPARGO'S "BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN."

Compiled by MRS. MARY OPPENHEIMER.

Lesson V. Chap. III. The Working Child. Pages 125-154.

Main points to be noted: Section 1: Children have always worked, but it is only since the reign of the machine that their work has been synonymous with slavery. Section 2: Child-labor at its worst. No more terrible page in history than that which records the enslavement of mere babies by the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century in England. Section 3: Capital in the United States in the twentieth century calls for children as loudly as it called in England a century ago. Unprotected condition of children employed in assisting their parents in home industries. Section 5: Textile industries rank first in the enslavement of children. Industrial revival in the South attended by the growth of a system of child slavery almost as bad as that of the industrial revolution in England.

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How About It?

J. F., Bridgeport, Conn.—What reason have you for believing that the capitalists will quietly surrender their property so that a co-operative commonwealth may be formed?

Socialists are not positively committed to such a belief. Wherever it is held it is based on possibilities and probabilities that the holders of such views think they can discover in an analysis of the future. In some countries this may happen and in others not. The Socialists who expect a quiet surrender on the part of the capitalists, believe that when the demand is finally made, the capitalists as a body will see the utter uselessness of opposing it—in other words, they will see as we do, the inevitability of Socialism and accept it. This, however, as can be easily seen, by no means excludes the possibility of considerable preliminary struggle before this point is reached. On the contrary, Socialists who look for a physical struggle with the capitalists, generally assume, and with a great degree of probability that the capitalists, seeing their property threatened, will force the hand of their opponents and drive them to physical struggle before the situation appears altogether hopeless to the old order. Both these views find a certain amount of support, judging from the present situation, but both are more or less speculative. A besieged fortress sometimes makes a prolonged resistance and has to be stormed or smashed to pieces to compel surrender; again it may yield without resistance when those in control are fully convinced that resistance is useless. But the besiegers can never be certain which course the besieged may take. So with the Socialists. We know that the capitalists will ultimately have to surrender, but what their resistance may amount to is a matter that cannot be certainly known.

S. B. C., Indianapolis, Indiana.—Could not the social problem be solved by the people going back to the land from the cities?

No. The assumption that they could go back has no foundation whatever. The drift to the cities, which is a universal phenomenon, has behind it social and industrial forces that are resistless while our present system endures, and all attempts to turn the current in the other direction have proven utterly futile. The cities are where the jobs are, and there the people must and do go. The modern city is an industrial hive of factories, plants and shops where the greater portion of the work of the country is done. Manufacture and modern industry at all times and in all places draws the population from the country to the city, and there is not a single exception to this process in the entire world. Capitalistic production for profit can only thrive at the expense of agricultural production, and this notwithstanding the fact that the latter is indispensable.

J. P. McC., Boston, Mass.—Would not Socialism make greater headway if Socialists stated plainly that they were willing to pay for the property they desire to be held collectively?

There is no more reason for believing this than that the Southern slave owners fifty years ago would have consented to the abolition of the slave system, if payment for their slaves was guaranteed. They didn't want to sell their "property," they desired to preserve "the peculiar institution" of slavery. In the same way the capitalist class naturally desires to preserve a system of property which they can use for the exploitation of others. Besides, it would be simply useless to attempt to convince the capitalists that they could be paid for their property, when the principle of exploitation no longer obtains. They know as well as the Socialists that outside of capitalistic property, there is practically no other wealth in existence from which payment could be made. We can't pay Rockefeller and Morgan for their property, for the good and sufficient reason that they have left us nothing to pay with. They know it as well as we do and cannot for one moment be deluded by promises of payment which it is clearly impossible to make.

San Francisco Women Active

The finest and best attended suffrage meeting ever held in San Francisco took place on Woman's Day, February 27th, in the Golden Gate Commandery Hall. Among the speakers were Mrs. Dorothy Johns, who talked on "Woman and Economics," Miss Maud Younger, president of the Waitresses Union, who discussed woman's need of the ballot, and Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, state president of the California Equal Suffrage Association, and Mr. J. Stitt Wilson. The hall, which has a seating capacity of 800, was crowded to the doors, and standing room was at a premium. Many members of the Woman's National Progressive League were present, and a large number of a special Suffrage Edition of "The Progressive Woman" were distributed and many annual subscriptions taken.

With Wilshire's Readers

CHARLES MILLER, Cortex, Colorado.

I have received your magazine, and so far as I know it is one of the best papers on Socialism. It has something new and interesting all the time. The article some time ago about the Socialist bakery was the best piece of heaven I heard of for a long time. The present style of the magazine is O.K. for the reader, and I hope it will pay without the advertising.

W. C. KENNEDY, Cupar, Saskatchewan, Canada.

Having been a reader of WILSHIRE'S for some time in a lonely part of the country, with no one but myself to hold up the cause, and desiring to form a more intimate acquaintance with others of my way of thinking, I take this means of expressing my approval of your paper, or, rather, "our paper," for is it not a benefit to us all?

Some four or five years ago, while in Minnesota, I met a Mr. —— (I will not name him, as he is in the 'Round the World contest), and after talking with him and forming a close friendship, I was first introduced to Socialism by him. I could not tolerate the idea at the time, but did not forget what he told me.

Last summer I met him in a little town in Saskatchewan and, being an old friend, I gave him my sub. for WILSHIRE'S, on account of his being in the contest. At this time I had no more faith in Socialism than I had in the possibility of flying to Mars. However, after reading the first couple of issues I began to use my thinking machinery, and the conclusion is that I have decided to follow Socialism through life. I have been using many copies to the best of my ability, circulating them among friends, and have succeeded in getting some of them interested, but this is not satisfaction enough; I must get them decided, and would ask for a little help to further interest them, as I would like WILSHIRE'S read by every friend I have, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is good, sound reading we are after, not advertising, and I wish the new WILSHIRE'S every success.

Look Out for the Auto—Trust

POSSIBLY there is no man living more competent to judge whether or not competition is the life of trade than Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, and he usually has a way of giving practical demonstration of his ideas on this matter that puts the question beyond the pale of argument. Mr. Morgan, it is reported, has about reached the conclusion that this famous old saw isn't applicable to the automobile industry, and a proposed $30,000,000 auto trust appears as his initial argument, centered around the "E. M. F." automobile plant as a nucleus. The press item dealing with the acquirement of this plant as a starter for the trust, says:

> The suggested capitalization is $30,000,000. This amount will take care of the E. M. F. plant and others in the vicinity which are to be amalgamated with the E. M. F. Just what these are is a closely guarded secret, but in auto circles there is a belief that within five years the automobile industry of the country will be under one management for the most part, and cars will be made cheaper, as the ruinous expenses now resulting from competition will be greatly reduced.

Now is the time to nip Morgan in the bud, before he has eliminated the beloved but ruinous competition. Every friend of the old industrial regime should get ready to prevent this consummation before it is too late. Here is fair notice given of a coming trust that doesn't expect to be completed before five years, so there is ample time. Competition once gone cannot be restored, but perhaps what still exists may be preserved. Who will call a halt on J. P. M.? He may have sneaked the Steel Trust, the Banking Trust and others upon us when we weren't looking and didn't expect it, but now that we are forewarned of his intentions, how about being forearmed to frustrate them? How about your "individual initiative," Mr. Automobile Manufacturer, and your determination to "run your own business?"

You may growl and cuss and denounce all you please, gentlemen, but that won't help you or hinder Morgan. He says competition must go, and go she will. In five years time, perhaps less, all automobile roads will lead to the Morgan garage.

Does Not Sell Land

In the article entitled "Back to the Land," which appeared in our last issue, the editor of "Ariel" whose views on agriculture were criticised, was stated to have written his article "from the view-point of a real estate dealer." Comrade George Elmer Littlefield, the editor in question, asks us to correct the impression given therein that he deals in land—a correction which we make herewith. He says: "I have no land or real estate for sale—never had any, and never received one cent compensation for my struggle to found this Fellowship Farm Colony, nor other remuneration than my satisfaction of helping others, and the accomplishment of my ideals."

Mayor Gaynor Corroborated

(*Extract from N. Y. Times, March* 18.)

Addressing nearly six hundred Friendly Sons of St. Patrick at their One Hundred and Twenty-Sixth annual St. Patrick's Day Dinner at Delmonico's, Mayor Gaynor congratulated the country upon its present freedom from bigots, and said he was sure that whatever bigotry is seen on election day in this country, none of it could be laid at the door of the Irish.

He complimented the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick upon the harmony that had dwelt within the organization since its birth in this country in 1784. Its first president was a Presbyterian, and, he went on, "your present one may be, for aught any of you care." The voice of a priest called out "God forbid!"

Send for our new catalogue, "A Thousand Books on Socialism," post free on application. Wilshire Book Co., 200 William Street, New York.

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Any book mentioned in these columns can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. Unless otherwise stated, prices do not include postage.

THE SOCIALIST. By Guy Thorne. Cloth, 360 pp.; $1.35, net. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 27-29 W. 23d St., New York.

Mr. Thorne, the author of this volume, is a well-known English writer whose novel "When It Was Dark," created a considerable sensation in religious circles several years ago. It is not likely that the present work, however, will add anything to his reputation.

The story—too long to give in detail here—deals with the career of an English Duke—the "Duke of Paddington"—who becomes converted to what the author thinks is Socialism. Under the influence of James Fabian Rose (who is evidently intended to impersonate George Bernard Shaw), and Mary Marriott, a young woman Socialist who displays a tremendous talent for the stage, the Duke declares his intention of devoting his life and enormous fortune to the new cause. He marries the actress eventually, but the demands of the Socialist stage on her time interferes with his domestic happiness to such an extent that his Socialist activity begins to pall considerably. Finally the Duke induces his wife to withdraw from the stage and the happy pair are again re-united. This dénouement is hurried by means of an interview which the Duke holds with a dying "comrade," who tells him that Socialism may be all right, but cannot be realized until it becomes Christian Socialism. "The nearer we all get to our Lord Jesus Christ, the nearer we get to Socialism. There is no other way." This being a convenient avenue for withdrawal, the Duke of course believes it.

There is one slight omission in Mr. Thorne's book which may perhaps prejudice Socialist readers against it. He lays before us a brilliant assemblage of educated and professional people of all kinds, actors and actresses, professors, clergymen, essayists, journalists and literary men, and around them and through them the Socialist movement revolves and expands. There are no workingmen in the story. Mr. Thorne evidently didn't consider them necessary, and perhaps they were not in such a book as he has given us. Most Socialists, however, are likely to consider the omission rather serious, and somewhat detrimental to the realistic character of the work.

Of course, it is understood that the existence of working people is intimated, but never more than as a setting for the actions of the "intellectuals." We only know of their existence in a mass, as the "followers" of the Duke and his associates, who, of course, do all their thinking for them, as is naturally to be expected with the sort of Socialists Mr. Thorne has portrayed.

We cannot but think that the present is not exactly a propitious time for Mr. Thorne to launch his book upon the British public, or at least the Socialist portion of it. Just now dukes, for various reasons, are not extremely popular with the working people over there, and are not "followed" by the proletariat to any very noticeable extent. We fear that the "Duke of Paddington" is liable to be somewhat misunderstood at present in Great Britain.

However, if Mr. Thorne ever manages to make the acquaintance of Socialists outside the aristocratic circles of London, he may discover that the working class character of the movement on the whole predominates, and that the "points of view from a Duke, a Bishop, a Viscount, and the Daughter of an Earl," to which he devotes one whole long chapter, are not quite so important as he seems to think. Mr. Thorne is an excellent writer, with an easy and interesting style, and though he has never yet written anything about Socialism, there is no telling what he could really do were he acquainted with the subject.

LADY MECHANTE. By Gelett Burgess. Cloth, 393 pp. $1.50 net. Frederick A. Stokes Co., Publishers, New York.

A bitter satire on that smug, pasteboard imitation of civilization in which the bourgeoisie revels, made up chiefly of a dozen stock phrases and a dozen stock beliefs. The last chapter, "The Cave Man," devoted to the triumphal progress through highbrow gatherings, of a coal heaver, washed, groomed and tailored by an over sophisticated female in quest of strong sensations is nothing short of revolutionary. But fear not to see dogmatism ever spoil his delightful man-handling of middle-class idols. Gelett Burgess sallies forth with lance prone, but instead of a foaming steed our modernized St. George rides a Purple Cow. And leaping over all Saturn's seven moons sets a continent a-giggling. Our heroine, a whimsical madcap, searching for adventure and a mate, only finds him at the last in Haulick Smagg, the coal heaver and primitive man. Which shows that the future of a woman with a past can only be found in the Stone Age. To those wishing to keep up with the green growth of new word sprouts on the tree of language we wish to point out treasure troves like "to blurb," which means—but you must find this out for yourself. Burgess is a master of slang. The Burbank of modern argot turning a serious word into one that positively grins at its own absurdity. Perhaps at times his humor becomes a little too wise, he winks, maybe with too old an eye; and we long for that wholesome humor which even in the coarse laughter of Rabelais and the Elizabethans is merely an irrepressible vitality at play. Those who would enter into the Kingdom of Humor must now and then become as little children.—UNA FAIRWEATHER.

THE SOUL OF THE WORLD. By Estella Bachmann. Cloth, 428 pp. $1.00 net. Equitist Publishing House, Pasedena, Cal.

Mrs. Bachman endeavors in this work to present the theory of Single Tax—with some improvements—in the form of a novel. Like most works of this nature, her novel requires a hero—or rather a heroine in this particular case—who has discovered *the* cause of all human ills, and having found the remedy prepares to announce and apply it to a waiting world. This discovery, which the old line single taxers have not yet perceived, is that society has been constantly out of joint because of "an unbalanced land tenure," which has existed for ages without being recognized. The remedy is of course obvious. Balance the land tenure and society will then proceed without wobbling. Socialism is found insufficient, and an alleged advocate of that school of thought is completely floored in a discussion with the omniscient heroine, who silences him by pointing out a contradiction in one of Upton Sinclair's books, and completes his defeat by suggesting the real "remedy"—the adjustment of "an unbalanced land tenure."

The book ends happily, however, by the heroine marrying her most promising pupil, both of them pledging their lives to the spread of the new discovery.

CRIME AND CRIMINALS. By The Prison Reform League. Cloth, 312 pp. Prison Reform League Publishing Co., 443 South Main Street, Los Angeles, Cal.

This volume, published by The Prison Reform League as part of its propaganda, is a frightful indictment of the measures by which society endeavors to crush out its own offspring. The work is one continuous demonstration of the folly of endeavoring to eradicate by punishment the inevitable consequences of our barbarous economic and social system, as will be seen from the following quotation: "A never-ceasing flood of discharged convicts pours back into our penitentiaries, not because they have found life there a paradise, but because the thumbscrew of present want exercises a pressure far more potent than does the fear of future, but uncertain, punishment, however severe. Here is the true answer to the question why deterrence, pushed to the very limits of human endurance, does not deter."

The authors set themselves vigorously to the task of showing that our penal system makes a sufficiently evil and most dangerous situation infinitely worse, as the following passage illustrates: "We know well that the prison is but part of the great social question; that, as a general rule, poverty is the parent and slum the kindergarten of vice. But we also know that, while these prepare the soil, it is the administration of our criminal law that plants the seed and supplies the tropical conditions that bring it to the instant maturity of crime."

They show in minute detail the working of our criminological machinery, and strike again and again the note that it is specially designed not to protect society or reform the individual, but rather to add to the burdens and hazards under which the former is staggering and to brutalize and degrade the latter.

Governmental reports and works by recognized authorities have been ransacked to establish the preliminary fact that crime, and especially crimes of violence and of the graver class, is steadily increasing, on which head elaborate statistics are presented. Capital punishment is singled out as representing the basic principle of revenge which still dominates our criminology, and is denounced as the parent of lynching and one of the main factors that keep alive the tigerish instincts of the past, to the detriment of all true progress.

In the five subsequent chapters there is exhibited, in sickening detail, the inner life of our prison and convict camps, where torture, inflicted on men more helpless than any other living creatures, is shown to be habitual. Two of these chapters deal exclusively with the California penitentiary of San Quentin; the one being contributed, from his own personal experiences as a convict, by Col. Griffith J. Griffith, secretary and treasurer of the League, and the other by a female convict. The charges made are awful, but no effort has been made to contradict them, despite the fact that the League has given them the widest publicity in its home State. That the picture drawn in the chapter devoted to Southern convict camps has not been overdrawn we may well believe when we study the revelations resulting from the recent legislative investigation of prisons in Texas, where it was proved that fifty men were whipped to death within the last three years.

An important section of the book is devoted to the fee system and "Deterrence by the Police." Throughout vast sections of the country, officers depend for their livelihood on the number of arrests and convictions they can secure, drawing no salaries and being paid solely for results. This condition has been denounced repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, by prison reformers, and it is needless to say that it is by wanton sacrifice of the liberties of innocent workingmen that these officials line their pockets. Such methods tend to establish, and have established, a veritable reign of terror among the workers, who have come to look on the law as a conscienceless juggernaut, beneath which they may be crushed at any time. This aspect of the social question is much emphasized in a special chapter devoted to illegal arrests, the administration of the "third degree" and the suppression of free speech.

Much has been written in the past on the prison question, but almost invariably from the charity standpoint and in generalities. The distinctive feature of the work under consideration is that it follows the severest scientific method, presenting a wealth of facts, and only then submitting deductions which it deems unavoidable.

Books Received

TESS OF THE STORM COUNTRY. By Grace Miller White. Cloth, 365 pp. $1.50. W. J. Watt & Co., Publishers, 43 W. 27th St., New York.

PRIVILEGE AND DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA. By Frederic C. Howe. Cloth, 315 pp. $1.50 net. Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers, New York.

THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY. By Elbert Hubbard. Paper, 24 pp. Published by the Author at East Aurora, N. Y.

THE SONG OF SONGS. By Herman Sudermann. Translated by Thomas Seltzer. Cloth, 640 pp. $1.40 net. B. W. Huebsch, Publisher, New York.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? By Reginald Wright Kauffman. Cloth, 264 pp. $1.25 net. Moffat, Yard & Co., Publishers, 31 E. 17th St., New York.

PLUTOCRATIC PLUNDERING. By John W. James, Paper, 77 pp. 25 cents. Published by the Author. Address P. O. Box 351, Columbus, Ohio.

THE BIOLOGY OF SEX. By Gideon Dietrich. Stiff paper boards. 93 pp. 50 cents. Samuel A. Bloch, Publisher, 1322 N. Oakley Ave., Chicago, Ill.

EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH. By John Parsons. Cloth, 390 pp. $1.50 net. Sturgis & Walton Company, Publishers, New York.

THE ANCIENT MYSTERIES AND MODERN MASONRY. By Rev. Chas. H. Vail. Cloth, 214 pp. $1.00. Paper, 50 cents. Published by The Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Company, New York.

PRACTICING SOCIALISM. By Claude S. Howard, Mulino, Ore. Paper, 30 pp. 10 cents. East Side Printing Company, Publishers, 390 Belmont St., Portland, Ore.

READINGS IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS. By Charles A. Beard, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of Politics in Columbia University. Cloth, 624 pp. $1.90 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

THE CONFLICT OVER JUDICIAL POWERS IN THE UNITED STATES TO 1870. By Chas. Grove Haynes, Ph. D. Paper, 180 pp. $1.50. Columbia University. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, Fourth Ave. and 30th St., New York.

LOST FACE. By Jack London. Cloth, 240 pp. $1.50. The Macmillan Company, Publishers, New York.

CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM. By H. A. Russell. Paper, 29 pp. Published by the Author, at Halifax, N. S.

MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL HEALTH. By A. T. Schofield, M.D. Cloth, 93 pp. $1.00. R. F. Fenno & Co., Publishers, 18 E. 17th St., New York.

THE WOMAN'S PORTION. By Franklin H. Wentworth. Paper, 24 pp. 10 cents. Socialistic Co-Operative Publishing Association, 15 Spruce St., New York.

A VAGABOND JOURNEY AROUND THE WORLD. By Harry A. Franck. Cloth, 502 pp. $3.50 net. The Century Company, Publishers, New York.

MAN *vs.* THE MAN. By Robert Rives La-Monte, Socialist, and H. L. Mencken, Individualist. Cloth, 252 pp. $1.35 net. Henry Holt & Co., Publishers, 34 W. 33d St., New York.

If anybody asks you what he shall read on Socialism, just mention that the Wilshire Book Co. has just issued its new catalogue of "A Thousand Books on Socialism," and that he can get it free on application to Wilshire Book Co., 200 William Street, New York.

A LIVE WIRE. The *Oklahoma Socialist*, published at Duncan, Oklahoma. Send 25 cents for three months' trial subscription.

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Books for Socialists

The following list of books is not adapted for propaganda, but is exceptionally good for gifts from one Socialist to another:

Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. By KARL MARX. Cloth, 314 pages. This book is important as a forerunner of Marx's "Capital," and considered by many to be of nearly as great importance. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 10 cents.

Communism in Central Europe. KARL KAUTSKY. 293 pages. This is one of Kautsky's most important works that is not generally known in this country. It should be in the library of every Socialist. Superior cloth. Regular price $1.50. Special price 75 cents. Postage 16 cents.

History of the Commune of 1871. By LISSAGARAY. One of the best and fairest histories of that great event. It should be in every Socialist library in the country, and every Socialist should have it in his private library. This is a special library edition containing 500 pages and published to sell at $3.00. Regular price $3.00. Special price 75 cents. Postage 16 cents.

The People's Marx. GABRIEL DEVILLE. Cloth, 291 pages. An excellent epitome of Marx. Many people of moderate education will find the fundamental principles expressed very clearly in this volume. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 8 cents.

SOCIALIST NOVELS—Cloth Bound

An Eye for an Eye. CLARENCE DARROW. 213 pages. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 7 cents.

The Iron Heel. JACK LONDON. 354 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

Toilers and Idlers. JOHN R. MCMAHON. 195 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 50 cents. Postage 8 cents.

The Story of a Labor Agitator. JOSEPH R. BUCHANAN. 461 pages. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 14 cents.

The Jungle. UPTON SINCLAIR. 413 pages. Regular price 75 cents. Special price 50 cents. Postage 12 cents.

A Little Brother of the Rich. JOSEPH MEDILL PATERSON. 361 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

The Metropolis. UPTON SINCLAIR. 376 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA BOOKS—Cloth Bound

Principles of Scientific Socialism. CHAS. H. VAIL. 239 pages. Regular price 75 cents Special price 50 cents. Postage 6 cents.

Modern Socialism. R. C. K. ENSOR. 396 pages. Regular price 50 cents. Special price 35 cents. Postage 6 cents.

Socialism and Modern Science. ENRICO FERRI. 213 pages. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 8 cents.

Socialism Inevitable. GAYLORD WILSHIRE. 337 pages. Regular price $1.00. Special price 75 cents. Postage 10 cents.

New Worlds for Old. H. G. WELLS. 333 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

Christianity and the Social Crisis. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH. 429 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

The Industrial Republic. UPTON SINCLAIR. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. 284 pages. Postage 12 cents.

Looking Backward. EDWARD BELLAMY. Regular price 75 cents. Special price 50 cents. Postage 12 cents.

WILSHIRE BOOK COMPANY
Clearing House for all Socialist Literature
200 WILLIAM ST., NEW YORK, N.Y.

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If you are a Craftsman that delights in making beautiful things in any line, woodworking, metal working, glass working, needle working, etc., male or female, I would like to correspond with you. I have an idea that we can do good work for the cause of Socialism in the kind of work we love to do.

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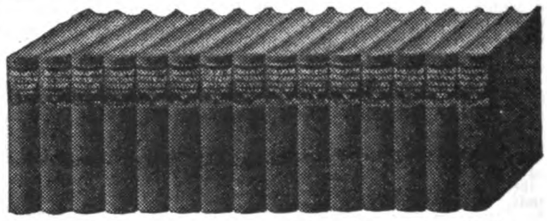

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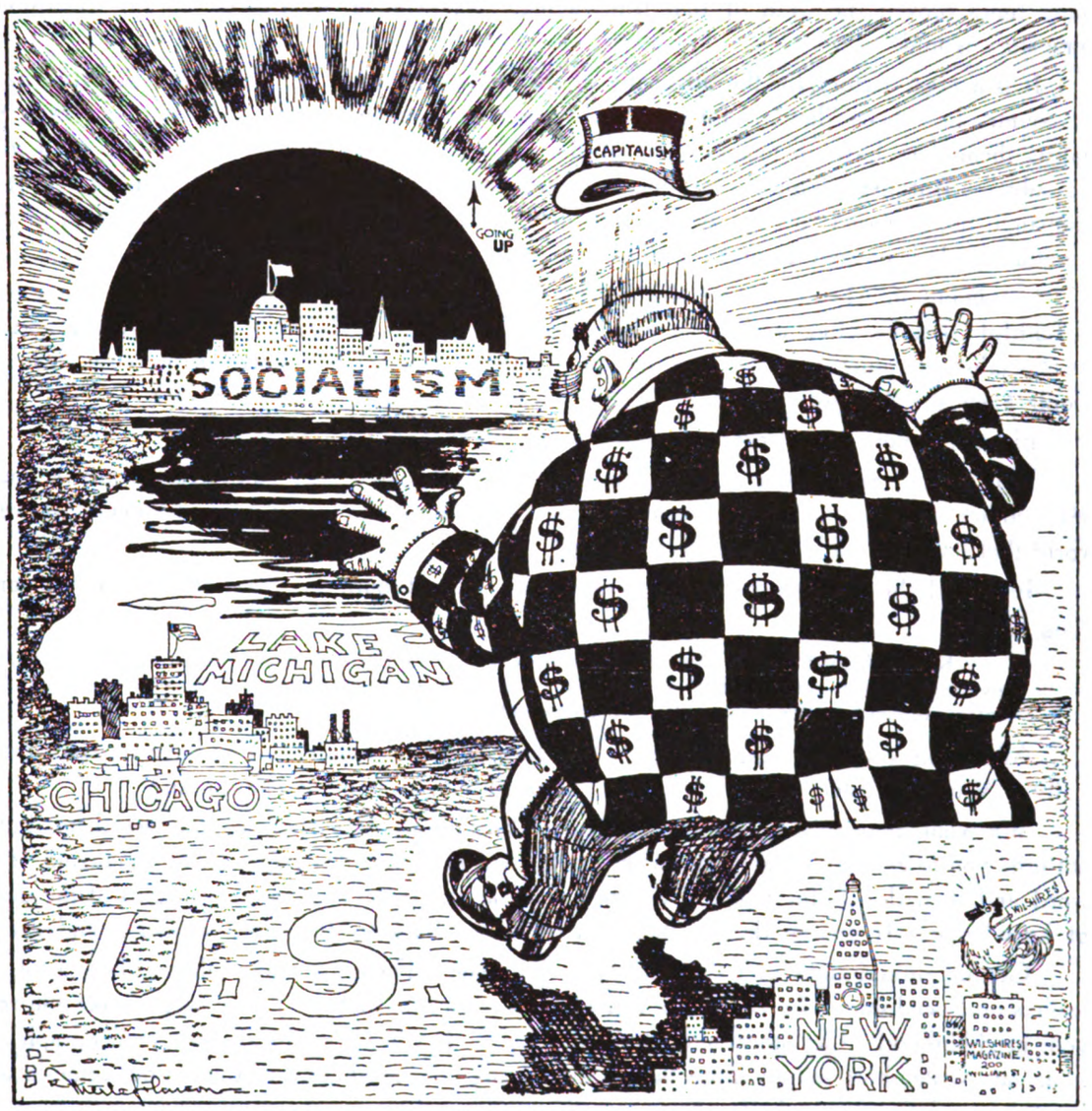

Startling Celestial Apparition!!
The Sun Rises in the West!!
Halley's Comet Outdone!!

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POWER!!

POWER is what the Socialists of the world are striving for. In Germany, France, England, Italy and a number of lesser foreign countries they have it to a great degree. In this country we have not progressed so far, but we are waking up. Milwaukee has Power. Not much, it is true, but enough to make the whole country sit up and take notice.

In all countries the story has been the same,—distribution of knowledge. We Socialists have many times proved the truth of that trite saying, "Knowledge is Power." In Milwaukee the same story is told.

It is a great victory for the advocates of the printed word. For years the Socialist papers of the country have been "howlin' for subs," as it has been contemptuously called. And even the Socialists themselves have sometimes tired of the oft repeated admonition: "Get busy and gather in the subs." But the circulation of Socialist literature turned the trick in Milwaukee. Not in one campaign, no, it wasn't so easy as that, but the steady, persistent, systematic distribution of Socialist literature made it possible to make a clean sweep.

Conditions in Milwaukee are not in any way peculiar, except as to Socialists. There is a band of faithful "Jimmie Higginses" there who go out EVERY SUNDAY MORNING and distribute Socialist literature of some sort on the doorsteps of EVERY house in the city. At least the people knew the Socialists were alive in that town. Is the same true in your city?

Honestly, how much propaganda is going on in your city to-day?

You needn't answer this question except to yourself. But after you have the answer, ask yourself another question: "What are you going to do from now until next election to prove to the world that there are other Milwaukees coming?"

Just read this over to yourself several times. Let it burn in. See if it doesn't mean something to you.

> Knowledge is Power. The steady, persistent, systematic distribution of Socialist Knowledge will give the Socialists power. Power is necessary before Socialists can control. Socialists must control before we can have the Co-operative Commonwealth.

All of this you have heard before. You have listened casually. You have responded spasmodically. Will you listen carefully now and respond with an undying enthusiasm?

We want more subscriptions to make more Socialists. We want you to get them, but we do not urge you to get them now. We wish you to pass on to the other pages of this magazine, read every word and then decide for yourself whether you had not better start in on your part of the distribution of knowledge. If you so decide, then you can come back to this page, re-read it and get busy.

Getting subscriptions isn't the only way, however. There are many others. Buy a lot of cheap leaflets on Socialism. The country is full of them. Get the habit. Every week make the rounds of your neighborhood. Get others interested with you. If you have a local, get a mimeograph and have some one write short snappy little things announcing your meetings, or bringing out some local points. Start a circulating book shelf. Start something at once!

And if you do your work well, you'll soon learn that

Knowledge is Power

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"LET·THE·NATION·OWN·THE TRUSTS"

WILSHIRE'S

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
·Editor·

Vol. XIV No. 5 NEW YORK, MAY, 1910 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

How Milwaukee Socialists Won

IN common with all Socialists throughout the country, WILSHIRE'S rejoices in the splendid victory achieved for the cause by our Milwaukee comrades, and gladly recognizes to the full the courage, ability and indefatigable persistence which enabled them to score such a notable and well-deserved success.

A Socialist Mayor elected by a plurality of over seven thousand—the largest ever given to any mayoral candidate in the history of the city—16 aldermen elected out of a possible 23—the entire 7 aldermen at large—2 civil judges, and a majority on the County Board, 11 supervisors out of 16—surely few political triumphs anywhere have been more complete and decisive!

And as if to make the victory still more palatable, comes the mirth-provoking volume of evasive excuses, shifty and tricky comment, contradictory and lying explanations from the daily press, telling "how it happened" and assuring us that "it has no political significance," as "the platforms of the three parties were identical."

Before election the Socialist candidates were "revolutionists"—the red flag meant murder, Victor Berger had preached assassination, business would be destroyed, chaos and anarchy were inevitable, if "the serpent of Socialism" were not killed on election day.

After election—when the worst had happened, nothing had actually happened. It was suddenly discovered that the "revolutionists" were really conservatives—no change of any particular significance was contemplated, no utopias, no millenniums, no impractical visionary ideas, no experiments of any kind might be anticipated. It wasn't a Socialist victory in any sense—merely a protest against graft, corruption and municipal mismanagement by bosses. Berger, the erstwhile assassin and advocate of murder, was transformed instantly into a genial, mild-mannered, and by no means impractical politician. Mayor-elect Seidel and his victorious associates had been entrusted with office, not as Socialists, but for the sole purpose of realizing honest government. Wild-eyed Revolution with torch and dagger, rampant on April 4th, was next day metamorphosed into the mildest-eyed goddess of Reform that the most conservative citizen could possibly desire.

While the Socialist may laugh at both pretences, knowing each to be equally false, it may be admitted that the real test of Socialist strength in Milwaukee will come at the next election. We may rest assured that the local politicians will employ, from now on, every known device in the arsenal of political trickery and cunning to retrieve the situation in the next municipal campaign. In the few smaller cities which in the past have elected Socialist mayors, the Socialists have been generally ousted in the succeeding elections. That still greater efforts will be made to accomplish this object in a city of 400,000 people is certain.

In the coming struggle, the Republicans and Democrats of Milwaukee will not be foolish enough to divide their forces as they did this time. While a Socialist victory tends to unite the working class, it has a much more certain effect in uniting the enemies of Socialism.

We may expect to see a systematic attempt to discredit the Socialist administration of Milwaukee in every conceivable way from now onward. And in case the defeat of the Socialists becomes still more imperative, involving State and national issues, it would not be surprising to see the capitalistic interests of the city deliberately slacken production, create unemployment and distress, provoke strikes and inaugurate lockouts to leave the impression that Socialist municipal government is destroying and discouraging business. And in this era of concentrated capitalistic interests there can be no question of their power to do so if considered necessary.

Whether under these circumstances the Milwaukee Socialists will be able to maintain their political control, remains to be seen. But it is at least satisfactory to know that there is no Socialist group in the country more capable or better equipped to withstand the heaviest onslaughts of the enemy than the resourceful fighters who have scored the first political knock-down over capitalism in one of the large cities of the country.

Theirs is no mushroom movement. It was not built in a day and cannot be wiped out in one battle. Even if defeated next time by the united forces of the opposition—which is rather possible than probable—Socialism versus Capitalism will henceforth remain the one political issue in the city until the latter goes down and out for good.

That the Socialist administration will make good—so far as its limited power permits—in giving Milwaukee an honest government, we are fully convinced. What can be done in this direction will be done. In all probability the fiercest opposition will be met when the Socialists proceed to make good their promise of instituting equal taxation on local property, the corporations having, as in most other places, escaped their just share of the city's financial burdens. The Socialist officials will be impervious to the usual bribery relied on by corporation officials in such matters, but, of course, even this does not guarantee just assessments so long as courts, which have power to neutralize municipal authority, can be appealed to. At any rate we shall see just how far Socialists will be permitted to use the power of taxation. Graft and corruption will be minimized, free speech, free press and the field for Socialist propaganda and trade union activity will be secured and expanded, and such reforms as cannot be blocked or vetoed by superior power of State or nation will undoubtedly be carried out. The Milwaukee Socialists have been careful to make no promises that they cannot perform.

That the result is an inspiration and

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a stimulant to all American Socialists, goes without saying. But the real question — the important, practical question is, how was this magnificent result achieved?

Emil Seidel
Socialist Mayor-Elect, Milwaukee, Wis.

The Milwaukee Socialists—the comrades on the spot, who fought the fight, used the weapons and won with them, have no doubt as to the main factor by which their victory was made possible. They sum it up in the statement—*systematic distribution of literature.*

With this explanation we are in thorough agreement. For years WILSHIRE's has in season and out of season insisted on the extreme importance of the printed word—the steady, persistent and deliberately planned and executed circulation and distribution of Socialist literature. For that purpose this magazine exists and to that end we have printed millions of copies of Socialist leaflets and pamphlets, and have spared no efforts to effect their circulation. After that, systematic distribution is the one thing needful—as the result in Milwaukee plainly shows.

Milwaukee was the one city in the land where this method was brought to the highest perfection. As in some of the German cities, so in Milwaukee, a Socialist pamphlet, paper, leaflet, circular or notice could be placed in every house in the city within twenty-four hours.

It took long years of persistent, steady effort to make this possible, and to this method of propaganda the Milwaukee Socialists subordinated every other. The hall speaker and "soap-boxer" were utilized, of course, but the distributor of literature was regarded—and rightly so—as the most effective worker.

In recognizing these facts we do not for one moment insist that it is possible at all times and in all places to instantly abandon one set of tactics and policies to adopt another. The methods we employ are not wholly of our own choosing, and are to no small extent dominated by the local conditions and traditional usage. In a sense it may be said that economic determinism plays a considerable part in formulating local policies, tactics and methods as well as fundamental principles. We do not advocate the specially talented speaker abandoning his work to distribute Socialist literature from house to house. Such advice would be both foolish and useless, and the same may be said of the comrade who has special ability in other necessary matters, such as organization, etc. But it is well within our power to gradually and constantly turn the energies of our rank and file in this direction, and that it is well worth while, the splendid victory in Milwaukee stands as an unanswerable demonstration.

There has been in the past some irritation engendered among Socialists elsewhere by having Milwaukee thrust constantly upon their notice with "How We Do It In Milwaukee" as a text for a sermon on the superiority of that burg in all matters pertaining to Socialist tactics, methods, policies and propaganda generally. Annoying of course, but a small thing at most. The big thing to be remembered is that Milwaukee has actually "Done It"—made good—shown us how—captured for Socialism the first large city in the United States. And they tell us how—tell us that *systematic distribution of literature* accomplished it. May we not profit by Milwaukee's example in that respect at least, if in no other?

Victor Berger
Prominent Milwaukee Socialist, elected Alderman-at-Large.

Figures from Milwaukee

The Socialist Mayor, Emil Seidel, received 27,662 votes. The Democratic candidate, Schoenecker, received 20,513, and the Republican, Dr. Beffel, polled 11,262.

The complexion of the new City Council will be: Socialists, 21; Democrats, 10; Republicans, 4.

The Socialists have also elected the Comptroller, City Treasurer and City Attorney; likewise 11 members of the new County Board, out of a total of 16.

The new County Board is composed of 11 Socialists, 3 Democrats and 2 Republicans.

The growth of the Socialist vote in the city of Milwaukee is shown by the following figures: In 1898, 2,414 votes; 1900, 2,473; 1902, 8,453; 1904, 15,056; 1906, 16,837; 1908, 20,887. In 1910, 27,662—and victory.

Some press comment: The *Chicago Post says,* "Well, Socialism seems to have Seidled into office in Milwaukee."

The *Chicago Daily News* says, "Milwaukee's Socialist government is promising that city a substantial slice of the millennium, buttered on both sides."

THE RISING TOILERS.
By MOUNCE BYRD.

East and west the clouds are massing,
Old rebellious flags unfurled;
Lo! we come to sweep in passing,
Cleaner places in the world.

Comes the blessed generation
Scrawling on a whiter page,
Tearing down the old creation,
Building up the happy age.

Not in bursts of gaudy schism;
Slow we've marched toward the gate,
Filing up from toadyism
Through the purlieus of our fate.

Time is mixing clay and spittle,
Healing blind men without cease,
Holding out for our acquittal,
Stubborn for our great release.

Long we battled under cover,
Clung like vermin to life's keel,
Now the ages flying over
Find us laying hold the wheel.

Whether right holds, whether wrong holds,
We have learned the truth of things,
We are camped before the strongholds
Of the emperors and kings.

"Trading evil off for danger,"
Croaks the ancient sullen clan,
While our faith seeks out the manger
Of the new-born hopes of Man.

What the Socialists of Milwaukee say: "We have built the city; we have fed the city; we have clothed the city. And now we are going to govern the city."

What WILSHIRE's says: "'Rah, 'Rah, 'Rah!"

What the capitalist press of the country says: Nothing.

What the capitalist press of Milwaukee is saying is part of the "news not fit to print."

The ready acceptance of Mr. Rockefeller's enormous gift by the American people may prove among other things that when the Trusts bring Socialism it will be quite as readily accepted.

Fra Elbertus Hubbard, the philosopher of East Aurora, sends us his defense of the Standard Oil Company in neat pamphlet form; a superfluous gift, seeing that a combination that is making Socialism inevitable needs no justification to us.

Those credulous souls who would persuade themselves that autocracy has passed with the overthrow of "Cannonism" have yet to discover that capitalism can easily dispense with the services of "Uncle Joe" in maintaining autocracy.

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WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

NE afternoon last month HE entered the editorial sanctum in the WILSHIRE offices, and before he had time to announce his business we knew that we were confronted by "An Anxious Inquirer" in search of some much-desired information. He looked the part exactly.

And when he declared with only too evident sincerity that he wanted to know what Socialism was, we replied promptly and complacently, "Why don't you read WILSHIRE'S and find out?" Little did we expect the humiliating rejoinder this answer brought forth.

"Read WILSHIRE'S!" he answered with considerable amazement. "Why, that's what I have been doing for the last six months. If I had not read it, I could not have found this place. I read other Socialist papers, too, but can't find what I want. "Yes," he went on, "I read about the trusts and how the concentration of wealth is bringing Socialism, and how it is growing all over the world, and how workingmen should vote the Socialist ticket, and how the capitalists oppress the workers, and how the struggle for a living is becoming fiercer all the time, and unemployment and all the rest of it. I know about these things and know they are true, but I don't know what Socialism is. Your paper tells me *about* Socialism, and gives the Socialist point of view, but it doesn't say what Socialism is—at least, that I have been able to find in the last six months."

While the visitor was thus delivering himself, the editorial mind was reaching back through past issues trying to recall anything that might be made to pass muster as a simple outline of Socialism. Nothing of the kind could we remember, and, with an uncomfortable feeling of probable sins of omission predominating, we dared not take down the back files to convince our visitor that he had read carelessly. So we shifted ground and sparred for time by observing that there was no such thing as a dictionary definition of Socialism, and that many people supposed they could get their Socialism in tabloid form, but that the stuff wasn't put up that way, etc., etc.

But the "Anxious Inquirer" came back at us promptly and effectively. He neither wanted nor expected Socialist tabloids. "Now, look here," he retorted, "I didn't ask for dictionary definitions—I know most of them already, and, of course, they don't tell me what I want to know, and I didn't expect they would. I have read enough about Socialism to understand that no dictionary definition could possibly cover it, any more than it could cover religion, mathematics or philosophy. What I want is a general outline."

"Well," we replied, "there are plenty of books—"

"I know there must be," he answered, "but I haven't enough money to buy books at a venture and risk finding that they don't contain what I want. Now, it struck me that there was nothing unreasonable in supposing that a fairly adequate outline of Socialism could be given in three or four hundred words or so, that could go easily on one page of WILSHIRE'S. Is there any such thing as that? If there is, that's about what I want."

We admitted that such outlines existed, and promised our visitor that one would appear in the next issue of WILSHIRE'S. He then took leave, saying he would look out for it.

There are probably thousands of anxious inquirers like our friend, and for their benefit as well as his we unearthed the outline inserted in the centre of this page. It is the work of a veteran Socialist, well known for his thorough equipment and logical power, and who is also a special friend of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE. The outline was written some years ago for an encyclopedia, and we hope will fulfill all the expectations of our friend and those who may be looking for a similar exposition of the subject.

Also, as our visitor complained that there was no sure method of identifying books that contain a specific exposition of what Socialism is, we are printing such a list in this issue, which our readers will find on page 17. All these books, we may mention, can be obtained from the Wilshire Book Co. at the lowest possible prices.

We do not intend to add anything to or comment upon Hyndman's outline. It is not all, of course, that can be said about Socialism, by any means, but we regard it as one of the most concise and accurate expositions that can possibly be given within an equal space. For a more exhaustive outline, the pamphlets and books alluded to in the aforementioned list will be needed.

On asking our visitor why he was so anxious to know what Socialism was, he told the following story, which we will allow to stand as a reason why all workingmen should acquaint themselves with Socialism and afterward work to realize it:

"I have a job," he explained, "and have not been without one for years, but fear that I may soon lose it. I hold a position at a moderate salary with a firm which handles exclusively the export of goods

(*Continued on page 18.*)

SOCIALISM SUMMARIZED

BY H. M. HYNDMAN

Socialism is a conscious endeavor to substitute organized co-operation for existence in place of the present anarchical competition for existence, or the system of social organization calculated to bring this about. This definition, though it gives, perhaps, adequate expression to the active and practical side of Socialism, leaves out of account altogether its theoretical basis. From this point of view, Socialism is an attempt to lay the foundation of a real science of sociology, which shall enable mankind, by thoroughly understanding their past and present, to comprehend, and thus, within limits, to control the movement and development of their own society in the near future. Consequently Socialism in its wide sense is not, as is still commonly thought, a mere aspiration for a better state of society, still less only a series of proposals to mitigate the evils arising from the present social arrangements.

Modern scientific Socialism essays to give an intelligible explanation of the growth of human society, and to show that as each step in the long course of development from the institution of private property, through chattel slavery, serfdom, and wagedom, was inevitable, so the next step from capitalism to Socialism is also inevitable.

The object which Socialists have in view is that this, the final transformation, should be made consciously by an organized, educated, and intelligent people, instead of unconsciously, and therefore tempestuously, by groups of discontented, embittered, and ignorant workers. Agitation against the injustice of the present system of production, therefore, is only valuable so far as it educates men and women to appreciate the tendency of the time, and leads them to organize for the attainment of the definite end which the evolution of economic forms has made ready. Whether the great change will be brought about peaceably or forcibly has no bearing upon Socialism in itself, but depends upon the stage of development which has been reached in each civilized country, and the attitude which the dominant class may adopt in relation to the demands which the economic situation impels the producing class to make. . . .

With the establishment of national and eventually of international Socialism, mankind resumes the definite control over the means and instruments of production, and masters them henceforward for all time instead of being mastered by them. By such co-operative industry, whose power over nature is increased by each fresh invention and discovery, a carapace of repression is lifted from the faculties of each individual, and wealth being made as plentiful as water by light, wholesome labor, all freely contribute to increase their own happiness as well as that of their fellows. Human nature assumes a new and higher character in a society in which the surroundings are such that life is not, as to-day, a constant struggle against the pressure of want and the temptations of misery. Instead of the personal, limited, introspective, individual ethic is the social, altruistic, broad ethic in which the duty toward society necessarily involves the highest duty toward a man's self. Woman, relieved of economic and social subjugation, will assume her place as the social equal of man.

So far, therefore, from individual initiative and personal freedom in the highest sense being limited and stunted, human beings will have the opportunity for attaining to a level of physical, moral, and mental development such as the world has never seen. The golden age of society is, indeed, not in the past, but in the future.

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OWNERS and editors of newspapers in Pennsylvania are required by law to have their names printed in full in every issue on the editorial page.

In one of the cities of that State, the city of New Castle to be precise, two newspapers were recently prosecuted at the same time for neglecting to do this.

One of the papers was owned by an association of several hundred people, a list of which would have occupied several columns of space, and a list which was constantly changing as new members were added and others dropped. But the paper carried the name of the editor and the association, and tried as far as humanly possible to comply with the law.

The other paper carried no names whatever, and made no attempt at compliance. Its owners and editors simply ignored the statute.

And, of course, under these circumstances there was nothing to do but acquit the one and convict the other, which, being duly done, vindicated the majesty of the law.

So the editor of the first paper—the paper owned by the association—was fined six hundred dollars, and not being able to pay it, went to jail. He's there yet.

And the editor of the other paper was acquitted.

Haven't we got this thing twisted somehow? Don't we mean it was the other way round? No. Not at all. It happened just as we tell it.

Incidentally we may mention that the paper owned by the association was a Socialist paper, the association was composed of Socialists, and the editor, who is in jail, is a Socialist also, while the other paper supported the local Steel Trust, and its editor, who was acquitted, was strongly opposed to Socialism.

Possibly the judge got the cases mixed up somehow and by mistake sentenced the defendant he meant to discharge, and discharged the one he intended to sentence.

If this explanation doesn't explain sufficiently in the opinion of any of our readers whose curiosity may be aroused by the affair, we recommend them to write to the editor of *Solidarity*—the one who has taken the place of the editor who is in jail—for the paper is still running—at P. O. Box, 622, New Castle, Pa., and he may possibly furnish them with a better one. The other editor—the editor of the trust organ—the *Herald*—who was acquitted naturally hasn't anything to say about the presumably judicial blunder that enabled him to escape.

THERE is perhaps nothing more humiliating and exasperating to any racial group or community than to be told that in resisting the control and exploitation of foreigners who have taken possession of their native land, they are acting unwisely, ignorantly and against their best interests. Mr. Roosevelt's recent speech to the Egyptians, in which he deprecated their national aspirations and eulogized British rule, very naturally disgusted and angered the patriots of that country.

Yet there is no reason to believe that Mr. Roosevelt was in any way insincere in thus expressing himself. Naturally of an autocratic disposition, it was just about what he might be expected to say—under the circumstances. Egyptian anger against him is impotent, nor has Egypt any friends that might make him feel their resentment. It was perfectly safe to tell them what he really thought. Were it otherwise, his caution as a politician would assuredly have overcome his bluntness as an autocrat.

No one for instance can imagine Mr. Roosevelt, in case he visits Ireland, giving the Irish Nationalists the same advice regarding British rule as he gave the Egyptians. And the reason is obvious enough; the Irish can get even with Mr. Roosevelt politically and the Egyptians can't.

British rule is about the same in both countries. It hangs and exiles patriots of both lands, suppresses free speech and press and crushes down national aspirations in both in much the same manner—just as American rule does in the Philippines, just as Russia does in Finland.

Men of the Roosevelt type sincerely believe that might makes right, and say so openly when all the might is obviously on one side. When it isn't, they sit on the fence and say nothing. Roosevelt in Ireland would neither approve nor condemn British rule. He would remain silent, and be generally commended for his prudence; whereas in Egypt he can safely inform the inhabitants that it is well that the land of Egypt should remain the house of bondage, and secure public approval of his sound common sense and outspoken Americanism.

MR. HENRY WATTERSON, editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, is fast losing his reputation as "a Democrat of the old school," those ridiculous people who, with their faces turned to the past, lament the disappearance of outgrown and impossible conditions and vainly cry for their restoration. Mr. Watterson is getting the habit of looking into the future, and as a consequence is "seein' things." Recently he saw the certainty of the coming of universal Socialism, but the apparition was so terrifying that he has since turned his eyes to another quarter and there discerns that sinister figure at times seen dimly on the political horizon, and usually described as "The Man on Horseback."

Mr. Watterson welcomes the advent of this ominous personage. Representative government, he says, has palpably failed. History agrees that the best of all governments is a wise and benevolent despotism. Corruption, hypocrisy and graft have grown to such tremendous proportions that nothing short of a demigod hero-warrior will suffice to cleanse the political Augean stables of their accumulated filth. Where is such to be found?

Happily Mr. Watterson espies him already. It is Theodore Roosevelt—"the most startling figure that has appeared in the world since Napoleon Bonaparte." He it is that destiny appoints to chastise the sins of representative government with the rod of autocracy. Let him have absolute power. Let him disregard the written law and the constitution if he is so minded. He alone can save us, for is he not directly descended "from the family of the kings of men and a lineal descendant of Cæsar and Cromwell?"

Mr. Watterson expects some acrimonious discussion over this proposition, but he isn't likely to find it. Our real rulers know that "the people" have no "absolute power" to bestow on anybody. If they had they could use it themselves just as well. Roosevelt won't do in any case. Even a Harriman could—and did—suppress him. Let Mr. Watterson propose a real, ready-to-hand despot—one who even now possesses almost absolute power, and not as a gift from "the people" either. Let him nominate Mr. John Pierpont Morgan, for instance—a "Man on Horseback," a practical rough rider already dominant, and a "wise and benevolent despot" as well. That would be a proposition worth consideration. Let us have the workman rather than the tool. Nominate "Johnny-on-the-Spot," Mr. Watterson!

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HON. CURTIS GUILD, ex-governor of Massachusetts, has recently had a most valuable and instructive experience, that has not only furnished him some much needed enlightenment on Socialism, but is highly interesting to Socialists as showing how the inevitability of Socialism gradually dawns upon the capitalist mind.

Mr. Guild has heretofore been a pronounced anti-Socialist, and has aired his views on its impracticability many times by voice and pen. To him Socialism was nothing more than a proposed scheme which he had no difficulty in demonstrating to be unworkable. The thesis that Socialism was an inevitable outcome of the evolutionary process of industry he utterly ignored. But where the Socialist controversialist failed, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan succeeded, and to the latter gentleman must be given the entire credit of enlightening Mr. Guild.

The control of the New Haven railroad, which has naturally passed into the hands of Mr. Morgan, has been the torch that illuminated the intellectual darkness of Hon. Curtis Guild. During his incumbency of the governor's chair, Mr. Guild had some trouble with Mr. Mellen, the president of the railroad, whom he accused of violating and over-riding the law of the State. The Supreme Court declared the railroad guilty of criminal actions, but Mr. Mellen pursued the even tenor of his way as became the real ruler of the Bay State, and paid no attention whatsoever to the mere political and legal figureheads.

When, however, Mr. Guild discovered that Mr. Morgan, not Mr. Mellen, was the real power behind the New Haven railroad, and that the latter was only Morgan's mouthpiece, a great light broke upon him, which he permitted to shine forth in an editorial in the *Commercial Bulletin*. Mr. Guild absolves Mellen and pours out his wrath upon Mellen's master. He says in part:

> The mask is off. We have all of us done injustice to Mr. Mellen, gross injustice. Nor is Mr. Byrne the truculent braggart that he seems. Both of these men are really but hired megaphones through which a beefy, red-faced, thick-necked, financial bully, drunk with wealth and power, bawls his orders to stock markets, directors, courts, governments and nations. We have been listening to Mr. Morgan.

We are glad to note, however, that Mr. Guild's rage against Morgan has not completely blinded him, as is demonstrated by the encouraging conclusion of his article:

> Monopoly is not merely natural, it is inevitable and should be accepted as such. Competition is a past condition. It can never come again. Monopoly is the modern stage of development, nothing more. Competition brought about an eagerness to excel in public service with the hope to receive thereby a larger share of the public's spending money. Monopoly utterly destroys the stimulus. It has been and is the problem of modern statesmanship to provide a substitute for competition in the shape of regulation of monopolies in the interest of the public. If such regulation is impossible, there is plainly but one remaining alternative, the unwelcome alternative of public ownership. Unrestrained monopoly is impossible, and if Mr. Morgan really forces Massachusetts to choose between Socialism and industrial slavery, there will be no question of the result.

That is a great step forward for Mr. Guild, and to Mr. Morgan must be given the entire credit of making him take it. After all it is only reasonable that it should require a great man like Morgan to convince a great man like Guild of the inevitability of monopoly and its inescapable alternatives, of Socialism or industrial slavery. Governors of states don't have to consider theories presented by obscure Socialists, but when a Morgan makes the demonstration they have to sit up and take notice.

However, Mr. Gould has as yet only received half of the education necessary on this subject. It is now up to Mr. Morgan to convince him that his assumption of the possibility of "regulation" is also an iridescent dream, and though it may take some time, we are satisfied that Morgan will make the demonstration. Of course we might suggest to Mr. Guild that one who is powerful enough to issue orders to "courts, governments and nations" isn't likely to submit to "regulation," but we forbear. Let Morgan do it.

"NO rioting" has ever been the strict rule of conduct in political demonstrations, that German Socialists have always observed, and this policy has recently justified itself. For the first time in history the German Socialists have held open-air meetings undisturbed by the police, the authorities giving permission when it was unsafe to withhold it any longer. Or to be more correct, the authorities have refused to permit the police to inaugurate rioting on such occasions.

One hundred and fifty thousand Berlin Socialists, resolved to conquer this right for themselves, announced their determination to demonstrate, and did so, in a recent monster protest against the three class system of voting. The perfect order observed on the occasion by the vast masses of workmen, who moved with military precision to the call of a bugle and carried out without the slightest hitch, fourteen enormous meetings in the park, was a much more sinister portent to the ruling classes, than a thousand sporadic and futile riots. The Police Commissioner, Von Jagow, looked on with pretended amazement at the order observed. A few weeks before, his men had ridden down, sabred and clubbed previous assemblages, under the pretext of preserving order, but the point had been reached where his superiors recognized that such tactics were more dangerous to those who ordered them than to those they were used against.

The significance of the event has not passed unnoticed in the press on this side of the water, as numerous editorial comments indicate. It foreshadows the abandonment of the mailed fist policy as against the Socialists of Germany, and justifies to the full the consistent attitude taken by them, that the social revolution can be best prepared for by keeping within the bounds of capitalist legality.

"The irony of history," said Frederick Engels many years ago, "turns everything upside down. We 'revolutionaries' succeed far better by means legal than illegal and destructive. The party of order, as it calls itself, goes to pieces through the very conditions created by itself. It cries out confusedly, *la légalité nous tue* (conformity to the law kills us), while we with this legality develop round muscles and red cheeks and seem destined for eternal life."

Capitalists of all countries, unite! You have a world to chain and nothing to lose but your gains!

While the Trusts own and control most all other commodities, why should Senators and Congressmen form an exception?

Mr. Roosevelt created a slight sensation in Egypt by telling the Egyptians they should be thankful for British rule; but if he wants the real thing in sensations let him hand out a similar spiel to the Irish.

Just now it is a rather difficult task to convince Milwaukee politicians of the old parties that Socialism is nothing more than a dream.

That proposal to curtail the power of the British House of Lords springs from the recognition that they exercise more power than their property interests justify them in possessing.

In retaliation for the dissolution of the labor unions in the steel industry, Mr. Gompers has been compelled to take stern and decisive action by demanding the dissolution of the Steel Trust; so if anything dreadful happens to that organization its officials will have only themselves to blame.

One doesn't have to be a prophet to predict that the place left vacant by the death of Chief Justice Brewer will be filled by a corporation lawyer.

Rev. John Wesley Hill, a New York clergyman, recommends that Socialists should be taken out and hanged by the neck, offering to manipulate the rope himself if necessary. The holy man doesn't mean murder, of course; he's merely trying to get us on a string.

They don't allow Socialist parades in Germany, so the Socialists take a "demonstrative stroll" instead and get there just the same.

Denouncing Socialism from the pulpit might be slightly more effective if the denouncers could only devise some means of compelling the workingmen to come and hear them.

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A New Anti-Socialist Philosophy

***A Notice of a New and Remarkable Volume, "MEN vs. THE MAN," by* ROBERT RIVES LAMONTE and HENRY LOUIS MENCKEN**

OF SOCIALIST books we have a great plenty, and anti-Socialist books, though much less numerous, are by no means scarce. But a volume in which the alternate chapters are Socialist and anti-Socialist, respectively, is a new departure in sociological literature. Such a volume has been provided by Messrs. Robert Rives LaMonte and Henry Louis Mencken under the title of "Men *vs.* the Man," and we venture to say that no more brilliant and entertaining work has appeared in many years.

Robert Rives LaMonte

LaMonte, who is well known as a Socialist writer and who has frequently contributed to the columns of WILSHIRE'S, endeavors to convert his friend Mencken to the Socialist faith through a series of letters presenting the case for Socialism. To each of these Mencken replies from the individualist standpoint, the letters of both controversialists published in regular order forming the contents of the volume, LaMonte opening and Mencken closing the discussion.

While Mr. LaMonte does his work well—as he always does—and his presentation of the Socialist side leaves nothing to be desired, the views of his opponent are much more interesting for several reasons. In the first place, their attractiveness is enhanced by the fact that they are much less familiar to the general public than the Socialist view, and much better calculated to arouse the attention and awaken the curiosity of that large section of the reading public which is constantly searching, like the Athenians of old, for "some new thing." Second, Mr. Mencken is most skilful in debate, witty, satirical and entertaining, and—if his primary assumptions be granted—remorselessly logical; and, lastly, he displays an outspoken courage in presenting his views and conclusions that is as rare and startling as it is admirable, and which makes one regret that the average anti-Socialist who believes in his heart as Mr. Mencken does, possesses nothing of his logic or courage and is forced in debate with Socialists to take refuge in hypocrisy, evasion and intellectual shuffling.

In his outlook on the world and society, Mr. Mencken takes the viewpoint of Frederick Nietzsche, the German philosopher whose name is so much better known than his works, though this is not the fault of Mr. Mencken, who has done his best, both in the present work and a previous volume, to make the Nietzschean philosophy more generally known.

In the opening rounds both combatants fence with statistics, displaying much skill and adroitness, but finally drop them and bring the opposing philosophies into the conflict, and it is here where the battle becomes really exciting.

Mr. Mencken simply ignores or repudiates all the Socialist concepts presented by LaMonte, and proceeds to develop his own particular fundamentals after the Nietzschean fashion. Into the discard goes economic classes, class struggles, surplus value, economic determinism and other paraphernalia of the Socialist philosophy. There are no economic classes in society, no plutocratic goats to be divided from proletarian sheep. On the contrary, society is divided into castes, not artificial, but absolutely natural, based, as Mr. Mencken contends, "entirely upon the eternal biological truth that, in all the more complex varieties of living beings, there are enormous differences between individuals, and that these differences at their extremities produce a caste barely entitled to life, and a caste far advanced upon the upward path which the species seems to follow."

Economic opportunity has little or nothing to do with these differences. Nothing can raise the low-caste man into the high-caste ranks, and when a high-caste individual happens to spring from a low-caste environment—an occurrence which he regards as a "sport" or freak of nature—nothing can keep that high-caste individual from his rightful place among his natural peers, just as nothing can elevate the low-caste person above his brethren. Of the latter, Mr. Mencken says:

> The public school can never hope to raise him out of his caste. It can fill him to the brim—but then it must stop. He is congenitally unteachable. A year after he has left school he has forgotten nearly all that he learned there. At twenty-one, when the republic formally takes him into its councils, he is laboring with a pick and shovel in his predestined ditch, a glad glow in his heart and a strap around his wrist to keep off rheumatism.

Naturally, to this no-account person the high-caste individuals owe no special consideration. To be sure, their maintenance and comfort, their very physical existence depends on his labor, but this is what nature intended him for, and he gains no special merit thereby. The high-caste persons may, of course, treat him kindly if they feel so disposed, but they stand in need of no justification if for their own preservation they rob, enslave or destroy him. His only title to life lies in his being useful to them in some capacity or other. So it has been in the past, is in the present, and will be in the future. The status of the low caste is fixed for all time by "the eternal, biological truth."

From this viewpoint, Mr. Mencken logically regards democracy as a complete sham; its pretense, however, being fully justified by the needs of high-caste persons, and so long as it serves this purpose, he has no desire to abandon it. His justification of what is popularly regarded as "democracy" is worth reproducing.

Henry Louis Mencken

> But am I arguing, I hear you ask, against government by the consent of the governed? Do I propose the overthrow of our democracy and the erection in its place of some form of absolute monarchy or oligarchy? Not at all. All things considered, I am convinced, as you are, that the republican form of government in vogue in the United States and England to-day is the best, safest and most efficient government ever set up in the world. But its comparative safety and efficiency lie not in the eternal truth of the somewhat florid strophes of the Declaration of Independence, but in the fact that those strophes must ever remain mere poetry. That is to say, its practice is beneficent because its theory is happily impossible.

From which it will be seen that while Mr. Mencken himself harbors no delusions on these matters, he perceives that these same delusions are necessary to keep the low castes in that condition of life to which the eternal, biological truth has permanently assigned them. The somewhat sinister fact that eternal truth depends on the fostering of delusions doesn't trouble Mr. Mencken, who further on accuses his opponent of holding those very delusions, and forgetting his previous admission that the safety of the higher castes depends on them, observes with unconscious inconsistency that they are "palpably untrue, and by reason of their untruth they are dangerous foes to human progress." Yet the best, safest and most efficient government and logically the one that makes best for human progress, is conditioned on the perpetuation of delusions that are dangerous to human progress.

However, no point can be scored against Mr. Mencken's position by exposing its inconsistencies, as he admits

(*Continued on page 15.*)

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THE WORKER'S MAYPOLE

Cartoon and verses by **WALTER CRANE,** ***the Famous English Artist.*** ***(Originally Printed in*** **JUSTICE,** ***London, Eng.)***

World Workers, whatever may bind ye,
This day let your work be undone:
Cast the clouds of the winter behind ye,
And come forth and be glad in the sun.

Now again while the green earth rejoices
In the bud and the blossom of May,
Lift your hearts up again, and your voices,
And keep merry the World's Labor Day.

Let the winds lift your banners from far lands
With a message of strife and of hope:
Raise the Maypole aloft with its garlands
That gathers your cause in its scope.

It is writ on each ribbon that flies,
That flutters from fair Freedom's heart:
If still far be the crown and the prize
In its winning may each take a part.

Your Cause is the Hope of the World,
In your strife is the life of the race,

The worker's flag Freedom unfurled
Is the veil of the bright future's face.

Be ye many or few drawn together,
Let your message be clear on this day;
Be ye birds of the spring, of one feather
In this,—that ye sing on May-Day.

Of the new life that still lieth hidden,
Though its shadow is cast before;
The new birth of hope that unbidden
Surely comes, as the sea to the shore.

Stand fast, then, O workers, your ground,
Together pull, strong and united.
Link your hands like a chain the world round,
If you will that your hopes be requited.

When the World's Workers, sisters and brothers,
Shall build in the new coming years,
A fair house of life—not for others,
For the earth and its fulness is theirs.

MAY-DAY'S SOCIALIST SYMBOLISM

PROBABLY the reason for the Socialist observance of May Day was never more beautifully expressed than in the inspiring verses which we print on this page, from the pen of that talented artist, Walter Crane.

Though the origin of this celebration goes back through the ages to the ancient primitive world, its symbolism is perfectly known, and is peculiarly applicable to the modern Socialist movement.

Originally it expressed the hope of the race in the continuation of life. Flower and blossom and the awakening life of Spring gave promise and confirmation of the harvest to be. For primitive man, the winter of his discontent had passed, and the memory of its cold and hunger served to accentuate and heighten the feelings of gladness and rejoicing with which he welcomed the May season with its assurance of abundant life. We can in imagination hear him calling to his mates in rude and uncouth phraseology the invitation so vividly expressed by the poet to

"Cast the clouds of the winter behind ye,
And come forth and be glad in the sun."

The tradition which has come down to us through the ages and has assumed many fantastic forms in its observance, takes on a new meaning—a broader and grander meaning when interpreted as a symbol of the coming of world-wide Socialism.

For the race now is passing through the winter of capitalism—the lean and hungry season for the world's workers—and already signs of the welcome Spring-time appear—the Spring-tide of Socialism, the promise of the harvest in which those who sowed in sorrow shall reap in joy.

For this is the seed-time, and the Socialist sower has gone forth to sow, and in face of obloquy, contempt, persecution and death, has scattered broadcast over the world the seed that now germinates with promise of new life.

Our primitive ancestors in celebrating May Day were celebrating a revolution, though they knew it not—a revolution of the earth around the sun. In like manner we, too, celebrate the coming of Revolution, in our May Day festivities, but with full consciousness of its import. As earth's Winter evolves into Spring by its own revolution, so we understand also that the Winter of Capitalism is evolving into the Spring-time of Socialism through its own unconscious evolution, with this additional knowledge that our own efforts consciously directed can hasten the coming of the glad Socialist Spring-tide.

And as primitive man saw in the recurring May-day the hope of the ancient world, so we see also in the inevitable economic evolution of industrial society the hope of the modern world.

And as the poet says that "in our strife is the life of the race," so we understand that strife—the struggles of classes—is the medium through which the world's progress is made.

Not strife among ourselves, but struggle against the oppressing classes, the struggle against ignorance and prejudice on the part of our fellows, is the strife out of which shall be born "the new life that still lieth hidden."

For ourselves, the first and last word is—Solidarity. The fair house of life that shall be builded in the new coming years is only possible through the efforts of the world's united workers.

And now from all parts of the world come the signs and portents of the great change that heralds the approaching Spring-tide of Socialism. Now, if never before, is the time for all to take part in the great world revolution that already foreshadows the passing of the winter of Capitalism and the coming of the new life of the world symbolized by the Socialist May-day.

"Ah, come, let us cast off fooling and put by ease and rest.
For the Cause alone is worthy till the good days bring the best.
Ah, come, cast off all fooling, for this at least we know,
That the Dawn of the Day is coming and forth the banners go."

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A Millionaire Near-Socialist

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

ABOUT twenty-five years ago, when I was finally convinced of both the righteousness and practicability of Socialism, I was foolish enough to think that all that was necessary to bring my friends and acquaintances to see as I did was merely a short explanation.

I was living in Los Angeles at the time, and with a few other enthusiasts we started a Socialist paper, called the *Weekly Nationalist.* It was not long before more funds were needed to pay our paper bill, and I got up a form letter asking for help and sent it to my old-time friends in Cincinnati, the town of my birth.

Having had success in getting subscriptions from these people in former years for charities, lawn tennis clubs, etc., I naively thought that getting aid for a Socialist paper would meet with a similar experience.

Not a dollar came in from Cincinnati, either as a contribution or as an annual subscription; not even a single letter of encouragement.

Since then, of course, Socialism has made great strides in Cincinnati and there are many Socialists there; probably there were a good number of people then who would have aided us if I had known who they were and had written them.

The rich people of Cincinnati seemed quite hopeless from the Socialist point of view, and my experience ever since then up to date has not done much to disturb this conclusion.

However, it would appear that the light is finally breaking in on them when hope had almost disappeared.

Mrs. Al. Barney is the first ray, if we are to believe the following from the New York *American:*

WASHINGTON, January 29.—Mrs. Albert Clifford Barney, fairy godmother of the Washington smart set, society playwright, artist, philanthropist and high priestess of "The Bab" leader of a mystic Persian cult, "The Cleverest Woman in Washington," according to Wu Ting-fang, has evolved a plan of Government ownership and production of foodstuffs that would make America the modern Utopia. She would introduce a type of civilization to rival the imaginary one in Bellamy's "Looking Backward" and would utilize every atom of available labor power in the country, even including that of prisoners in jails and penitentiaries.

Mrs. Barney consented to-night to give her views on the subject exclusively to the New York *American.* Her magnificent home, Studio House, was redolent with Eastern odors of sandalwood and lotus bloom when the correspondent of the New York *American* talked with her. Mrs. Barney sat among her priceless art treasures attired in a wonderful gown of heliotrope silk chiffon which changed its hue with every shade of the lights. The secret of dyeing cloth so that it produces these prismatic colors is a new industrial art which she has invented.

"When I traveled through the country last summer and saw the beautiful plains I thought at the time it was a pity to allow them to go to waste when if cultivated they would supply food for so many poor people," said Mrs. Barney.

"Soon after this I heard the high price of food outcry, and thought again of the terrible waste of the plain. I thought that the Government should empty the prisons and send the men out to raise wheat. Empty the prisons, which are no good as a corrective institution; in fact, are wicked institutions, a relic of barbarism.

"Great bakeries could be established and the men taught to make bread—the flat bread which is so beneficial to the people of Syria. This is made simply of flour and water and sometimes a little sugar. Then the bread could be shipped in great boxes to all the cities in the country. But the Government should own the railroads; it could do nothing if the trusts controlled the roads. I know this because I have a friend who has a farm in the West—a rather large farm—and she cannot get the railroads to transport her food—beef and market produce—because she is not in the trust. They will take a little, but not much.

"The cities could give the bread to the poor people—all they want of it. Just think how a man must feel when he does not know whether or not his family will have even bread on the morrow. If he is sure the bread will be provided he will be able to work better to get up on his feet once more.

"I will say that in a great and powerful country like this it is a shame that there should be hunger and cold when there is enough money in the country for everybody to exist. I believe in high taxation of the very wealthy. I thing that the law should regard every rich man as simply a steward of his wealth, and if he will not so regard himself there should be laws to make him. Why should we say that the poor, who are half-starved and have few recreations, are lazy and without ambition? Who would have ambition, unless it be a genius, with an unsatisfied hunger and shivering with cold? It is the rich who are lazy—the rich who do not fight with all the influence their riches bring them for better conditions for the masses.

"Everything is wrong in this country; a few people monopolize all the profits for the necessities of life. I have been told that contracts are awarded for Government jobs and that when they are badly done they frequently have to be repeated. All that waste might be spent to aid the poor people.

"We Americans have no idea of economy. If women were the voters in this country, as they will be some day soon, there would be more thrift. Women pay more attention to details, they can make a dollar take the place of five spent by a man.

"Women have higher ideals; when women get a vote then we shall have higher ideals of government. Then will the monopolies stop, for the women will go to the root of the matter, there will be uniform wage laws and, I hope, a Government ownership of everything and a chance for the people to feel that they do live in a free and independent country; that all men are equal as far as the right to live goes, and that they have a chance for a respectable existence at least."

Mrs. Barney then indulged in an epigram on education:

"I believe in education. It is the soul lighter, it is the moral uplifter and the future of the country."

Mrs. Barney is several times a millionaire, and is the widow of a wealthy Washingtonian. Devoted to the mystic, the artistic and the philanthropic, she is the intellectual leader of Washington society. She is by no means a dilettante in her art, but has painted beautiful paintings that have taken blue ribbons in the salons of Paris, London and New York. Her portrait of Whistler is considered one of the best by that artist.

Mrs. Albert Clifford Barney
An Intellectual Leader of Washington Society.

It is unnecessary to say, if Mrs. Barney is correctly quoted, that she is not entirely orthodox in her Socialism, but she has certainly got beyond the stage where she would have the rich give back to the workers what they themselves produce. She sees that the way to abolish poverty is to let the workers own the "Trusts," the machinery of production, and take for themselves what they produce.

When I was living in Cincinnati Mrs. Barney was then the beautiful Miss Pike, a daughter of one of the wealthiest families there. It's a pity that President Taft does not see things as clearly as does our mutual friend, Mrs. Barney.

It would have been fortunate for the country if Cincinnati had led her son, President Taft, as near to Socialism as it has brought Mrs. Barney.

If the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is ever repealed, it is safe to predict that it will not be because of its efficiency in bankrupting a labor union.

When an industrial or financial merger is contemplated, the certainty of its existence grows in inverse ratio to the number of times it is denied by the manipulators.

The popular assumption that it is possible to have capitalism without trusts only proves that political and economic superstitions are about as tenacious of life as any other.

Competition may be all right in theory, but it won't work in practice. The Trust stands ready to convince by a practical test any one who has sufficient belief in competition to put it in operation.

The control of ten billion dollars of financial assets will probably secure Mr. Morgan from being publicly branded as a malefactor of great wealth, by those of his financial competitors whom he has as yet allowed to remain.

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SOCIETY'S SOCIALISTIC SYMPTOMS

On the day after the Socialist victory in Milwaukee, the New York *World* heralded the great event in no less than thirteen lines of small type.

Many large corporations, seeing that the cost of living would inevitably lead to strikes and labor troubles, have anticipated these occurrences by raising wages voluntarily.

A consolidation of all the taxicab companies in New York is reported as being in process of formation, but as it has not yet been officially contradicted, the report cannot be unreservedly accepted as true.

Richard Barth, an editor of the German Socialist paper *Vorwaerts*, was sentenced to a month's imprisonment recently for organizing the "Demonstrative Stroll" of Socialist workingmen and outwitting the police who had forbidden the meeting. While Barth was serving his sentence the Socialists wrested the right of public open-air meetings from the Berlin authorities.

Society folks of St. Louis recently enjoyed a man-hunt with bloodhounds, the chase being a negro boy who was hunted through the streets and finally cornered, to the great amusement of the society people.

A New York grand jury, composed of local capitalists, refused to obey the instructions of the judge who had ordered them to find indictments against the Building Trades Employers' Association on a charge of conspiracy brought by a labor union. The judge inflicted the severest punishment possible by discharging them.

A Telephone Trust with a capitalization of half a billion dollars has been legally incorporated at Albany, N. Y. It is the second largest combine in the country.

The postal deficit this year is expected to show ten million dollars less than last year, and it is predicted that in another year the deficit will disappear altogether despite the low rates on second class matter.

It has been decided to postpone the "busting" of the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trusts until 1911, a rehearing of the cases being considered advisable in consequence of the unexpected death of Chief Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court.

The German Government has decided to levy a tax of six per cent. on the "unearned increment" of land, thus following the example of Great Britain.

New and original charges against Socialism are not very frequent, but Rev. Father John J. Burke managed to put one over at the weekly anti-Socialist lecture in New York, by declaring that Socialism would destroy the liberty of the press. Which shows that the orthodox imagination is really not so barren as is popularly supposed.

Government owned and operated telephones in Western Canada have been demonstrated to be completely successful from the standpoint of cheapness and efficiency, and the system is to be rapidly extended in every direction.

One of the Pittsburg aldermanic boodlers who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for receiving a bribe, declined to go to jail and no persuasion could induce him to reconsider his decision.

A fifty-million dollar hotel combine is now being projected in New York, which includes the Waldorf-Astoria, a four million dollar hotel now constructing for the Vanderbilts, and most of the large and fashionable hostelries of the city, as well as the most expensive hotels of Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and Newport.

The United Shoe Shining Co. is the latest addition to the ranks of the Trusts. It has a capitalization of $1,500,000, and has already obtained options on the most desirable "shoe-shining parlors" and stands in New York City. It will also clean and refurbish hats, and will be conducted on the same principles as the "chains" of restaurants and cigar stores now trustified.

Frank N. Hoffstot, alias "Baby" Hoffstot, was recently indicted on a charge of bribing a Pittsburg alderman with a sum of $52,000. Hoffstot is President of the Pressed Steel Car Co., of McKees Rocks, against which a starvation strike of the employes recently occurred. "Baby" has so far successfully resisted extradition.

Following New York's lead, the Roman Catholic diocese of Boston has declared systematic war on Socialism and has established a series of anti-Socialist lectures under the auspices of Archbishop O'Connell. One of the principal speakers is David Goldstein, a Jewish "convert" to the Catholic Church.

Michael Duffy, of Brooklyn, was recently sent to prison for a term of five years for stealing sugar. The leniency of the sentence is probably explained by the fact that Mike wasn't a member of the Sugar Trust and only got away with three and a half pounds of the stuff.

An analysis of the report of the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute for last year brings out the fact that the Stockyards districts supply one-third of all the deaths in the entire city from tuberculosis. In one division of this district alone 667 deaths from tuberculosis are reported.

Gustave Hervé, the famous French antimilitarist who has recently been imprisoned by the Government, has issued a new book with the title of "My Country, Right or Wrong." It deals with capitalistic patriotism, and is enjoying a wide circulation. An English translation has just appeared.

At the close of last year there were 21,458 employes of the Steel Trust holding stock in the concern. The entire number of employes was 195,500. They earned $151,663,394 in wages, the net profits of the Trust for that year being $131,491,414.

At a recent banquet of the alumni of St. Francis Xavier's College in New York, at which Archbishop Farley presided, Father T. J. McClusky, the chief speaker of the occasion, declared that the Catholic Church was the greatest foe to Socialism in America, and that it was the duty of the Church to deal effectively with the danger it threatened.

The much heralded Labor Exchanges recently established in England do not seem to promise much toward the solution of unemployment. Up to date there have been 270,000 applications and less than seven per cent. of these have been found employment. The workingman gets a chance to register his name with one chance in fourteen that something may come of it.

From 30,000 votes all over the world in 1867, the Socialist movement counts ten million votes at the present time.

Canned goods companies in Canada have formed a merger with a capitalization of ten million dollars, its avowed object being to limit competition. Sixty factories are involved in the combine.

The Steel Trust has been successful in forcing the Government to abandon the construction of several warships in its own yards and give the contracts to private firms. Underbidding far below the Government estimates of cost was the method employed.

Winnipeg, Canada, has decided to erect a municipal slaughter-house with cold storage facilities for meat. The municipality has also taken steps to secure electric power and will erect an immense plant for its development. The Winnipeg river will be utilized and sixty thousand horsepower will be generated from the current.

Government-owned coal, iron and salt mines in Prussia employed last year 89,723 men and turned out products valued at $58,171,960, or four per cent. more than the preceding year. The State also owns and operates five rolling mills and seven factories producing metallic goods, employing 6,195 men and turning out $5,869,080 worth of products annually.

How to Make a Hectograph

(*From Shop Notes Quarterly.*)

A formula for making a hectograph, or composition for taking duplicate copies from one original copy written with aniline ink, is as follows: 100 parts white glue, 500 parts glycerin, 25 parts sulphate of baryta (kaolin), 375 parts of water. Soak the glue in the water until dissolved; then add the glycerin and kaolin, and cook slowly until thoroughly dissolved and smooth. Add a few drops of carbolic acid; pour the mixture into a pan and clean all scum and bubbles off the top; then set to cool. Trouble is sometimes experienced with this formula, probably because of difference in the quality of the glue or the glycerin; but under favorable conditions it makes a thoroughly good hectograph.

Wilshire's Experiment

Whether increased food supply means increased efficiency is a point that is being brought out by an actual test at the Aremu Mine in British Guiana, where Gaylord Wilshire, proprietor and editor of this journal, is now residing. Mr. Wilshire sends us the following interesting note:

"When I came to the mine about a month ago, I found a rather high rate of prices at our shop, the ordinary cost of food per man being about 35 cents daily. I cut everything so that we now make about 10 per cent. over cost and the daily ration now costs the men about 25 cents as against 35 cents. For instance, we cut the price of rice from nine cents per lb. to six cents.

"It was not sentiment or philanthropy, but business, that impelled the move. By having high prices you must pay a corresponding high wage, and this means that some men have a strong temptation to save money by stinting themselves, which in turn means impaired efficiency. Low prices remove this incentive, at least this was our theory. It came out true to theory, for the men now buy almost 50 per cent. more than they did of the staples, codfish, pig-tails, rice and sugar, and also buy more luxuries, tobacco and beer. The cost of living is about the same to them, but they are eating more.

"Whether they work more is yet to be observed, but I am sure they will. Most of them, in fact I guess all the miners, both above and below ground, are on eight-hour shifts. We pay our machine drill men $1.20 per diem. The same work at Bishop is paid $4.50 per diem, but we don't need a white foreman there on each shift at $150 per month and his keep."

When we get rid of our competitive wage system, the cost of living will never exceed the cost of producing the things on which we live.

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OUR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

***Conducted by* MRS. GAYLORD WILSHIRE**

E women of the Woman's National Progressive League should find much to encourage us in our efforts in the recent great victory in Milwaukee. It brings home to us the lesson of what splendid results can be obtained by steady and persistent effort. The victory was due, so our Milwaukee comrades say, principally to the unceasing and systematic distribution of literature which they have maintained for years in the city. That is perhaps the most important work we women of the Woman's National Progressive League are engaged in and, the work in which women can best assist Socialism. Hundreds of the Milwaukee women took part in this work, and the inspiring results, which have cheered the hearts of Socialists throughout America, are before us.

From now on let us work with renewed activity. Those of you who belong to the branches should increase your efforts to bring new members into the League, remembering that in every new member there is a possible worker for the cause. Those of you who have been considering starting new branches, but have lacked courage or confidence, hesitate no longer. Take up the work now, inspired by this splendid victory.

All you Socialist women who have not yet considered the League as a place for your activities come now and help us carry on the work of educating our sisters to take an intelligent part in preparing for the oncoming revolution.

Ours is a task not of education alone, but also of encouragement and inspiration. Ours it is to encourage our men comrades, who possess the vote that is as yet denied us, to still greater effort in right thinking and right voting. Then we shall not speak of *the* Socialist mayor, for there shall be many Socialist mayors, many Socialists in power, until finally the land is won for Socialism. Let every woman reader of WILSHIRE'S do her part to hasten the day.

Woman and the Socialist Party

***By* MRS. ROSE MAASS**

ONE of the most striking peculiarities of the American people is their absolute refusal to grow with the times, to keep pace with our industrial development, to recognize that this is to-day and not yesterday. Instead they persist in habits, customs, methods of thinking and acting which are consistent only with the conditions of life of fifty years ago.

Especially is this true of the working woman, because her environment has bred timidity in her nature and stunted her mental growth.

Among us are many women whose lives are spent in trying to keep our ideal alive—the ideal home, for instance; but they fail to understand that economic conditions have changed our home life completely. Fifty years ago women worked in their houses in the service of their families, and had no personal interest in the broader life of the community.

Then came machinery, and because they could not compete with these machines women were compelled by sheer necessity to go forth in ever greater numbers to work side by side with men for their own support and the support of their families, but for longer hours and lower wages. This, because, having never been actually remunerated for their services, they did not know their value.

To-day her children are in the cotton fields, mills, mines and factories, while she, poor slave of an unjust system, has nothing with which to protect the children she has borne, nursed and reared; nothing but her chained, bound and suffering mother-love.

These are the problems of her sex, and she is utterly helpless in the face of these problems, because she is disfranchised, because she has no voice in the community, because she has no vote whereby she might help to alter the cruelly unjust conditions surrounding her life.

More than any other woman must the working woman recognize the value of the ballot, for in her hands it will become a mighty weapon for the liberation of herself and her fellow woman workers. Therefore no labor organization, industrial or political, can satisfy the working woman that does not fully recognize her right to political equality; and no woman's organization, however progressive, can satisfy the working woman that does not take the labor movement into consideration.

Miss Augusta Glickstein
Member of Local Quorum and Secretary of Newark, N. J., Branch W. N. P. L.

Where, then, shall the working woman find relief from class exploitation and sex oppression?

In the Socialist party—and only in the Socialist party.

This working-class party upholds sex equality, socially, economically and politically, as one of its fundamental principles.

So here the working woman finds an answer to all her questions, a solution to her problems—in Socialism.

And not only the working woman, but all women must learn to recognize and realize the economic conditions from which their sufferings spring, and ally themselves with the only political party that voices their demands and gives woman full recognition.

Our Monthly Study Course

TEXT BOOK—SPARGO'S "BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN."

Compiled by MRS. MARY OPPENHEIMER.

Lesson VI. Chapter III, continued: Pages 155-181. Main points to be noted: Section 5—Of the fifteen divisions of the manufacturing industries the glass factories rank next to the textile factories in the number of children they employ. Perhaps in none of the great industries is the failure to enforce the child-labor laws more general or complete than in the glass trade. Section 6—Boys employed in and around mines and quarries. Section 7—Children in various other employments, as woodworking, tobacco and cigars, canneries and poorly paid home industries. Section 8—Physical deterioration following child's employment in a factory or workshop. It is a sorry but indisputable fact that where children are employed the most unhealthy work is generally given them.

While the "labor market" exists, the term "white slave traffic" will include much more than the prostitution of women.

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"BRESHKOVSKAYA"—THE EXILE

By ELSA BARKER

The poem which we reproduce here appeared originally in the New York *Times* of March 13th last. Miss Elsa Barker, the writer, is already well known in the world of poetry for many remarkable productions, but by many people the verses here reprinted are considered the high-water mark of her poetic effort. Madame Breshkovskaya, as our readers may remember, is a well-known Russian revolutionist and has recently been sentenced to life exile in Siberia, her companion, Nicholas Tschaikowsky, being acquitted. Madame Breshkovskaya has been a lifelong and tireless fighter for Russian liberty and is now nearly 70 years old. She has already experienced twenty-three years of exile in Siberia, and now goes to remain permanently in that horrible land of desolation, hunger and torture. Breshkovskaya and Tschaikowsky were well known in the United States, which they recently toured in the interests of the Russian revolution. A short biography of this wonderful woman has been written by Ernest Poole in pamphlet form and is still procurable at all Socialist publishing houses.

Among others who have been struck with Miss Barker's magnificent stanzas is Upton Sinclair, author of "The Jungle," from whose pen the following appreciation of the poem appeared in the *Times* shortly after its publication in that paper:

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Once in a long while a great poem is written, and a generation or two later the world begins to learn of it. Let us try to change this unfair custom, as we can. On March 13th last you published a great poem—one of the very greatest I have ever read in my life—"Breshkovskaya," by Elsa Barker. Not since Tennyson's "Ulysses" has a new poet ever given more certain evidence to the world. It is a long poem, and yet every line of it is authentic; every line of it great. I will stake what reputation as a man of letters I have or ever may have upon the prophecy that this will be known as one of the half-dozen greatest poems so far written in America.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

Fairhope, Ala., March 16, 1910.

Breshkovskaya

How narrow seems the round of ladies' lives
And ladies' duties in their smiling world,
The day this Titan woman, gray with years,
Goes out across the void to prove her soul!
Brief are the pains of motherhood, that end
In motherhood's long joy; but she has borne
The age-long travail of a cause that lies
Still-born at last on History's cold lap.
And yet she rests not; yet she will not drink
The cup of peace held to her parching lips
By smug Dishonor's hand. Nay, forth she fares,
Old and alone, on exile's rocky road—
That well-worn road with snows incarnadined
By blood drops from her feet long years agone.

Mother of power, my soul goes out to you
As a strong swimmer goes to meet the sea
Upon whose vastness he is like a leaf.
What are the ends and purposes of song,
Save as a bugle at the lips of Life
To sound reveille to a drowsing world
When some great deed is rising like the sun?

Where are those others whom your deeds inspired
To deeds and words that were themselves a deed?
Those who believed in death have gone with death
To the gray crags of immortality;
Those who believed in life have gone with life
To the red halls of spiritual death.

And you? But what is death or life to you?
Only a weapon in the hand of faith
To cleave a way for beings yet unborn
To a far freedom you will never share!
Freedom of body is an empty shell
Wherein men crawl whose souls are held with gyves;
For Freedom is a spirit, and she dwells
As often in a jail as on the hills.
In all the world this day there is no soul
Freer than you, Breshkovskaya, as you stand
Facing the future in your narrow cell.
For you are free of self and free of fear,
Those twin-born shades that lie in wait for man
When he steps out upon the wind-blown road
That leads to human greatness and to pain.

Take in your hand once more the pilgrim's staff—
Your delicate hand misshapen from the nights
In Kara's mines; bind on your unbent back,
That long has borne the burdens of the race,
The exile's bundle, and upon your feet
Strap the worn sandals of a tireless faith.

You are too great for pity. After you
We send not sobs, but songs; and all our days
We shall walk bravelier knowing where you are.

THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN

By VICTOR GAGE KIMBERT

AFTER all the greatest obstacle to the advancement and progress of women is their own apathy. Deplorable as it is truth compels the admission that only the exceptional women intelligently desire a change in affairs. The majority seem, if not perfectly contented with the idea, that their creation was a secondary matter and only accomplished for the benefit and pleasure of men, at least to acquiesce in the decision of the masters and make no special effort for freedom.

So long as women believe themselves inferior by creation to the other sex, so long will they remain in slavery to the idea. Surely it is time to try the matter out. What women have done women may do, and there is scarcely an achievement in the annals of time that some woman has not accomplished. That the number to win fame is small compared with men is only true because the one sex has been ever taught expression and the other repression of vital forces, and all the power of church and state has been ruthlessly used to keep women in subjection.

A symposium on the divorce question in California was held recently and the consensus of opinion of the lawyers was that the clubs of women were responsible, one even going so far as to say that even the church societies helped to take woman from her proper sphere. Funny? Well, perhaps it would be if the idiots were not so deadly in earnest in their attempt to replace the fetters that are so insecure upon the necks of women.

Without doubt divorce always has a long trail of sadness in its train, but it is one of the greatest boons thus far vouchsafed to women. The man could always throw off his matrimonial yoke if it galled him, and the thousands of deserted wives are evidence that he frequently did so, but only in comparatively recent times has the wife been accorded the privilege of escaping from a brutal, tyrannical or drunken beast and still retain a semblance of respectability.

Am I advocating divorce? Not at all. You might as well ask if I was advocating amputation because I stated that it was necessary in some cases. Happily married people are not candidates for the divorce court, and those who are there have usually good reasons for being there. The worst possible use society can make of a man and woman, unless it hangs them, is to compel them to live together in the close relation of husband and wife when they do not wish to do so.

My sisters, will you wake up? Will you stop believing, or accepting as gospel truth the old fables that men have ever taught to keep you contented slaves. Candidly, do you believe that God had such a grudge against you as you have been taught? The quicker you get away from the old Garden of Eden fairy story that, because woman was the first to sin and eat of the forbidden fruit, she should be in subjection to man and that she and her children should be under the ban of iniquity forever, the quicker you will have a fighting chance for life and freedom. Can you not see the diabolical cunning that has worked upon the fear and superstition of women all the centuries through, and to cap the climax she is told that she must love and serve the God who pronounced the dread sentence upon her. A strange quality of love which could blossom from so bitter a plant as fear and dread.

Use your intelligence. Do not be afraid. The heavens will not fall if you tell your masters that you are no longer children to be scared by ghosts, and that you no longer accept the cruel vindictive God they have set up for you to worship.

Ave Venus

Under the suggestive head of "Ave Venus" we have, from the pen of Mr. Andre Tridon, two one-act plays, the "Uplift" and "Her Dream." Both plays deal with certain phases of the eternal sex problem. The "Uplift" has to do with the unmoral sacrifice which a wife makes for her author-husband in order to supply a fresh stimulant to his declining genius. It is a unique idea. The characters are well drawn and the situations are handled in Mr. Tridon's breezy and entertaining manner. Paper, 23 pp. Postpaid, 25c.

It is a matter of general speculation what Mr. Roosevelt is going to do on his return from Africa; but if he writes another series of articles against Socialism, the Socialists at least will be well content.

Money talks, of course, but it is generally silent when received in the form of a bribe.

An indignant correspondent asks us, "Why do the Socialists denounce the capitalist, the man who does things?" We don't know, unless it is because the things he does are mostly workingmen.

For the time being, at least, Socialists have no particular objection to the "one-man-power" of Mr. Morgan. It is dangerous, of course, but to Capitalism instead of Socialism.

The greater the truth, the greater the likelihood that those who see it first will be set down as lunatics.—*Puck.*

When the cost of living is high, the way of living is low.—*Appeal to Reason.*

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Revolutionary Psychology

By LOUIS DUCHEZ

WITHOUT doubt no man living has written so much about the trusts from the revolutionary point of view as Gaylord Wilshire has. For several years back, in season and out, he has been telling us that the great combinations of capital would not only gain greater momentum with every step forward, but that improved machinery and the unemployed will be the lash upon the back of capitalism that will finally—and that sooner than many think—compel the introduction of the new order of things, regardless of what political party is in control of the governments or to what extent the institutions of capitalism are under the dominion of reactionary forces. His article in the February issue of his magazine, entitled "The Morganization of the World," is his latest statement along this line.

Comrade Wilshire has shown conclusively, I think, that the present system, from a physical point of view, will break its own neck. And, while he has given us no definite outline as to just how this transition from capitalism to Socialism will be made, he has implied that the physical pressure will compel the development of the psychological requirement necessary to the change in a somewhat orderly manner. He has intimated that the new movement will take hold of the entire population, in the last analysis, in a sort of great religious revival.

In this article I am going to attempt to give the industrial basis for this "psychological requirement," at the same time presenting the logical methods which will be pursued and a sort of "blue print" of the new order, and all, I believe, with the Marxian method of historical analysis in mind.

In the first place, while I will admit that the tremendous development of the trust, the rapid elimination of the middle class, the remarkable improvement of modern machinery and the resultant of all three—an ever-increasing army of unemployed—is more and more impressing upon the minds of all classes the inevitable necessity of a revolutionary change in the industrial system, still, I cannot wholly agree with Comrade Wilshire.

Instead, I look upon the transition as the result of a definite organized movement of the workers with its foundation in the industries and developing itself, in proportion to its growing power, in opposition to capitalism and the institutions of the capitalist state. In the words of the "Communist Manifesto" I believe "the proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." And, further, that "the proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air." And also, from Marx's "Capital," that "along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this, too, grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself."

I believe, with Marx, and often quoted by Wilshire, that "the monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it." And that "centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument"; also that "this integument is burst asunder; the knell of capitalist private property sounds; the expropriators are expropriated."

But I don't believe that this transition movement will be led by forces through the political state nor of it; nor do I believe, regardless of how critical the situation may become, that elements from either the capitalist class or the dying middle class will lead the movement. Also, I don't believe the organized craft union movement of to-day will direct this revolutionary change.

Louis Duchez

While I believe these dying elements of the old society, just mentioned, are playing their part in the process leading up to the transition, I also believe that the revolutionary movement proper will find its base among what are to-day known as the "unorganized" workers; that these "unorganized" workers not only hold the strategic position in the present industrial system, and that they will not only be compelled by "the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production" to exercise the power of their "strategic position," but that this same "mechanism" furnishes the "psychological requirement" for the leadership of the transition movement and the reorganization of the new society when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

I believe that the capitalist class, the middle class and the craft union movement, each in its organized capacity, will fight tooth and toe nail to the last ditch the new movement aiming at the reorganization of society; that the very existence of each, as such, compels it to cling with a death-like grip to the present order and to harmonize itself to the mould of capitalist society; and that, in the last analysis, each will give way when "the proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society," begins to "stir"—and not before.

Argument is unnecessary to prove that neither the capitalist class nor the middle class, as such, will assist the revolutionary movement—other than through their opposition to it. Regarding the craft union movement, represented in the U. S. by the American Federation of Labor, there is considerable doubt in this respect in the minds of many sincere Socialists.

However, a few words of explanation regarding its economic status and the tactics it employs dispel at once this false conception. The backbone of the A. F. of L. to-day is the building trades industry—and the building trades is not a basic industry. Modern invention and monopoly has not invaded it to the extent as has been the case in mining, steel manufacturing and transportation industries. As an organization the building trades are positively reactionary and unproletarian in practice. Each of the unions of this industry not only perpetuates craft division in structure and in practice, but through high entrance fees, the limitation of apprentices, the attempt to prevent the introduction of improved machinery and scores of other such methods demonstrates that its chief aim is to look out for itself, regardless of the remainder of the working class, and to perpetuate the old order as long as possible. Nor can we expect it to do otherwise at this stage of the revolutionary movement. To cast aside these reactionary methods is to invite at once the open hostility of their employers, reduce themselves to the real proletarian level, and thereby voluntarily endure more painfully, at least temporarily, the sufferings of their class. Of course there are economic forces, such as the use of concrete in the building trades, big strikes in the basic industries, etc., which are rapidly bringing the workers of this industry to this proletarian level. But in the meantime they will fight the revolutionary movement. Also, with this non-proletarian, non-revolutionary method of struggle, there is also a corresponding adherence to the ideals of the present order.

Now, as to the proletariat proper and the "psychological requirement" referred to above. While there is a large and ever growing larger number of the small merchant and professional classes exploited as mercilessly as the manual workers are, the immediate interests of the former is to perpetuate the present system. The same is true with the type of craft unionists referred to above. So we must seek elsewhere for a revolutionary economic class and a revolutionary psychology. And we find it. It is that class in society—"the lowest stratum of our present society, those who have nothing to lose but their chains"—stripped of everything but their bare labor power; and this they have to sell from day to day in order to live. The modern machine has done away with their skill; they are but cogs in the great steel and iron structures of industry. They are part of "the immense majority," and this "majority" is ever growing larger. Capitalism has broken up their homes—if they ever had any. It keeps them on the move from place to place, and not only undermines their political confidence—if they ever had any—but it takes away their political privileges as well. It places them out of

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harmony with capitalist institutions, capitalist morals and capitalist ideals. In short, it creates in their minds an utter hopelessness of relief in the present order of things. The gulf between them and "official capitalist society" becomes greater and makes a deeper and deeper impression upon their minds. The struggle between them and their economic masters becomes more an unveiled economic struggle; the hostility becomes more pronounced on both sides—more in the open. They are driven by the very "mechanism of the process" to not only lose faith in, but to hate everything capitalistic. They are, in the last analysis, compelled to look to themselves, to their own organized economic power, to better their conditions.

And so their minds are directed to the very center of the class struggle and the point of exploitation—the industries. Here they learn the secret of their masters' power—industrial organization. They, too, organize along the same lines as the masters, into one giant union embracing every bona fide wage earner, irrespective of sex, color, nationality, creed, political faith or territorial division.

With the first appearance of this form of organization, open hostility manifests itself in both the capitalist and proletarian camps. The tactics of revolutionary industrial unionism are adopted; the hostility of the political state is met by methods of exterior pressure; the new organization carries within itself the very germs of social reconstruction.

On the other hand, the capitalist class, at the first sight of this new power which they plainly see threatens them, rallies to its aid all the dying elements of the old society. True to the nature of a decaying organism or institution, it employs methods of an extremely reactionary character. It becomes more arrogant, industrially and politically.

Of course strikes become more numerous and extensive. Parliamentary wranglings are obscured or buried entirely by the thundering conflict of the two classes arrayed in a final struggle on the industrial field.

In this struggle the sheep are separated from the goats on the proletarian side. A proletarian leadership is spontaneously developed with minds trained under the modern machine process; minds that are direct, definite and farseeing—and unhampered by the "ideals" and baseless romanticism of the old society. The direct struggle sharpens the revolutionary appetite of the workers and develops within them a tremendous consciousness of proletarian power. Revolutionary spirit blazes and the organization grows by leaps and bounds. With the minds of the workers kept glued to the direct struggle, all the hostile forces of capitalist society fade into insignificance and a bolder, more daring spirit expresses itself. The final aim, nourishing and stimulating itself in the actual struggle, unfolds itself before the minds of the workers; they are impressed with the tremendousness of their social and historic mission; the ideal of the Co-operative Commonwealth, shorn of the cobwebs of subjective bourgeois thought, fills their lives with new individual and social desires, and their clearness of vision and definiteness of aim multiplies their strength. And as they gather strength and greater faith, the forces of the capitalist class become weaker and its upholders and apologizers lose hope entirely and finally "cave in."

The new social organization, which has actually by this time the industrial administration in its own hands, transfers what few useful functions the capitalist state has been performing to the new industrial organization and the centers of social cohesion find a new base.

To those who have been studying Socialism from the standpoint of modifying the present system through the capitalist state until finally the Co-operative Commonwealth is reached, the above will appear "idealistic" and "impractical." They think that this "unorganized" working class is too ignorant to conceive and carry out such a program as we have outlined.

In the first place it will be learned that these individuals are not familiar with the revolutionary tremendousness of modern capitalism, so clearly analyzed by Marx, and which has been the burden of Wilshire's song the last fifteen years. They cannot see where the present industrial system is developing such a momentum that it cannot even control it itself and that the rising tide is developing such a pressure from both sides of the great conflict that political programs and reactionary forces of every character are being pushed aside entirely. In most cases these individuals are isolated from the actual struggles in the socialized industries and they cannot watch the development of revolutionary thought nor feel the growing power of solidarity of the workers. To them the great mass of workers, with shop minds and limited vocabularies and unable to express what they mean clearly, even if they do know, are ignorant, and hopeless and degenerated. And, of course, taking this view, it follows that they expect the revolutionary movement to choose its leadership from those higher up in social life.

In justification of the positions taken in this article I refer the reader to the history of the Industrial Workers of the World of America and the General Confederation of Labor of France. The latter is the largest revolutionary union in the world to-day, taking in two-thirds of all the organized workers of France. And it is just now gaining that momentum that will give it power enough to take the French nation in its own hands in the not far off future.

In regard to the I. W. W., no great material growth has taken place; up until now it has been shaking from itself reactionary elements that tended to graft it to the old society. Yet its brief history has been filled with important things, too. Its founders were the leading characters in what is, perhaps, the greatest conflict between capital and labor in this country—that of the Western Federation of Miners and the economic masters of the West. It is also now getting a firm foothold in the domain of the steel trust. Besides, it is showing its hostility to the capitalist state in the Spokane free speech fight.

Students of economic and social history may study with much profit the class struggle in America from now on.

A New Anti-Socialist Philosophy

(*Continued from page* 8.)

inconsistency at times, but rises superior to it. On the whole, however, he follows his main propositions to their conclusion with relentless logic. Continuing his justification of the duplicity of the high caste rulers, he remarks:

> The lesser weapons that I have mentioned are bribery and sophistry. . . . If it were not possible for politicians to hoodwink and bamboozle the electorate, the Secretary of State at Washington would practice the statecraft of the village grocery store. . . .
>
> Bribery, I believe, is often more efficient in combatting the eternal running amuck of the Chandala caste than either brute force or sophistry. . . . In some of the counties (of Maryland), I am told, fully 90 per cent. (of the voters) accept honorariums from the party disbursing officers. Horrible? Not at all. Just suppose that these swine actually recorded their own thoughts in the ballot-box! . . . And yet you Socialists, whether you are disposed to admit it or not, propose to wipe out the just and providential disabilities which now differentiate all such vermin from their betters.

Those who wish to see how LaMonte deals with this general position, are recommended to purchase the book and follow the controversy themselves. The quotations which we have given from Mr. Mencken form but a very minute portion of his general argument, and there are scores of other paragraphs quite as startling and audacious as those reprinted here. While we believe they are fully disposed of by Mr. LaMonte in his answers, they lose nothing in piquancy and general interest because of that belief. Nor do we hesitate to admit that they apparently form the most logical argument against Socialism that we have as yet seen in print.

However, they possess one fatal drawback in the fact that the bourgeois dare not publicly use them against Socialism. Even if their truth were admitted, their general and public announcement by the ruling class would be the signal for the almost instant destruction of the present order of things. The Nietzschean philosophy and the logical deductions therefrom cannot be proclaimed from the capitalist house tops. They constitute a true individualist philosophy which must remain the secret possession of the individual—a philosophy which is not for "Men," but for "the Man." The philosophical legacy left by Frederich Nietzsche to the ruling classes of the world is a sword which, if they dare to draw publicly in their own defence, will turn upon and slay them.

Mr. Mencken has but pushed to their logical conclusion views which in embryo are held by many bourgeois opponents of Socialism, but which, lacking his courage, they dare not develop, and are consequently forced to occupy a shifty, evasive and apologetic position, which rightly draws upon them the contempt and ridicule of the Socialist. The notorious Mallock, recently imported by the Civic Federation for the annihilation of Socialism, with his "ability of the capitalist" theory, only dares to hint at what Mr. Mencken boldly postulates as fundamental. Compared as anti-Socialist champions, the figure of Mencken looms up colossal beside the timorous and ridiculous Mallock.

So while to our great regret we realize that these arguments are unavailable to the majority of our opponents, none the less Mr. Mencken well merits the thanks of all Socialists for publicly advocating them in this controversy. At the same time we feel that his display of logic, debating skill and rare courage might well have been expended on a much more worthy cause than in defence of a social group, who, rather than rely upon and boldly proclaim the "eternal, biological truth" which forever assures their mastership over their fellows, stoop to duplicity, hypocrisy, and if necessary, murder, and a deliberate fostering of delusions among the masses of mankind, to further safeguard their rule and dominion of the human race. An eternal truth whose existence is based upon lies, seems not only questionable in itself, but hardly worth such an elaborate defence.

However, it is equally true that if Mr. Mencken had not taken up the cudgels for it in this fashion, we should have had no book, which would have been a still greater cause for regret.

MEN *vs.* THE MAN. By Robert Rives LaMonte and Henry Louis Mencken. Cloth, 252 pp. $1.35 net. Henry Holt & Co., New York. For sale by the Wilshire Book Co., 200 William St., New York.

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Socialism vs. Oxford University

By JESSIE E. CARTER, *London, Eng.*

THERE is going on in Oxford to-day a struggle which is of supreme importance to English working men. All the indications we have of it are a few casual paragraphs in the papers from time to time containing no hint of the vital issue which is being fought out between the powerful University on the one hand, and the first English Labor College on the other. Those who are watching the rise of the workers to political power can see quite clearly that the stage is now reached in which labor must *know* in order to *do*. Ten years ago the first attempt to educate the workers *in the interest of the workers* was made by the opening of Ruskin College, which was to provide the necessary machinery for turning out working men capable of playing an important part in the struggle of their own class for freedom. From the very first, the attitude of the University to this independent college has been antagonistic, but very early in the history of their relations this antagonism became veiled by a subtle appearance of friendship, and the record of recent years is the record of an insidious attempt to attach Ruskin College to the University. We are not left in any doubt as to the meaning of this Machiavellian move. In the Oxford and Working-class Joint Committee Report we read, "It has become incumbent upon Universities to watch carefully every sign that a new class is ready to receive their guidance in order that the seed of University culture may be deposited wherever it has suitable material on which to work." A Ruskin College student has interpreted this admirably for us: —"the brains of those who are likely to lead their fellows are to be surcharged with the ideas of a class above them, so that their interests may become identical with the interests of that class." Lord Curzon, who has recently been bestowing on a grateful country his "Principles and Methods of University Reform," regards it as a danger that a workingmen's college outside the University should grow up, subject neither to its influence nor its discipline. He goes on to propose that the Principal (of the Working Men's College) should be therefore appointed *by the University!* The suggestion would read like a piece of futile impertinence if it were not for the fact that a few months ago the University did actually succeed in deposing the Principal of Ruskin College.

The story of how this happened is instructive. First came a gentle succession of co-opted members of the Ruskin College executive favorable to closer relations with the University. Then the straws began to show the way the wind blew. Labor had had the great good fortune to obtain in Dennis Hird a Principal who stood heart and soul for its principles. Such a man is dangerous, especially when he takes an active share in the teaching of the College, and his subjects are such pregnant ones as sociology, evolution and logic. Accordingly in 1907 a first attempt at making Ruskin College teaching more acceptable to the University took place. While Mr. Hird was temporarily absent from the College it was proposed to alter the curriculum by substituting literature and temperance for Mr. Hird's three subjects. But the executive reckoned without their students. Here were men who, some of them at their own expense, some of them through the combined efforts of their fellow-workmen, had made shift to spare a precious year, or a couple of years, or it might be but a few terms, from their working, wage-earning life for a real definite purpose—to learn in order to go back and help their fellows. They came up from the mines, out from the factories and workshops, with a steady purpose—so to learn that in the future, returning to their labors, they might point and lead the way to industrial freedom. For them sociology, evolution and logic had a vital interest which they were not prepared to sacrifice to the gentle blandishments of literature, while the suggestion that they should be taught temperance won from them the contempt it deserved. They had no use for these in their curriculum, and so they declared in a body that they should leave the College if the alteration was made. The diplomatic Executive withdrew the proposal—and altered the form of attack. Three years more, and we find them trying to move the man who more than any one else was making the College a living power. Sociology as a subject could be made harmless enough; it was sociology *as taught by Dennis Hird* which was so objectionable; evolution could be made a thing innocuous and vague, a matter of gentle general retrospect; as Hird taught it it pointed no uncertain moral, and had its message for the present and future as well as from the past. Logic—why, Logic had held its own among the schoolmen from time immemorial, and served as an opportunity for pleasant bandying of wits, a gentle pretty gymnastics of the mind which hurt no one and touched no vital point; in the hands of Dennis Hird it became the sword with which his boys should clear their way. So now we hear that there is no objection to the teaching of Sociology, Evolution or Logic; indeed, professors shall be appointed, as at the University, to carry these on; but Hird must be got rid of. Now what could be found against him? Why, that was not hard. Had he not been known to encourage students to sing The Red Flag at the end of their social meetings, and had they not taken up the suggestion with gusto and a quite unnecessary emphasis? Item No. 1 then,—He does not maintain discipline in the College. Had he not referred students to some of his own writings for the elucidation of points which arose out of his teachings? Item No. 2 hints broadly at self-interest. For want of further items the Executive falls back on Item 1, and by a majority (long live the principle of co-option!) votes that he be called on to resign. Accordingly in March, 1909, Mr. Hird sent in his resignation—and in protest all the students, with the exception of three, struck in a body. They appointed from their own number lecturers who carried on the work for the time being, they organized the house service themselves and maintained their own discipline, but they made it perfectly clear that they had come to a Labor College to learn how to serve the interests of labor, and that if the aim and purpose of the College were to be sacrificed, they would cease to be students there.

The students were never for one moment deceived as to the issue at stake, Ruskin College was succeeding as a Labor College—it was alive enough to be a danger; therefore its life was to be gently squeezed out by the embrace of the University. Dennis Hird was to be removed because he was too keen-witted not to see the peril in which the interests of labor stood, and too courageous to hold his tongue. There was the case in a nutshell.

The men laid it before their Trade Unions, but in the meantime the press had been inspired, and was publishing accounts of the strike with a subtle flavor of disapproval underlying them; nothing definite, but a suggestion that perhaps the strike proved the case for unsatisfactory discipline, a shake of the editorial head over such violent methods and, following these, full plausible statements on the side of the Executive. So *suggestio falsi* and *suppressio veri* trotted cleverly in harness and gained their end quite naturally, since English readers for the most part learnt their logic harmlessly in the good old way. Some of the Trade Unions supported their men, but more were taken in by the Ruskin Executive. Only one or two saw the grand issue at stake—should there or should there not be a free untrammelled Labor College? These few said Aye, and forthwith there arose a new college—the Central Labor College—which should be clearly and unmistakably independent from the very first, and should start with Hird as its Principal. On August Bank Holiday the old Ruskin boys foregathered from the industrial centres of England to wish their old Head well in the new venture. A tense meeting in the afternoon at which the need for an independent college was demonstrated to the Trades Union representatives present—then tea in the two houses rented in North Oxford which form its modest beginning and last of all before the men were swallowed up by the next day's toil, a good evening together.

Now within the last few weeks come the latest developments. Oxford University will not tolerate a Labor College in its midst without making every effort to turn it out. The houses rented in North Oxford belong to St. John's College and have been sub-let by the direct tenant, who had a special clause in the lease permitting the houses to be used for scholastic purposes. As a matter of fact they had been used for some time past as a private school for young ladies. St. John's College is now taking steps to evict the present tenants, "scholastic purposes" evidently not including, in the eyes of the College authorities, the education of working men to think for themselves.

And the original Ruskin College—how does that stand? The Executive are making great efforts to obtain the support of various unions; their methods are as illuminating as ever. A meeting of different representatives was called at Oxford in November. The meeting was followed by *an elaborate lunch at Balliol College*. After sumptuous fare and the usual platitudes, those attending the meeting were taken in parties to visit the sights of Oxford, and after tea were entertained by a reverend gentleman who discoursed to them of Robert Browning and his poems. Ruskin College, as far as the interests of the workers are concerned, is as dead as a doornail. When the Central Labor College eats out of the University's hand, is led around the town and returns obediently to tea and Tennyson, it will be dead too. In the meantime it has taken up its position unmistakably in the fighting line in behalf of a principle well worth the battle.

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How About It?

J. H. C., Chicago, Ill.—If Socialism is not opposed to religion, why do the churches attack it?

When the churches attack Socialism they are representing not religion, but Capitalism. As institutions which have grown up under Capitalism, and have been fostered and supported by capitalists, they must naturally do what they can to maintain and preserve the environment in which their institutional existence finds its main support. With this attitude, religion *per se* has nothing to do. It is simply a recognition of the law of self-preservation. At present the majority of so-called religious people believe—erroneously of course—that Socialism will destroy religion, but this belief is not fundamental or permanent, but merely temporary. It will decay just in proportion to the growth and strength Socialism shows, and as a matter of fact, the signs of its passing are even now evident in the recent appearance of what are called Christian Socialist organizations.

Canadian Subscriber, Toronto, Can.—Is it not an incorrect use of language to call the capitalist a "robber"? Does it do us any good?

It may be considered, strictly speaking, incorrect, but it should be remembered that the word "robber" is generally used in a very loose fashion in many other applications. When we think a storekeeper has overcharged us for an article we very often apply the epithet to him and describe the transaction as "a robbery." Child-labor is often described as "robbing the cradle," and these instances of loose usage might be multiplied indefinitely, and nobody seemingly objects to such usage. Almost everyone will agree also that the Trusts are "robbers." The fact is, that while the word has a definite, concrete meaning, it is used to cover other things that are akin to robbery in some senses, that cannot be correctly described as such. The conception of the capitalist as a robber springs from the recognition that he appropriates something for which he gives no equivalent—the surplus value created by the labor power of the wage worker. This, however, hardly justifies the use of the term in a correct sense. It is somewhat nearer the truth to describe the system as a "robbery" of the workers, but still there is an element of incorrectness there also. The second question is of such a nature that no positive answer can be given, but our opinion, on the whole, is that it has no particular effect on the Socialist movement one way or the other.

F. D. Pittsburg, Pa.—Why do not the Socialists join hands with all other reform bodies for the general welfare of the community?

In the first place, because Socialism is not a reform movement and has no relation to "other reform bodies." Secondly, the Socialists are practical, level-headed people and cannot make common cause with visionaries, of whom the ordinary capitalistic "reformer" stands to-day as the most extreme type. Broadly speaking, there is no such thing as "reform," for despite all the efforts of reformers, the evils they attack have not only multiplied but have become increasingly impossible of removal. While the reformer is busying himself with "casting empty buckets into empty wells, and drawing nothing up," the Socialist bends his energies to the removal of the system—capitalism—from which all these evils spring, as the only practical method of dealing with them. That is the difference between reformer and revolutionist—between reformer and Socialist—a fundamental difference so great as to effectively prevent their working together. In short, they have no common object.

A Prayer

By Ellis Parker Butler, in *Puck*.

Protect me, Lord, from these, thy saints, the sanctimonious few;
O save me from their clutches when my mortgages come due.
O put me not into the hands of these, the men of woe,
Who call the earth a "vale of tears," and strive to make it so.
O guard me from the blue-nosed good who lend at cent per cent,
And take a thousand-dollar lien for ninety dollars lent.
Make me, instead, the debtor of some man with human taints;
At any rate, protect me, Lord, from these, thy modern saints.

Their thoughts are far from mortal life; they never, never sin;
They strive to bring to righteousness the very men they skin.
They never go a step astray: they never deign to smile;
They sin not, and they only aim to castigate the vile.
But, oh! why should they count it best with cold and holy arts
To rivet sheet-iron shields around their hard and stony hearts?
Their ears are deaf enough, God wot, to pleadings and complaints,
And so, I pray, protect me, Lord, from these, thy modern saints!

O save me from the sanctified, the too uncommon good,
Who tell us what we shouldn't do, and preach us what we should;
These saints who squeeze a dollar twice and wear cheap aureoles;
Will take our children's bread and then attempt to save our souls!
Give me, instead, a worldly man with some healthy stains
That show he has the common blood of mankind in his veins,
And heart that swells enough sometimes to overthrow constraints;
But in my need, protect me, Lord, from self-appointed saints!

What Every Socialist Knows

(*From Life.*)

That a capitalist can't help it.

That multi-millionaires are impossible without paupers.

That a Trust is better for those on the inside than for those outside.

That he comes about as near getting what he votes for as the majority of the people.

That the worst things that are said about him are true to a greater extent of Republicans and Democrats.

That our methods make paupers faster than charity can relieve them.

What is Socialism?

ON page 5 of this issue will be found an article which owes its appearance to the chance interview described therein and which actually occurred some time ago. Believing that our visitor was but one of thousands seeking similar knowledge, we inserted in the article a statement to the effect that we would publish a list of works dealing specifically with the question, "What is Socialism." The list which appears below has been carefully selected with a view to answering this question as definitely as possible. All the books mentioned therein can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? By Reginald Wright Kauffman. Cloth, $1.35 postpaid; $1.25 net.

SOCIALISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. By Morris Hillquit. Cloth, $1.50 net.

ECONOMICS OF SOCIALISM. By H. M. Hyndman. Cloth, $1.25.

PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM. By A. M. Simons. Paper, 5 cents.

COLLECTIVISM AND INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION. By Emil Vandervelde. Cloth, 50 cents.

HISTORY OF SOCIALISM. By Thomas Kirkup. Cloth, $2.25.

SOCIALISM: ITS GROWTH AND OUTCOME. By William Morris and Belfort Bax. Cloth, $1.25.

SOCIALISM FOR STUDENTS. By Joseph Cohen. Cloth, 50 cents.

SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC. By Frederick Engels. Cloth, 50 cents.

MODERN SOCIALISM. By R. C. K. Ensor. Cloth, $1.50.

SOCIALISM: A STUDY OF AND INTERPRETATION OF SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES. Cloth, $1.50.

THE SOCIALISTS: WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY STAND FOR. Cloth, 50 cents; paper, 10 cents.

THE COMMON SENSE OF SOCIALISM. Cloth, $1; paper, 25 cents.

THE SUBSTANCE OF SOCIALISM. Cloth, $1.

The above four works are by John Spargo, the well-known American Socialist writer.

PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. Cloth, 50 cents; paper, 35 cents.

MODERN SOCIALISM. Cloth, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents.

Both these works are by Rev. Chas. Vail, an American Socialist.

SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN. By Allan L. Benson. Paper, 15 cents.

EASY LESSONS IN SOCIALISM. By W. H. Leffingwell. Paper, 5 cents.

SOCIALISM. By William Scholl McClure. Paper, 5 cents.

SOCIALISM: WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT SEEKS TO ACCOMPLISH. By William Liebknecht. Paper, 10 cents.

WHERE WE STAND. By John Spargo. Paper, 2 cents.

THE QUINTESSENCE OF SOCIALISM. By Dr. A. Schaeffle. Cloth, $1.

Note.—This is an anti-Socialist work, but Socialism is fairly described by the author.

A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM. By Thomas Kirkup. Cloth, 40 cents.

This list does not include all the works from which a primary knowledge of Socialism can be obtained, but rather those whose main features are given to the explanation of what Socialism is. They range from two-cent pamphlets to two-dollar books, and while in the main they agree in fundamental principles, are of course very unequal in the exhaustive treatment of the subject. The majority of the works given are written by American Socialists, a few of the best by European writers being also included. One or two from non-Socialists are also given for their impartial treatment of the subject.

We believe that the reader who has been troubled with the question, What is Socialism?, will find in this list a satisfactory answer. He should bear in mind, however, that the paper pamphlets, though excellent, are but introductory, and that it requires consicerable reading before a comprehensive knowledge of what Socialism is, can be acquired.

Note.—On books marked net, postage or expressage must be paid by purchaser. In general, 10 per cent. of the price will cover necessary charges.

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Any book mentioned in these columns can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. Unless otherwise stated, prices do not include postage.

THE SONG OF SONGS. By Herman Sudermann. Translated by Thomas Seltzer. Cloth, 640 pp. $1.40 net. B. W. Huebsch, Publisher, New York.

Philistia has been raging over Sudermann's last book. When it appeared in Germany a year and a half ago, American papers received disconsolate correspondence from Berlin touching the "most obscene book of the century." And now that the Anglo-Saxon public can read the "Song of Songs" in Thomas Seltzer's excellent translation, Sudermann is knifed viciously by puritanical hypocrites whose ideal as to novels is the Winston Churchill type of writings where the hero after hesitating for 458 pages finally "stoops and kisses her." They do not ask whether that respectful kiss reveals much of a man's or woman's psychology; it is proper, and that is quite enough.

Not every woman, however, sails safely over life's choppy waters to finally land in the serene haven of married life. Lilly Czepanek had a scatterbrain of a father who wrote a symphony, "The Song of Songs," destined to some time fire the world. One summer day he surprised his family by leaving his house quite suddenly, giving no date for his return. He was never heard from again. Inheriting his vague tendency for dreams and unfulfilled desires, as well as the dream itself, Lilly was alone in the world, will-less, ignorant and a decided physical temptation for men. Clinging superstitiously to the manuscript of the "Song of Songs," that talisman which was to bring her happiness, she tries her hand at two or three trades. Soon, however, her heart, her senses, and her little middle class longing for a settled home lead her to become the mistress of various men she meets.

She leads this life without great joys, without great sorrows, without great emotions, or without becoming the wiser for her experiences. Her childlike soul which nothing could embitter or in which no deceit could arouse any instinct for revenge was only so weak that it never offered any resistance to any position in which Fate might place her. And yet when after a rather variegated career she finally married a sentimental and heavy manufacturer of art bronzes, the business world, which had never understood her, was not surprised. She had always been a dangerous woman, they said.

That is what many reviewers have said, too. A righteous weekly said that she had dragged down every one she associated with. When readers cannot for themselves discover the full import of a book and their lack of analysis prevents them from dissecting the character, why do they not rely on the author himself for an interpretation of his work? And this is how Sudermann summarizes Lilly's character on the last page of his book.

"She was nothing but a poor thing who had been crushed and exploited, and would drag along through life as best she could. She would not return to the old life of dissipation. That was certain. No matter how much Richard's hang dog look might plead and beg. To be sure she had been robbed of her desire to work, and it seemed very doubtful whether it would ever come back to her again. But after all, something would present itself which would enable her to live in peace and virtue. Millions of human beings ask for nothing better and call it 'happiness.'"

UNA FAIRWEATHER.

LOST FACE. By Jack London. Cloth, 240 pp. $1.50. The Macmillan Company, Publishers, New York.

The reading public which has long ago recognized in Jack London a passed master in the art of the short story, will find in this, his last work, no deterioration of power. The series included in the present volume, like many other of the London stories, are descriptive of life in Alaska and the wild and savage territories of the Yukon provinces. The volume takes its title from the initial story, which describes how a native Indian chief was tricked by a Russian adventurer. The Indians having captured a party of piratical white traders, proceeded to do them to death by the customary horrible tortures, and the story goes on to describe how the adventurer being reserved for the last, played on the superstition of the chief and succeeded in acquiring a speedy death by decapitation, thus avoiding the torture. The chief, who had been thus tricked, for the ruse was discovered as soon as the axe stroke fell, was regarded as having "lost face" by his tribe, and acquired that appellation. The remaining stories are fully equal in quality to the initial one, and all strongly reflect the wonderfully virile power of the writer in depicting the doings of primitive man in the primeval wilderness.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? By Reginald Wright Kauffman. Cloth, 264 pp. $1.25 net. Moffat, Yard & Co., Publishers, 31 E. 17th St., New York.

If the reader has any non-Socialist friends or acquaintances who take refuge from his well-meaning efforts to effect their conversion, by insisting that Socialism is too indefinite for concrete discussion, that no one can say positively what it is, that there are "fifty-seven varieties," etc., we can confidently recommend Mr. Kauffman's book as fully adequate to meet the case. The writer does not appear as an advocate of Socialism in any sense, but rather as an impartial investigator whose object is to explain the propositions and assumptions on which Socialism is founded, the usual objections to Socialist postulates, and how Socialists generally meet them. In short, Mr. Kauffman, while admitting minor differences of opinion among Socialists, strives to give his readers what is recognized as the majority view, the ideas on which the general Socialist movement is based, the predominating thought so to speak, and we can say without reserve that he has succeeded admirably in this task. The Socialist conceptions of "economic determinism" and the "class struggle" are lucidly explained in simple but adequate terms, as is also the object of the movement—the establishment of a co-operative industrial system that will end the struggle of classes by ending the antagonistic interests that cause the struggle. The distinction between Socialism and Anarchism, Communism and "Paternalism" is very clearly drawn in the introductory chapters, and the numerous quotations from recognized Socialist thinkers and writers, which Mr. Kauffman introduces all through the volume, show how these coincide with the general mass of opinions held in common by Socialists throughout the world, and justify the presentation made by the author. We have many Socialist volumes now appearing being issued from various publishing houses, many of them of undoubted merit, but none that we know of quite so useful or adequate as this work, for the special and peculiar purpose of conveying clear information to the non-Socialist, of the nature of a movement so often criticised from false premises and assumptions, and that the writer does not appear as an advocate, we think on the whole increases its value in this respect.

THE MARTYRDOM OF FERRER. By Joseph McCabe. Cloth, 96 pp. 50 cents. Watts & Co., Fleet Street, London, England.

Mr. McCabe's account of this historic murder, so characteristic of Spanish bigotry and cruelty, is a work which should find a place in the book collection of every student of modern world history. The results of this hideous assassination will in all likelihood shortly become apparent in political changes which Spain is now on the verge of, and which promise to put a speedy end to the malignant compact between Church and State, which has rendered Spain a byword and a hissing among all progressive peoples. The author has carefully verified the facts of the case in this volume, and has furnished the public with what is possibly the most compact, concise and accurate account of the Ferrer murder, the events leading up thereto, and the economic and political status of Spain at the present moment.

SOCIALISM FOR STUDENTS. By Joseph E. Cohen. Cloth, 153 pp. 50 cents. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.

The chapters of which this little volume are composed, first appeared as a series of articles in the International Socialist Review of Chicago. Mr. Cohen, who is a Philadelphian, and a printer by trade, is one of the most promising of the numerous host of young writers which the movement has developed. We note with much satisfaction that many Socialist papers are running the various chapters of Mr. Cohen's book in their columns serially, which is perhaps the best recommendation that can be given of their value. For a small volume, the work contains a large amount of valuable matter dealing with the fundamentals of Socialism, and easily understandable, as the author is an adept in the art of simple and straightforward expression. "Socialism for Students" is a volume we can heartily recommend for the special purpose proclaimed by its title.

THE ANCIENT MYSTERIES AND MODERN MASONRY. By Rev. Chas. H. Vail. Cloth, 214 pp. $1.00. Paper, 50 cents. Published by The Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Company, New York.

Socialists who are also Freemasons will doubtless welcome the appearance of this work by Comrade Vail, who is well known for his activity in the Socialist movement, and as the author of several very valuable treatises on Modern and Scientific Socialism and subjects connected therewith. The contents of the present volume were originally delivered as addresses in the Pullman Memorial Church at Albion, N. Y., before the members of Renovation Lodge No. 97, F. & A. M., Mr. Vail being pastor of the church above mentioned, and a 32d degree Mason. The author in his preface declares that he believes the volume will prove interesting and instructive to both members and non-members of the Order, and that while some few things will be better understood by Master Masons, his meaning will be clear to all; and in the hope that they may lead to a better understanding of the Ancient Mysteries and Modern Masonry, he bespeaks for the subject matter the careful consideration of his readers.

What is Socialism?

(*Continued from page 5.*)

to China, Corea and Manchuria. The business has been constantly declining for the last five years. The year after the war out there we exported nearly thirty million dollars' worth of goods to those parts; next year we sent a little over sixteen millions; the year following, nine millions, and last year only a little over four millions. Why," he continued, "right now we have $250,000 worth of goods on the wharf at Dalny, slowly perishing with exposure to the weather, while Japanese goods go up the country every day by the Japanese-controlled railroad. Now, if this thing goes on I see the finish of my job in the near future and, as I am well over forty and see thousands of men fully equal to myself idle and starving, I have about concluded that it's time for me to look into Socialism, as I have been told over and over again that it was the only remedy, and that society was bound to go in that direction, and until now I have been vainly looking for an explanation of what it really was."

Space does not allow of our adding more to this than saying that the most efficient way to work for Socialism is to join the Socialist party, which contains about fifty thousand members and has its headquarters at 180 Washington Street, Chicago, where the national secretary, J. Mahlon Barnes, will be glad to give all information necessary to any person applying with a view of joining. The Socialist party is organized in every State in the Union and is growing rapidly in all. In every country in the world to-day where the workers live under capitalist conditions a Socialist movement exists which in every case takes the form of a political party. The entire Socialist vote of the world is now estimated at about ten million, the total number of adherents being nearly forty million. And in no country where this world-wide movement has appeared has it ever taken a backward step; on the contrary, its record is one of continuous progress. Everywhere its object is the same; everywhere it calls upon the workers to unite for the emancipation of their class and, through their class, the emancipation of all humanity.

Books Received

SAMUEL THE SEEKER. By Upton Sinclair. Cloth, 315 pp. $1.50. B. W. Dodge & Co., Publishers, New York.

THE FREE PRESS PERSECUTION. By Sydney A. Schwartz. Paper, 31 pp. 10 cents. Free Press Publishing Co., Drawer 644, New Castle, Pa.

DIAZ THE DICTATOR. By Charles Lincoln Phifer. Paper, 123 pp. 25 cents. Published by the Author, at Girard, Kan.

PRINCE HAGEN. By Upton Sinclair. Cloth, $1; paper, 25 cents. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES. By Gustavus Myers. Vol. II. Cloth, 368 pp. $1.50. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago.

The three volumes of this work, the third of which is yet to be published, can be procured for $3.50, payable in advance.

A MODERN CHRONICLE. By Winston Churchill. Cloth, 524 pp. $1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York, Publishers.

We have received from Frank Palmer, a London publisher, two very high-class portraits, one of George Bernard Shaw, the great Socialist wit, philosopher and dramatist, and the other of Robert Blatchford, author of the celebrated "Merrie England" and editor of the "Clarion."

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EVOLUTION

By LANGDON SMITH

When you were a tadpole and I was a fish,
In the Palaeozoic time,
And side by side on the ebbing tide
We sprawled through the ooze and slime,
Or skittered with many a caudal flip
Through the depths of the Cambrian fen,
My heart was rife with the joy of life,
For I loved you even then.

Mindless we lived and mindless we loved,
And mindless at last we died;
And deep in a rift of the Caradoc drift
We slumbered side by side.
The world turned on in the lathe of time,
The hot lands heaved amain,
Till we caught our breath from the womb of death,
And crept into life again.

We were Amphibians, tailed and scaled,
And drab as a dead man's hand;
We coiled at ease 'neath the dripping trees,
Or trailed through the mud and sand,
Croaking and blind, with our three-clawed feet,
Writing a language dumb,
With never a spark in the empty dark
To hint at a life to come.

Yet happy we lived, and happy we loved,
And happy we died once more;
Our forms were rolled in the clinging mould
Of a Neocomian shore.
The eons came and the eons fled,
And the sleep that wrapped us fast
Was riven away in a newer day,
And the night of death was past.

Then light and swift through the jungle trees
We swung in our airy flights,
Or breathed in the balms of the fronded palms
In the hush of the moonless nights.
And, Oh! what beautiful years were these,
When our hearts clung each to each;
When life was filled and our senses thrilled
In the first faint dawn of speech.

Thus life by life, and love by love,
We passed through the cycles strange,
And breath by breath, and death by death,
We followed the chain of change.
Till there came a time in the law of life
When over the nursing sod
The shadows broke, and the soul awoke
In a strange, dim dream of God.

I was thewed like an Aurochs bull,
And tusked like the great Cave Bear;
And you, my sweet, from head to feet,
Were gowned in your glorious hair.
Deep in the gloom of a fireless cave,
When the night fell o'er the plain,
And the moon hung red o'er the river bed,
We mumbled the bones of the slain.

I flaked a flint to a cutting edge,
And shaped it with brutish craft;
I broke a shank from the woodland dank,
And fitted it, head and haft.
Then I hid me close by the reedy tarn,
Where the mammoth came to drink—
Through brawn and bone I drave the stone,
And slew him upon the brink.

Loud I howled through the moonlit wastes;
Loud answered our kith and kin;
From west and east to the crimson feast
The clan came trooping in.
O'er joint and gristle and padded hoof,
We fought and clawed and tore,
And cheek by jowl, with many a growl,
We talked the marvel o'er.

I carved that fight on a reindeer bone,
With rude and hairy hand;
I pictured his fall on the cavern wall
That men might understand.
For we lived by blood, and the right of might,
Ere human laws were drawn,
And the Age of Sin did not begin
Till our brutal tusks were gone.

And that was a million years ago,
In a time that no man knows;
Yet here to-night in the mellow light,
We sit at Delmonico's.
Your eyes are deep as the Devon Springs,
Your hair is as dark as jet;
Your years are few, your life is new,
Your soul untried, and yet—

Our trail is on the Kimmeridge clays,
And the scarp of the Purbeck flags;
We have left our bones in the Bagshot stones,
And deep in the Coraline crags.
Our love is old, our lives are old,
And death may come amain;
Should it come to-day, what man may say
We shall not live again?

God wrought our souls from the Tremadoc beds
And furnished them wings to fly;
He sowed our spawn in the world's dim dawn,
And I know that it shall not die;
Though cities have sprung above the graves
Where the crook-boned men made war,
And the ox-wain creaks o'er the buried caves,
Where the mummied mammoths are.

* * * *

Then as we linger at luncheon here,
O'er many a dainty dish,
Let us drink anew to the time when you
Were a Tadpole and I was a Fish.

MENDELISM

By R. C. PUNNETT

What Arthur Morrow Lewis says:

"Your edition of Mendelism is greatly superior to the other edition of about one-half the size. I spent considerable time with De Vries' bulky volume, and am glad we have at last something on the question that will meet the popular demand. I shall make this a leading seller at the Garrick next Winter. Your pertinent preface making the Socialist application of the theory, easily doubles its value from our viewpoint. I expect to make this theory the subject of one of my lectures this Winter, dealing generally with Mendel, as on a previous occasion I dealt generally with De Vries."

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The Circulating Book Shelf

If we are going to fight we must have weapons.

The weapon of the twentieth century is knowledge.

Knowledge is applied intelligence—the intellect illumined.

Knowledge also means light, and it is going to take a great deal of light to get us out of the black pit of Capitalism.

Light means education. Education prepares a man to do his own thinking, and when a man can do his own thinking he is on the high road to Socialism.

We believe that the Circulating Book Shelf is going to accomplish wonders in the general spread of Socialism.

With your personal help it is our firm conviction that it will not be long before we shall be able to have a national library of circulating literature in full swing.

Some day we hope to build a great central library and to have a printing press which will enable us to print books so cheaply that we may all have them—but this is a secret.

Already we feel greatly encouraged at the number of replies which we have received from people who want to join the Circulating Book Shelf. Letters have come in from all parts of the country. They are full of enthusiasm and some of them contain excellent suggestions for shelf-workers. These suggestions will be printed in the Magazine from time to time.

Remember that it doesn't make any difference how few books you start with—so long as you start.

It is quite possible to start a shelf with one book.

Every village, town and city should have from one to as many shelves as possible.

Once you have sent in your application and become a member of the Circulating Book Shelf you are ready for work.

This done the first step is to choose a book for circulation. If you do not wish to make your own selection the central shelf will gladly help you out. The main thing is to get good books in circulation as quickly as possible and to keep them going. Once you have started a book on its rounds the central shelf will expect you to keep a careful record of its history.

We want all the ideas you can give us in regard to financing and running the club.

Remember that it is your individual effort that is going to make the Circulating Book Shelf a success.

The Milwaukee victory was only a stepping stone—it is for you and me to help duplicate that success throughout the country.

This can only be done by the intelligent spread of the best propaganda literature.

The revolution is coming—let us help to hasten the glad day of ultimate victory in the great work of education and organization.

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Books for Socialists

The following list of books is not adapted for propaganda, but is exceptionally good for gifts from one Socialist to another:

Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. By KARL MARX. Cloth, 314 pages. This book is important as a forerunner of Marx's "Capital," and considered by many to be of nearly as great importance. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 10 cents.

Communism in Central Europe. KARL KAUTSKY. 293 pages. This is one of Kautsky's most important works that is not generally known in this country. It should be in the library of every Socialist. Superior cloth. Regular price $1.50. Special price 75 cents. Postage 16 cents.

History of the Commune of 1871. By LISSAGARAY. One of the best and fairest histories of that great event. It should be in every Socialist library in the country, and every Socialist should have it in his private library. This is a special library edition containing 500 pages and published to sell at $3.00. Regular price $3.00. Special price 75 cents. Postage 16 cents.

The People's Marx. GABRIEL DEVILLE. Cloth, 291 pages. An excellent epitome of Marx. Many people of moderate education will find the fundamental principles expressed very clearly in this volume. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 8 cents.

SOCIALIST NOVELS—Cloth Bound

An Eye for an Eye. CLARENCE DARROW. 213 pages. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 7 cents.

The Iron Heel. JACK LONDON. 354 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

Toilers and Idlers. JOHN R. MCMAHON. 195 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 50 cents. Postage 8 cents.

The Story of a Labor Agitator. JOSEPH R. BUCHANAN. 461 pages. Regular price $1.00. Special price 50 cents. Postage 14 cents.

The Jungle. UPTON SINCLAIR. 413 pages. Regular price 75 cents. Special price 50 cents. Postage 12 cents.

A Little Brother of the Rich. JOSEPH MEDILL PATERSON. 361 pages. Regular price $1.50. Special price 90 cents. Postage 12 cents.

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JUNE, 1910 FIVE CENTS

WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

WHOSE SHOW IS IT, ANYHOW?

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WILSHIRE BISHOP CREEK MINE

Recently the Wilshire Bishop Creek Co. sent out to stockholders a sketch of a stamp mill and cyanide plant as proposed by the Traylor Engineering Company for the Bishop Creek Mine. The directors of the Company are giving this matter very careful consideration, having had estimates and proposals offered by a number of companies, but steps will not actually be taken until all previous plans have been checked and mill tests verified by the best of experts. This is now being attended to. A sufficient number of shares have been contracted for to enable me to assure the stockholders and the directors that the mill will positively be built.

Stock Now Selling at 55c. a Share.

This stock is now offered at 55c., par value, $5.00, in ten monthly instalments instead of—as in the beginning—three monthly instalments. The number of shares already sold justifies this change, and I believe in a very short time the necessary number will be disposed of when these attractive terms are announced.

We now feel confident that the element of risk which attaches to every gold mining venture in its initial stages is practically eliminated and need no longer be taken into consideration, the development of the property having now reached a point where certainty takes the place of probability.

It may be said without either exaggeration or reserve that as an investment the Wilshire Bishop Creek Company property is now in a position where the promise of profitable returns made during the prospecting stage has been thoroughly confirmed. Profitable returns are now assured; all that remains is to secure the final portion of the necessary equipment and start the actual working of the mine immediately.

The one great desideratum — the existence of a sufficient and payable ore body—is no longer a matter of chance, speculation or even probability. That existence has been actually demonstrated and certified beyond the slightest possibility of doubt or question, and is a matter on which the most skeptical can satisfy themselves. Many thousands of tons of ore blocked out and in plain sight of all who care to investigate furnish all the verification needed on this point. And that this ore body carries payable values is attested by innumerable assays conducted and guaranteed by the most competent and reputable firms engaged in mining assay work both in California and New York City.

The Claims We Own.

The Wilshire Bishop Creek Company owns 92 claims (18 patented), five mill sites and the water rights on four miles on the North Fork of Bishop Creek, six miles on the Middle Fork and five miles on the South Fork. These streams derive their sources from three lakes named, respectively, North, Middle and South Lakes, and containing, respectively, water storage capacity of four hundred million, eight hundred million, and six hundred million gallons. This supply, it is estimated, is sufficient to afford enough water power to operate the mine and stamp mill, with a cyanide plant. We have enough power to run a 1,000-stamp mill if it becomes necessary.

Approved by the U. S. Government.

The Bishop Creek Mine, owned by the Wilshire Bishop Creek Co., has the unique distinction of having been approved and officially certified as a mine by representatives of the Forestry Department. The mine is located on a Government forest reserve. Many huge timber frauds have been perpetrated upon the Government by getting patents on so-called mineralized ground without any intention of mining, the main object being to get the forests. The recent activity upon the part of the Government to prevent such frauds resulted in their sending a qualified official to examine the Bishop Creek Mine to see if we really had a mine. After a careful examination of the mine and the workings, he made his report, and our patents were granted without further question. Thus Bishop Creek bears the Government's official endorsement, so to speak.

Delegation of business men that examined the Bishop Creek Mine. Reading from left to right: U. G. Smith, Dr. J. S. McQueen, C. E. Kunze, Dr. G. P. Doyle, O. C. Lee, H. E. Fletcher, W. A. Chalfant, W. Clark, J. S. Chapman, J. W. Bruski.

This is the first public offer of the stock of the Wilshire Bishop Creek Co. since it came into the possession of the Bishop Creek Mine. Every share is sold under an agreement that it will not be sold, assigned, transferred, hypothecated or otherwise disposed of without special permission in writing until August 1, 1911. This is for the protection of all stockholders and assures everyone that there will be no stock thrown on the market at cut rates, and holds the price steady until the mine is on a producing basis, which it undoubtedly will be some time before the date set. Now is the time to purchase while the price is 55 cents a share (par value $5.00). It will not long remain at this low price, and certainly will be worth much more as soon as our mill is built and grinding out the $15.00 ore which we have in such large quantities.

What the Local Papers Say.

That the people of the City of Bishop, in the immediate vicinity, are thoroughly convinced that the Wilshire Bishop Creek property is no longer a speculative proposition is seen by the following excerpt taken from the Owens Valley Herald of November 26th last and based on the report of a body of Bishop's most prominent citizens, who personally visited the mine and viewed the property in every part, including the vast ore body, portions of which they had assayed for their own satisfaction:

"The making of the Bishop Creek mine is one of the longest and most interesting of all mining stories. That so tremendous a dyke of gold-bearing ore should for so many years have lain neglected in the high Sierras is not strange. The gold was there for anybody to see, but to get at it, to get it out of that monster ledge, was a task for a giant. A mind capable of planning and executing big things was necessary to marshal the forces needed, and this mind was found in and Mr. Wilshire through the assistance of his followers supplied this. But it also required faith, more faith than many wealthy mining men, who had the necessary money at their disposal, possessed, and this Mr. Wilshire had in good measure. His success was not the fickle prank of luck. That Bishop Creek mine was made as surely as a pioneer makes his farm from a patch of sage-brush pasture, and the fortune that will smile on Inyo in recompense for this good work, we all have a right to feel grateful for, and our gratitude belongs to this one man who has so deservedly earned it. The Bishop Creek mine is a big mine, and its wealth will leave a spoor of dollars through Bishop Mr. Wilshire. Prospecting this Bishop Creek ledge required a fortune, and Inyo for many years to come."

Fill out the blank given below, enclose with your first payment (or full cash if you prefer) and send to me at once.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE,
200 William Street, New York.

APPLICATION BLANK

GAYLORD WILSHIRE,
200 William Street, New York.

Dear Sir:—Please find enclosed { cash / money order / draft } for.....

..... Dollars,

being { full / one tenth } payment on.....shares of Wilshire Bishop Creek Company stock.

I hereby agree for valuable consideration that I will not sell, assign, transfer, hypothecate or otherwise dispose of said stock, without special permission in writing until August 1, 1911.

Name .....

Street Address.....

Town .....State .....

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"LET·THE·NATION·OWN·THE TRUSTS"

WILSHIRE'S

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XIV No. 6 NEW YORK, JUNE, 1910 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

Prosperity Through Wage Reduction

THERE is nothing strange in the fact that most people take it for granted that our great social problems can be solved by following advice which is generally recognized as essential for individual success. Many of these rules have, through long recognition, been embodied in proverbs and similar trite sayings—a form which naturally renders their acceptance still more unanimous. And many a prominent capitalist has achieved a reputation for wisdom by his ability to present these familiar saws as solutions of the greatest social and industrial problems.

Consequently when a capitalist of the standing and prominence of James J. Hill declares publicly that extravagance is the cause of the present high cost of living, and "intelligent economy" the cure, it is not surprising that his remarks should be regarded as the acme of wisdom by the public.

Currency inflation, the tariff and the increased production of gold, Mr. Hill admits, have had an effect in raising prices of commodities, but the greatest factor, he declares, is the wage rate. "Everybody knows," says Mr. Hill, "that labor cost is the principal item in all forms of industry. The wage rate has been steadily rising in this country. Powerful forces are back of this movement. It has public sympathy. To restrict it is dangerous. As cost of production is chiefly labor cost, the price of the finished article must go up if the price of labor is raised. This is just as true of the farm as of the factory."

The truth of this may be admitted, but it is by no means so obvious that the raise of wages is the cause of rising prices. Practically every strike that is on to-day—and there are many—is justified by the strikers declaring that their wages do not suffice to maintain them when the cost of necessities is taken into account. Wages, they declare, lag far behind prices, and that this is true is proven by the fact that many great corporations, and among them many railroads, have recognized the fact and anticipated strikes by raising wages, as they say, "voluntarily." The Hill contention that the rise in the wage rate is the cause of rising prices, is therefore not only not true, but the exact contrary is the fact—the rising prices are the cause of the rising wage rate.

The reason this declaration is generally accepted by the business men—from whose point of view Mr. Hill speaks—is that the possibility of reducing wages always exists, and this possibility they naturally regard as "intelligent economy." But this same intelligent economy spells starvation from the point of view of the worker.

High wages, of course, mean high prices of commodities, but they do not cause the high prices. The fact that they go together in no sense justifies the assertion that the former is the cause of the latter.

Reduction of wages means a saving to the individual capitalist or group of capitalists who employ labor, but it does not mean a saving to the nation, as Mr. Hill implies. This idea arises from the unconscious egotism of the capitalist who generally imagines his interest to be identical with that of the nation. Whatever he accumulates is credited to "the nation," such accumulations always figuring under the head of "our national wealth."

Much more easily refuted is Mr. Hill's assertion that another important factor in the rise of prices is the "decline of agricultural products as compared with the increase of population." This would undoubtedly cause higher prices—if it had taken place. But the merest novice can easily discover for himself that the reverse is the fact. Agricultural production has increased much faster than population in the last decade. Statistics of farm products are too carefully kept to permit any doubt of that and are available to any one who makes even a casual search. Wheat production has increased about 44 per cent. in that time—from 450 million to 650 million bushels annually. Corn has increased even more—45 per cent.—and oats 23 per cent. The production of flesh foods shows a similar increase in the same time. Milch cows, 33 per cent.; other cattle, 60 per cent.; sheep, 48 per cent.; pigs, 38 per cent. And the year just passed—1909—shows an increase on these figures. If the census returns of population be taken at ninety million in round numbers, which is the average estimate, it will be found that the increase is much less than twenty per cent.—in fact only a trifle over eighteen.

Even if this were not so, the problem is still insoluble by the Hill solution of going "back to the land"—another catch phrase which, through constant repetition, finds acceptance with the unthinking. There isn't much incentive in the suggestion of going from the city to the farm, so that farm products may become lower in price, and the producer therefore secure a lower rate of remuneration than he could get in the city.

The virtue of the Hill remedies is found in their simplicity. As Mr. Hill says, "the saving feature of the situation is that it is not complex and that the remedy is not obscure. The ideal of intelligent economy must be restored." Quite simple indeed. Let the farmer and workingman set the example by accepting a smaller reward for their labor, while their exploiters intelligently economize in turn, by extracting from them a larger amount of surplus value and thus adding to their already overgrown accumulations.

However, it would be perhaps too much to expect that Mr. Hill should see the real cause of the trouble in our miserable competitive wage system. He can profitably leave that to the Socialists, while he utters platitudes anent thrift and extravagance, and gains a reputation as a wise and far-seeing statesman by offering recipes for individual success as a panacea for the natural results of an outgrown industrial system.

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The Intelligent Vizier

By GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND

A Little Tale to Illustrate the Difference Between an Oriental Despotism and an Occidental Republic

"NOW," remarked the inquiring and anxious Caliph, Kapi-Tal, when he and his Grand Vizier, Guv-Er-Ment, had snugly tucked their feet under them on the divan and had got their hubble-bubbles to drawing freely, "now that you understand what I mean, how is it to be brought about?"

"That, by the Beard of the Profit, is not difficult" replied the Vizier, reaching for his coffee, which stood on the mother-of-pearl tabouret beside him. "Deign to give ear, Sire, and I will elucidate. An absolute autocracy is, I infer, Your Majesty's design."

"Verily," affirmed Kapi-Tal. "And thou, Guv-Er-Ment, must certainly bring it to pass, or by the sacred sign of the double-barred S, the bow-string for thine!"

"Have patience, Sire," hastily interposed the Vizier with an uncomfortable glance toward the B-al-lot Box, in which the bow-string was kept. "Have patience, and condescend to listen. I know the method, as written in the screeds of Ex-Ploi-Tation. But first, is anybody listening?"

"Speak freely," the Monarch assured him. "None stand nigh save the Int-El-Lectual Eunuchs. But from them there is no danger, for lo! is not their wheat-cake spread with my honey? Proceed!"

Guv-Er-Ment replaced his coffee-cup before replying. Then he cleared his throat and with deference, yet firmness, began:

"First of all, Oh Sire, there must be promulgated a Writing, a sacred Declaration of Indi-Pen-Enz, couched in the most lofty and inspiring Arabic, even as the Koran itself is, detailing the cruelties and abuses of the former sovereign power, Brit-Ain, defying that power, and stating that this broad land must be, is and ever shall be free and glorious."

"Why so?" quoth the Caliph, puffing at his hubble-bubble. "Of what possible use to me can such a document be, when the people in the tents and on the deserts of H-ar-dtimes do even now grumble because of the increased cost of camels, because of the imposts on dates, figs and curdled goats'-milk?"

"Sire, this document is vitally important. For behold, it must be read each year by the muezzins, the wearers of white vests and silken turbans—read from the minarets, each recurring Fourth of Yu-Lie. Then, filled with wind and bombast, the tribes will forget the taxes, and will look upward with reverence at the Banner of the Profit, at the crimson, white and azure standard, and will submit."

"Truly spoken, by the Hegira!" exclaimed Kapi-Tal. "But is that all?"

"By no means, Sire. There must also be another writing, called the Konsti-Tu-Shun. That, too, must be spread broadcast in all the schools and bazaars, to be read, wrangled over and discussed. It must affirm that all the subjects of Your Unapproachability are born free and equal, and are entitled to the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness——"

"To the pursuit, yes," hastily interjected the Caliph. "But must it say they can *catch* them?"

"Certainly *not*, Sire! But the document will keep the tribes and the courts and all the assemblies of the elders so perpetually embroiled with argument "about it, and about," as Omar saith, that Your Serenity can lead them by the nose with facility. Also, any laws seditiously formulated by insurgents can easily be declared illegal, by merely referring to this document. By no means neglect so potent a writing!"

"Indeed, I will not, excellent Vizier," replied the well-pleased Caliph, reaching for the candied figs. "But is that all?"

"Nay, Sire, not by a winejug full! There must also be teachings in every

"Teach the people that you alone control Prosperity and any uprising will drive him far away"

school, whereby Your Exalted Person, or the principles You stand for, shall be glorified as the True Defender of the Faith, of Liberty, of Prosperity. Whereby those principles shall be shown to have freed the Slaves, lo! these many decades past, which fact must now and always be kept clearly before the people. There must also be a Ritual of the Banner in all the schools, making all the youth of the land from May-en to Kali-Fornya daily genuflect to the banner, bow and repeat in unison the ancient formula, whereof the meaning is now forgotten, but the magic potency still great:

"'Mike Untry Tissof Thee,
Swee Tlandof Li Berty,
Of thee Ising!'"

"Bosh!" exclaimed Kapi-Tal. "Nobody in all these broad deserts believes that fetich to-day!"

"Pardon, Oh Sun of Perspicacity, but the charm still holds thousands. By perpetual chantings of this formula and others, by controlling the colleges and universities, as well as the mosques, the scribes and the Edi-Tors, much can be accomplished.'"

"So be it, then, wise one," assented the Caliph. "What next?"

"Above all, cause the teaching to go forth that the Genie call Prosper-Ity is serf to the seal-ring of Your Serene Highness. You and You alone can control this Djinn. Any uprising will drive him far away. Thus will the people fear, and obey."

"But if they should not? If poverty and the levies on dromedaries, the oasis-tax, the taking of men, women and children for the annual sacrifices in the Temples of Fac-Tories, of Mills and M-ines —if these and all the other things whereof those seditious fanatics the Soci-Ali-Sts prate, should drive the people to think, what then?"

"Be not alarmed, Your Highness," the Vizier answered assuringly. "I have still other pieces on the chess-board of my wisdom. Establish and maintain two parties, which you shall rule through your creatures, the Bosses. Two, or even more—no matter, so long as the real power rests with You. Let the people vote, if they will, but do You count the shells that they deposit in the urns. Have two Councils, which shall conduct sham-battles against each other, to the edification of the rabble. Best of all, appoint many Feder-Al Judges; have a Supreme Body of such, always doing Your bidding. Can not Your Wisdom perceive the power inherent in such a system, which surpasses that of any country of Europe, not even excepting the Land of the Bear?"

"Excellently spoken, by my beard!" exclaimed the Caliph, forgetting to smoke. "Go on! Proceed!"

"Establish the principle of Injunx-ions, perpetually restraining the people from any effective resistance. Let Your own judges lay down the law, killing off each uprising as fast as it develops."

"Ah, but—what if the discontent becomes really menacing?"

"Then, rely on the Poli-ce, the Janissaries, the Galleys. Fling into dungeons and keep there all Undesirable Fellahin. Forget not the efficacy of the Gat-l-ing gun!"

"But, suppose that even so there should develop a large and determined resistance to my power, to the Monop-oil-ies and the tax-gatherers?"

"Then bring out your Dik Bil, Sire. That will settle everything, once for all."

"My Dik Bil?"

"Ay, Your Majesty. The law providing for compulsory enlistment into Your army of every able-bodied Fellah, on pain of death if any resist. Thus shall You and the sacred screeds of Ex-Ploi-Tation be forever secure."

"Verily, Guv-Er-Ment, thou art a Crack-Er-Jacque!" exclaimed the enchanted Caliph. "Largely will I reward thee. In power shalt thou remain. Further-

(Continued on page 10.)

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VACCINES FOR DISEASE

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

SOME time ago I called attention to the vaccine treatment for the cure of disease, and I feel so profoundly impressed with the success of this method of treatment that I am once more referring to it.

It is what is called the opsonic or vaccine method of treatment.

In this method there is no resort to drugs or to antitoxins, but the patient is, as it were, his own medicine factory. It is the method by which nature, unaided, seeks to heal, and frequently succeeds.

In the struggle against infection which goes on in the body a large part is taken by the white blood-corpuscles and certain other cells, the province of which is to attack the bacteria and destroy them. If a drop of blood is withdrawn and examined under the microscope, the white corpuscles will be found with bacteria within them which they are dissolving by a process of digestion.

In favorable cases this process goes on uninterruptedly, and if the bacteria are not too numerous they are gradually destroyed and the patient recovers.

Sometimes, however, the white corpuscles refuse to eat up the bacteria. They do not seem to find them appetizing, and the germs then go on multiplying and pouring out their poisons into the blood, and the patient is in for a severe and possible fatal illness. The bacteria themselves are appetizing to the white corpuscles, but when they are very virulent or in too great numbers, the poison they excrete renders them unattractive.

Now if the unattractive features can be suppressed, the white corpuscles will be stimulated to renewed attack. This is brought about by taking some of the bacteria from the patient's secretions and cultivating them outside the body until a great number—many millions—is obtained. They are then killed by heat and injected into the patient.

Being dead, they do no harm, but the chemical substance, whatever it is,—it is called opsonin,—which attracts the white corpuscles is still present and active, and present in such large amount that it renders appetizing not only the dead bacteria injected, but also the live ones which are doing the harm.

These vaccines are made by a number of people, there is no particular secret in forming a culture of certain germs, killing them by heat and then bottling them up for sale, any more than there is in the Armour Co. canning chickens. I mentioned the vaccines put up by my Socialist friend, Dr. G. H. Sherman of Detroit, not because he is the only one who prepares such vaccine, but because I think he is probably better equipped for such work than any other man at present in the United States.

WILSHIRE'S takes no commercial or medical advertising and, therefore, when I write this for Dr. Sherman, it can be taken for granted that I have no axe to grind.

I have used the Sherman vaccines on myself and friends and find them marvellous in cases of common colds, rheumatism, neuralgia, infected wounds and tonsilitis.

The vaccines come in small bottles, one bottle to a dose, and are administered hypodermically with a syringe. Care of course must be taken to have the syringe clean and free from air. I find a thorough washing with alcohol the simplest method of keeping the syringe clean.

The dose is to be given but once a week, and one or two doses usually cures most cases. It is advisable to take the treatment under the care of your own physician, but I must say that some physicians to whom I have recommended the method have had some excuse or other for not using the vaccines, and I would therefore advise any one who wishes to try the vaccine treatment to get the vaccine direct from Dr. Sherman. Use it yourself if your doctor refuses to do so. If you keep your syringe clean there will be no trouble.

Send a two-cent stamp to the doctor and ask for his booklet. His address is 419 St. Aubyn avenue, Detroit, Mich.

OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM

THERE seems to be a widespread opinion that the pessimistic utterances now so prevalent are to be attributed mostly to Socialists and disgruntled radicals of one kind or another, and conversely that the cheerful view of the present situation is that of the shrewd, practical, business element, and is therefore infinitely more worthy of attention. Possibly as a rebuke to our assumed pessimism a correspondent sends us the following editorial utterance from the Salem (Mass.) Evening *News*:

> The significance of that action of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad in placing an order for steel cars at a cost of approximately $18,000,000 hardly calls for emphasis. There is in it a repeated reminder that the shrewdest elements in the business, industrial and commercial world are looking ahead to an era of "good times" in this country. There are croakers who will still emit the plaintive note that the times are out of joint and that panicky conditions within two years at least will give the country a severe set-back. But perhaps too much attention has been paid to these Jeremiahs. It is quite certain that the business world is not taking counsel of them.

This reassuring message came at a most appropriate time, for we had just been considerably depressed by reading an account of a meeting held at the New York Produce Exchange on the same day that Salem issued his comforting editorial.

This meeting—we take the account from the New York *Times*, which devotes much space to it—was addressed by such impractical, croaking Jeremiahs as Mr. W. C. Brown, President of the New York Central Railroad; the President of the Produce Exchange, Mr. Ring; Mr. Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture; Mr. Cable, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and Congressman Bennet of New York. Indeed, the *Times* describes the meeting as composed of "railroad men, agriculturists and legislators" who declared one and all that they "saw a condition of affairs in this country which made them uneasy," which in turn denotes that they had not read the opinion of the editor of the Salem Evening *News*.

President Brown of the New York Central said that by 1913, the United States would not be able to export a bushel of wheat, oats, rye or barley, unless consumption decreased or production increased, and the outlok for increase wasn't very promising.

That the acreage of abandoned farm land in New York State was enormous and its area steadily increasing.

That the State had a population of nine million and had only two hundred and twenty-five thousand farmers.

That last year 163,798 American farmers left this country for Canada, bringing with them $41,000,000. He didn't regret the money, but mourned the loss of so many American families.

That there are 16,000 square miles of abandoned farm lands in New England, New York and the South East and Central Middle States, and ten million acres of abandoned farm lands in the United States altogether.

That most of the immigrants go to the sweat-shops or into industrial work of one kind or another, instead of to the land.

Congressman Bennet said that the railroads, on account of strikes brought about by the high cost of living, had increased wages of employés by $100,000,000 and that there was no way of getting it back.

That when the export trade failed the railroads would have nothing to carry in the shape of surplus farm products, which was now the mainstay of the transportation industry.

That if the present trend of production and consumption could not be changed, "turmoil, riot and bloodshed" was inevitable.

Secretary Wilson of the Department of Agriculture said that we cannot afford to buy food from foreign countries, for the balance of trade against us for goods bought and sold since the Civil War has always been paid for by exports of farm produce.

That the raising of grain is closely bound up with the price of meats, and that the people of this country must have beef, as they can't work on boiled cabbage and bread.

That if the factory and shop are to sell abroad to square accounts without a farm surplus, they must produce cheap enough to compete with foreign shops and factories—in other words, wages must come down, while the price of living goes up.

That when that day comes "we shall have new subjects to talk about unheard of before in this land."

The remaining croakers and Jeremiahs, Assistant Secretary Cable and President Ring of the Produce Exchange, followed the lead given by the others. And to show that the meeting was of the same mind, a set of resolutions in essential agreement with the speeches was carried unanimously. Nor does it appear that there was a single Socialist or any other kind of radical amongst them to assist in the croaking.

However, the Salem editor can console himself with the thought that even if these disagreeable conditions materialize, his readers will have utterly forgotten his optimism by that time, and he can holler "I told you so," with as little fear of contradiction as the Jeremiahs of the Produce Exchange meeting.

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THOUGH its importance is usually exaggerated, the death of a king is an event notable enough to be recorded, and the recent passing of Edward VII. of England, if it has had no other effect, has at least furnished considerable work for space writers and other employés of the press.

It is hardly worth while here to devote any space to the man himself. Millions of words have been used to describe his character and abilities elsewhere, and though these descriptions all contain contradictory elements, the readers of them can select those they prefer and reject the others and thus form their own picture of the deceased monarch.

Boiled down to their essence these obituary notices bring out two important facts upon which most of the greatness of Edward seems to depend; first that he was a king, and second, that he is dead.

The memory of his greatness will last at least until he is buried. Then it will be transferred to his successor, who in due time will repeat the experience of his father.

Society holds that its progress involves the reducing of hereditary kings to mere figureheads in modern government. The tradition of their greatness is largely a survival of the supposed divinity that both hedge about a king. However, the perpetuation of this tradition is of considerable advantage in diverting the attention of the masses from their real rulers, the capitalist classes, and that it is so used is what might naturally be expected. If it is the works that men do that live after them, and by which their title to remembrance is measured, who can doubt but that Mark Twain, who preceded King Edward but a few weeks, will be remembered when the latter is only a name on the page of officially recorded history?

SEEMINGLY the idea underlying every "crusade" against some special and particular "evil," is that if a certain group of persons will only do what no one really expects they will do, the evil in question will vanish. Before being finally abandoned, the crusade generally reaches the point where it can "fasten the responsibility" on some group or other, and there the matter drops and everything goes on as before.

The recent Government crusade against the so-called "bucket shops" has apparently reached this point, its investigators now declaring that the Government "is convinced that without the tacit consent of the New York Stock Exchange and the Western Union Telegraph Company—both powerful and respectable establishments—the bucket shop men, deprived of their cheating wires, would have to close up in a few days." Thus the Government, as the usual preliminary to abandoning the field, "puts the matter up squarely" to these two institutions. In the popular slang of the day they propose to "Let George do it."

If the Western Union Telegraph Co. would only forego the "enormous revenue" they derive from their wire service to the bucket shops, those establishments would close down instanter.

Undoubtedly. And if the landlords would only forego their rent and refuse to allow their premises to be used for immoral purposes, we could abolish the "social evil" at once.

And if business men would only cease offering bribes we could get rid of corruption in politics.

And if capitalists would only restrain their "greed" we should have no trusts; and if workmen were only content with small wages and long hours we should have no friction between labor and capital; and if—but what's the use? All "reform" depends upon if, and excuses its failure with if.

THERE is a general assumption that the Trust is peculiarly an American institution and non-existent in other countries, which no doubt finds its basis in the fact that these countries are not troubled with the trust question in their politics. It is assumed that where the "trust buster" is not in evidence there are therefore no trusts.

In a recent address before the Knife and Fork Club of Kansas City, the British Ambassador, Mr. Bryce, deepened this impression by asserting that there were no trusts or monopolies in England, that the railroads and corporations were supervised and regulated by the Government to the general satisfaction of the public and that they never gave any serious trouble.

The New York *Times* takes issue with this statement editorially by pointing out the fact that the lack of trouble with Trusts does not necessarily involve their non-existence. It says: "Since the Sherman anti-trust law is not law in England, it is impossible that it can have organizations in violation of it. But while England cannot have trusts and monopolies in the American legal meaning of the word, it has the things in common with all civilized countries. Trade agreements are one of the signs of the passing of trade from an unorganized to an organized condition, that is, from a condition of "rough-house" competition to disciplined warfare according to the rules of the game. . . . Our Trusts are no worse than the British syndicates, the German cartels and like bodies under different names in all nations where they give less trouble than here."

The *Times* is undoubtedly correct. If the tendencies to concentration and the abolition of competition did not exist in all countries where the mode of production is the same, economics would become utterly unintelligible and meaningless. The Trust is a natural evolution of our system of production, its unnatural appendages being the anti-trust laws and "trust busters" peculiar to the United States alone.

WHEN a new pugilistic star rises on the sporting horizon and gives promise of attaining the zenith—the world's championship—it is the usual practice to test his growing prowess by pitting him against an ascending succession of has been, might have been or would be champions, who, having failed in the same attempt, find employment as "trial horses" for the most promising of the new series of bruisers. The aspirant looks on these opponents not as competitors, but rather as "stepping-stones" in his career, which he, according to the rules of the game, must surmount. If he fails, he in turn becomes a stepping-stone for others, but if he succeeds he never descends to encounter them again. His course lies upward, and, having once rendered him service, they can be of no further use to him.

In politics there is something analogous to this process, and Socialist politics is no exception to the general rule.

These remarks are offered as a preliminary explanation to three or four readers from the vicinity of Georgia, who ask why we do not reply to Mr. Thomas Watson, the former populist leader, who they assure us is making a big noise in that locality by challenging representative Socialists to debate.

Elsewhere in this issue they will find an article from Robert Hunter on this

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matter, which in the main expresses our attitude also.

In past years we have to some extent used Mr. Watson as a stepping-stone when he could influence, say, a quarter of a million populists. We have also utilized Mr. Bryan for a similar purpose when he was at the hey-day of his popularity, but both Bryan and Watson are now of little farther use as stepping-stones, Mr. Watson being especially unserviceable in this respect.

The representative Socialist debater figures always on the practical result of a public controversy. If his opponent can attract a considerable amount of public attention he is useful as a Socialist stepping-stone. If he has lost his audience he is useless, as the public will give no attention to either controversialist. Mr. Watson is unfortunately in the latter category.

It may seem brutal, but such is the game. If Mr. Watson could have secured, say, a million votes in the last election, instead of a few thousands, he would be a desirable opponent, but in such case he would consider it a waste of time bothering with Socialism in any way. Instead of challenging Socialists he would—like Mr. Bryan—have turned a deaf ear to their pleading for a public debate. Now that the situation is reversed, the same policy of course holds good for Socialists.

Some three or four years ago, Wilshire, thinking that Mr. Watson might still be serviceable in a small way, challenged him to a public debate. Nothing was heard from Mr. Watson about it, he presumably not recognizing that Populism was on the wane. It required the last Presidential election to convince him on that score as is evidenced by his now issuing challenges to people whose challenges he previously ignored.

We recognize, however, that Mr. Watson is perfectly justified in both attitudes—in fact it is the Socialist policy as well, and the general way of the world. In a few years more, most likely Mr. Bryan, to keep himself in the public eye, may be forced to challenge Socialists to public debate, and it is just as likely they will ignore him then as now they do Mr. Watson, considering that his possible usefulness to the movement is past.

We are sorry for Mr. Watson, of course, and would not object to his getting some much needed advertisement at our expense provided he was in a position to give a reciprocal—or preferably greater—service of the same kind to the cause of Socialism. It is his misfortune that he is not in such a position, but, paradoxical as it may seem, we figure it as time and effort wasted to have Socialism annihilated in public debate unless the annihilator can attract through his personality a profitable amount of public attention to his victory. Now if we could secure an opponent like, say, Mr. Roosevelt, there would be something doing instantly, but Mr. Watson simply cannot make sufficient noise to attract the attention of the non-Socialist, to say nothing of the Socialist public, and that special qualification has always been and is now the one indispensable requisite which we demand in an anti-Socialist champion.

"THEY," wrote Theodore Roosevelt over a year ago, alluding to the members of the Socialist Party, "occupy in relation to Morality, and especially in relation to Domestic Morality, a position so revolting that I find it difficult to discuss or even mention it in a reputable magazine." Then he referred to an incident where a Socialist procured a divorce, as a proof of his charge.

Whatever difficulty Mr. Roosevelt experienced in mentioning this case is, we venture to say, trifling compared with the difficulty he would encounter in discussing or even mentioning the one we submit here.

About a month ago, a man seventy years old was found dead in a folding bed at 426 West 23d street, New York, about a stone's throw from the old homestead where Theodore was born. The folding bed had suddenly snapped together and broken his neck. He had a "companion"—a woman about sixty years old—with him at the time, who was slightly injured also, but who disappeared when rescued by the other occupants of the house. All we need say about her here is that she wasn't his wife.

It doesn't appear that the man was a Socialist or had any peculiar theories of domestic morality, but this is who and what he was according to the press.

Name—Wellington Smith; residence, Lee, Mass. Occupation, capitalist and paper manufacturer. Official positions: President Smith Paper Co., President Derby Mills Paper Co., President Greylock Cotton Mills Co., former President American Tissue Paper Co., and member of Berkshire Life Insurance Co. since 1880.

Religion — Congregational Church member. Active and prominent. Had been deacon in local Congregational Church since 1858.

Social Connections — Founder and first President of the Pittsfield Sons of the American Revolution.

Political Affiliations — Republican. Knew Abraham Lincoln and was a personal friend of Presidents Garfield and McKinley. Delegate to numerous Republican conventions, including the one which nominated Garfield for President in 1880. Counsel to Governor Benjamin Butler of Massachusetts in 1882.

It isn't stated that he knew Roosevelt, though presumably he supported his candidacy. It is fairly certain, however, that Roosevelt won't publicly discuss or even mention him as an acquaintance.

It wasn't a sudden "fall from grace" either, as the landlady of the house declared that she thought the woman was his wife and that they had often occupied her rooms on many previous occasions. The woman was one of his mill employés whom he had seduced many years before and had maintained since as his mistress. The real Mrs. Smith refused to discuss the case.

What is sauce for the Socialist goose is sauce for the Republican gander, surely. Would the ethics of the "square deal" be in any way violated if some Socialist, following Theodore's example, were to write his opinion that "the Republican party occupies in relation to morality, and especially domestic morality, a position so revolting that I find it difficult to discuss or even mention it in a reputable magazine"?

Yet he might do so with much more justification than Roosevelt did. Without doubt he would find it infinitely more difficult to discuss or even mention it in a reputable magazine—say, for instance, Lyman Abbot's *Outlook*. But the difficulty would arise in that case from an utterly different reason.

Humors of the Census

(From the New York *Times*.)

The occupants of the park benches last night gave information to the census man. The yield in the parks was decidedly low, the average number of people claiming the benches as their homes being less than fifty to each park. About 10 per cent. of these were women, who seemed much more reluctant than the men to tell their ages, occupations and place of birth. In some cases unexpected bits of humor were encountered by the enumerators. Bryant Egan, 39 years old, dressed in a coat that was held together by large pins, was roused from a sound sleep on a bench.

"Have you had your name taken?" asked the census man.

"Yes," Egan replied, "twice."

"Where?"

"Over on the island." (Blackwell's Island prison.)

He was asked to give it again and did so, when the enumerators turned to a woman who was sound asleep nearby.

"What's your name?" she was asked.

"Me noime," she repeated in a voice that indicated that if she had tried to walk she would have been unable to do so, "me noime—it's Mud."

"And your first name?"

"Nawthin—just plain Mud."

The policeman with the brass buttons was brought up at that point and suggested that the station house would be a nice place to talk things over. Then she gave her name as Kittie Anderson.

There is no paper in the country more keen to detect the humor of a situation than the New York *Times*. We venture to say that even so great a humorist as Mark Twain would have probably failed to see the joke in these two incidents.

Among the many recommendations of Governor Hughes for membership in the United States Supreme Court we notice the American Anti-Trust League puts in its testimonial in the shape of a formal protest against his appointment.

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Mark Twain on Environment

(New York Tribune)

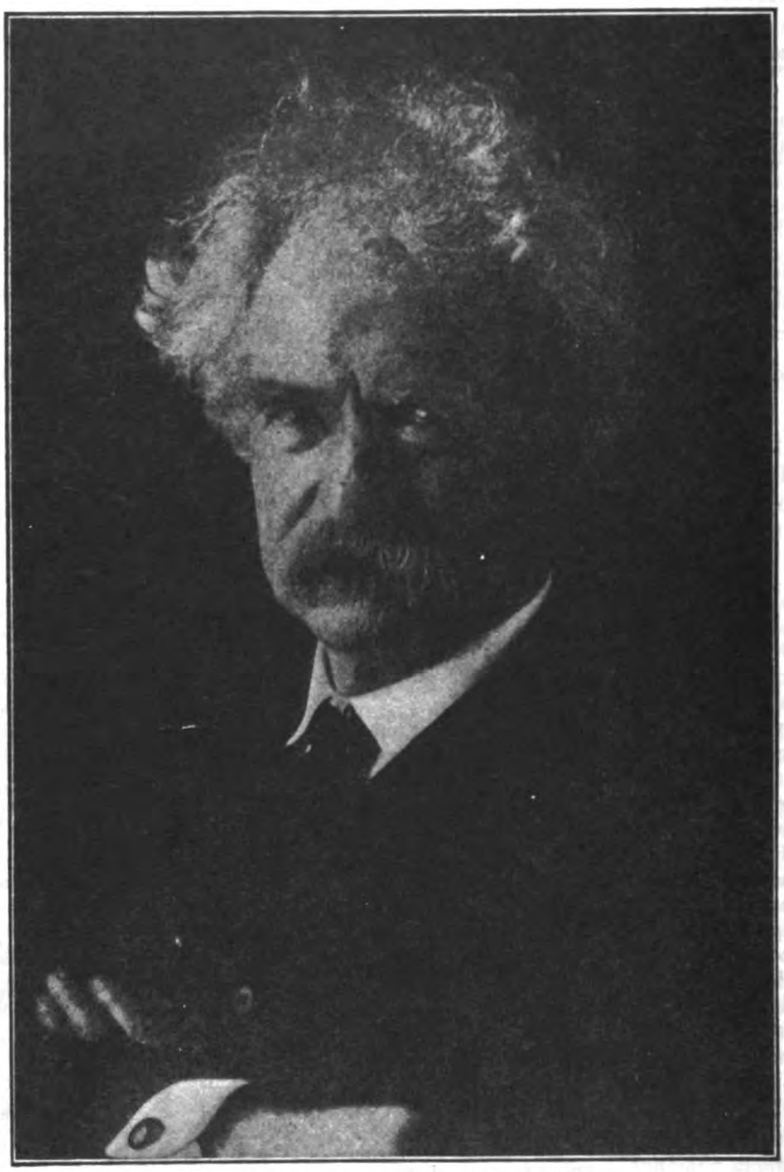
"WHAT Is Man?" was written by "Mark Twain" at odd times from 1886 to 1906. In 1906 he had an edition of 250 copies sumptuously printed by De Vinne and distributed to friends. The book sets forth in the form of a dialogue between a Young Man and an Old Man its author's notions of the inner springs of human character. Midway in the book, which has 140 pages, is a brief list of the principal religious faiths of the world.

Here the Old Man remarks:

That list of sects is not a record of studies, searchings, seekings after light; it mainly (and sarcastically) indicates what association can do. If you know a man's nationality you can come within a split hair of guessing the complexion of his religion: English, Protestant; American, ditto; Spanish, Frenchman, Irishman, Italian, South American, Austrian, Roman Catholic; Russian, Greek Catholic; Turk, Mohametan, and so on. And when you know the man's religious complexion you know what sort of religious books he reads when he wants some more light and what sort of books he avoids, lest by accident he get more light than he wants. In America if you know what party collar a voter wears you know what his associations are and how he came by his politics and which breed of newspapers he reads to get light, and which breed he diligently avoids, and which breed of mass meetings he attends in order to broaden his political knowledge, and which breed of mass meetings he does not attend, except to refute its doctrines with brickbats. We are always hearing of people who are around seeking after truth. I have never seen a (permanent) specimen. I think he has never lived. But I have seen several entirely sincere people who thought they were (permanent) seekers after truth. They sought diligently, persistently, carefully, cautiously, profoundly, with perfect honesty and nicely adjusted judgment—until they believed that without doubt or question they had found the truth. That was the end of the search. The man spent the rest of his life hunting up shingles wherewith to protect his truth from the weather. If he was seeking after political truth he found it in one or another of hundred political gospels which govern men in the earth; if he was seeking after the only true religion he found it in one or another of the three thousand that are in the market. In any case, when he found the truth he sought no further; but from that day forth, with his soldering iron in one hand and his bludgeon in the other he tinkered its leaks and reasoned with objectors. There have been innumerable temporary seekers after truth—have you ever heard of a permanent one? In the very nature of man such a person is impossible. However, to drop back to the text—training: all training is one form or another of outside influence, and association is the largest part of it. A man is never anything but what his outside influences have made him. They train him downward or they train him upward—but they train him; they are at work upon him all the time.

At the close of the discussion the Old Man says: "Beliefs are acquirements; temperaments are born. Beliefs are subject to change; nothing whatever can change temperament."

The Young Man's comment is: "You have instanced extreme temperaments." The Old Man replies:



Mark Twain, the Great American Humorist Recently Deceased

Yes. The half dozen others are modifications of the extremes. But the law is the same. Where the temperament is two-thirds happy, or two-thirds unhappy, no political or religious beliefs can change the proportions. The vast majority of temperaments are pretty equally balanced; the intensities are absent, and this enables a nation to accommodate itself to its political and religious circumstances and like them, be satisfied with them, at last prefer them. Nations do not think, they only feel. They get their feelings at second hand through their temperaments, not their brains. A nation can be brought—by force of circumstances, not argument—to reconcile itself to any kind of government or religion that can be devised; in time it will fit itself to the required conditions; later, it will prefer them, and will fiercely fight for them. As instances, you have all history: the Greeks, the Romans, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Russians, the Germans, the French, the English, the Spanish, the Americans, the South Americans, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Hindus, the Turks—a thousand wild and tame religions, every kind of government that can be thought of, from tiger to house cat, each nation knowing that it has the only true religion and the only sane system of government, each despising all the others, each an ass and not suspecting it, each proud of its fancied supremacy, each perfectly sure it is the pet of God, each with undoubting confidence summoning Him to take command in time of war, each surprised when He goes over to the enemy, but by habit able to excuse it and resume compliments—in a word, the whole human race content, always content, persistently content, indestructibly content, happy, thankful, proud, no matter what its religion is, nor whether its master be tiger or house cat. Am I stating facts? You know I am. Is the human race cheerful? You know it is. Considering what it can stand, and be happy, you do me too much honor when you think that I can place before it a system of plain cold facts that can take the cheerfulness out of it. Nothing can do that. Everything has been tried. Without success. I beg you not to be troubled.

A Note of Explanation

Owing to the absence of the editor, who has been attending the National Convention of the Socialist Party in Chicago for a period of ten days some of the usual features of the Magazine have been omitted from this number in consequence of the necessity of sending the issue to press as soon as possible on his return. These features, however, will be continued in subsequent issues. We regret that time did not permit any adequate account of the proceedings of the Convention aforementioned, but this will be rectified in the July number. Also the editor wishes to notify several correspondents and contributors whose copy has not appeared as originally intended, that the circumstances above referred to did not permit sufficient time for the necessary preparation of copy for the printer. Such matter will, however, appear in the next issue.

During the last presidential election a man was asked for whom he was going to vote. "I'm going to vote for Debs," he answered. "Well, but who do you think has got the best show?" "Oh, when it comes to that, why, Ringling brothers."—*Ralph Korngold, in Chicago Daily Socialist.*

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SOCIETY'S SOCIALISTIC SYMPTOMS

In a recent address to the students of Harvard University, Mr. George W. Perkins, right-hand man of J. Pierpont Morgan, declared that, unless the great corporations should in some way become amenable to control and regulation, "government ownership and Socialism would supplant the present competitive system." It is somewhat remarkable that the trust magnates should recognize the possibility of national ownership of the trusts long before those whose immediate interests would be best served by such a change are able to perceive it.

In all probability the next report of the membership of the Socialist party in this country will show a great increase. The national office reports that the income for dues for the first quarter of the present year exceeded that of the corresponding period of 1909 by $1,500, and that the sales of literature in the same period have more than doubled.

Karl Kautsky, the famous Socialist theorist of Germany, predicts an immense increase in the Socialist vote at next year's general elections in the Kaiser's dominions, and declares there is an excellent prospect that it may even double, which would give the Socialists a clear majority in the empire. Kautsky warns the party not to destroy their chances by experimenting with the general strike at this time.

The Spanish Socialist party at present comprises about 200 groups all over the country. They possess ten weekly papers with 30,000 subscribers, and are about to launch a daily paper in Madrid, the capital city.

A recent report of Attorney-General O'Malley of New York on his investigation of the Milk Trust operating in New York City declares that the State must intervene to regulate the price of milk and the profits of the dealers, and that at present the actual producers have no voice whatever in determining the prices. The Attorney-General admits that his proposal is "revolutionary," but he insists also that it is the only method of dealing with the situation, and that he has only reached this conclusion after a long and careful study.

Down in progressive Oklahoma the farmers and organized laborers have got together and are now demanding a State-owned system of railroads to parallel the existing private lines. The demand is the outcome of the refusal of the railroads to obey the State law demanding a two-cent passenger rate. From the present outlook it seems probable that Oklahoma may very soon duplicate the jolt given to capitalism by Milwaukee. Oklahoma has the advantage of starting with a State constitution which permits much more in this direction than the constitutions of other States, and it may be remembered that those vigilant watchdogs of capitalistic interests, Messrs. Roosevelt and Taft, recognized the danger and howled loud and long against the adoption of Oklahoma's constitution at the time it was proposed.

Recent statistical inquiries in 125 of the largest German cities disclosed the fact that 36,000 children came to school without having partaken of food of any kind, while 180,000 were found to have been insufficiently fed, their food being cold, stinted in quantity and of little nutritive value. In addition, it was discovered that 22,000 had no supper to eat.

A Spokane clergyman, Rev. Charles H. Braden, has resigned his pulpit to go into politics. He declared that as a minister of the gospel he was "living in a realm of fanciful theories and impractical ideals," and wanted to get out.

The formation of a "United Labor party" is reported from Alaska. Its essential quality is strongly socialistic, and its recognition of the Socialist doctrine of the class struggle is insistent and emphatic. The bulk of the membership belongs to the Western Federation of Miners.

A report from the Bureau of Labor at Washington, which has been investigating the conditions in the Schwab steel plant at Bethlehem, Pa., brings out the fact that there are 2,322 men working there twelve hours a day seven days a week for 12½ cents per hour. Over 50 per cent. of the employees work twelve hours per day, and 43.5 per cent. are required to work on Sundays.

The recent French elections show a gain of twenty-two seats by the Socialists, a gain which carries with it a very large increase in the vote of the party.

Despite the assurances of the daily press that the Milwaukee Socialists were really conservative, the campaign of slander and vilification against the city administration has been already begun by the local politicians and capitalists. The State courts also have been utilized to block the various projects of the administration seeking the establishment of municipal ownership of public utilities.

About the time that the Legislature of New York State was killing the workmen's accident compensation bill, progressive Spain was perfecting a bill for the same purpose, and it is now in operation. For temporary incapacity the employer must pay the workman half the usual wage, and in case of permanent incapacity two years' wages. The employer is also called on to defray the expense for drugs and medicines for the injured workman. Some time, perhaps, in the distant future we may catch up with Spain in these matters.

Conditions in the Chicago "Jungle" haven't improved perceptibly since Upton Sinclair issued his famous work of that title. Dr. Alfred Leffingwell, late president of the American Humane Society, has just published a work, entitled "American Meat," which has created something of a sensation in England. Dr. Leffingwell's picture of conditions at the stock yards is simply a repetition of the exposé of Sinclair, and, like that author, Leffingwell insists that the so-called Government inspection of meat products is an absolute farce.

The last five years of "terror" in Russia furnish the following death roll: Executed, 3,009; victims of "pogroms" (Jewish massacres), 37,418; victims of the "terror," 17,340; suicides, 10,186. This gives a total death record for the five years of 67,935. The figures are those of Professor Jhankoff, a well-known Russian scholar and statistician.

A report from Paris says that a professor of biology at the University of Dijon has succeeded in developing two tadpoles by producing traumatism in a frog's egg with a platinum wire. The experiment has attracted much attention and is looked upon as a most important advance in the search for the phenomena of life.

New York celebrated May Day with a demonstration of such magnitude as was never before known in the city, fully 70,000 people being in the lines of the various processions. The Socialist red was exceptionally conspicuous throughout, and the speechmaking at Union Square, the point of general assemblage, was almost entirely confined to the Socialists. The police were exceptionally well behaved and did not create the slightest trouble on the occasion. Elsewhere throughout this country and Europe the May Day celebrations passed off quietly.

The loss on the deferred Lloyd-George budget which was recently passed by the House of Lords—when they could do nothing more to obstruct it—amounts to over $6,000,000. The deficit for the year in the national income amounts to about $150,000,000.

According to the report of the Charities' Commissioner of New York, the almshouse and public hospital population of the city is increasing at the rate of from 12 to 14 per cent. annually, while the total population increases but by 3 to 3.10 per cent. per year.

The largest single concern in China is the Hanyang Iron and Steel Works, which is capitalized at $20,000,000 and has a force of 20,000 men in its employ, over 4,000 of whom are engaged in the iron and steel works at Hanyang. A subsidiary company, the Yangtse Engineering Works, employs 1,000 men in its ship yards building steel gunboats and steamers. It is entirely under Chinese control, and employs but one foreigner, an English bridge designer. The Hanyang company already supplies the larger part of the rails used on all the railroads of the country.

Since the inauguration of Emil Seidel, the Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, not a single Socialist in the city has solicited him for any office of any kind, though scores of old party politicians, pretending a sudden conversion to Socialism, have constantly importuned him for places. Seidel has given these gentry to understand that "there ain't goin' to be any spoils of office" in Milwaukee henceforth. As for the Socialist party members, they knew all about it beforehand, and therefore did not require the information.

A striking example of how the "labor agitator battens on the meagre wage of the workingman" is furnished by the recent death of Pete Curran, the British Socialist and Labor advocate. In the amazingly short period of from twenty-five to thirty years this vampire accumulated the almost inconceivable sum of £119, or about $560 American money, his estate being recently sworn in at that enormous figure. Curran was a Socialist member of the British Parliament for many years, and whether the figures given above indicate that he "sold out" his constituents we leave our readers to judge.

A proposal to amend the State constitution so as to give women the ballot was recently defeated in the New York Legislature at Albany by 87 votes to 46. One of the Democratic members gave it as his opinion that "what women want is babies, not ballots."

Mr. Roosevelt's proposition to limit the size of warships finds a curious commentary in the growth of "Dreadnoughts." The first ship of this type from which the name was taken was 17,900 tons. The next three battleships of the type were 19,250 tons. Then followed the *Neptune* of 20,250 tons and the *Colossus* of 22,500 tons. Two battleships of 26,000 tons are building in this country and two of a similar size in England. The new "Dreadnoughts" for the Argentine Republic are to be 28,000 tons, and in both America and Great Britain plans for ships of 30,000 to 40,000 tons have been worked out. All this growth has taken place in less than four years, and needless to say the rest of the world is following the lead set by the United States and England in this matter.

A Southern newspaper expresses wonder as to what will happen to heaven when Roosevelt gets there. We suggest the possibility of a repetition of the Lucifer episode, and for a similar reason.

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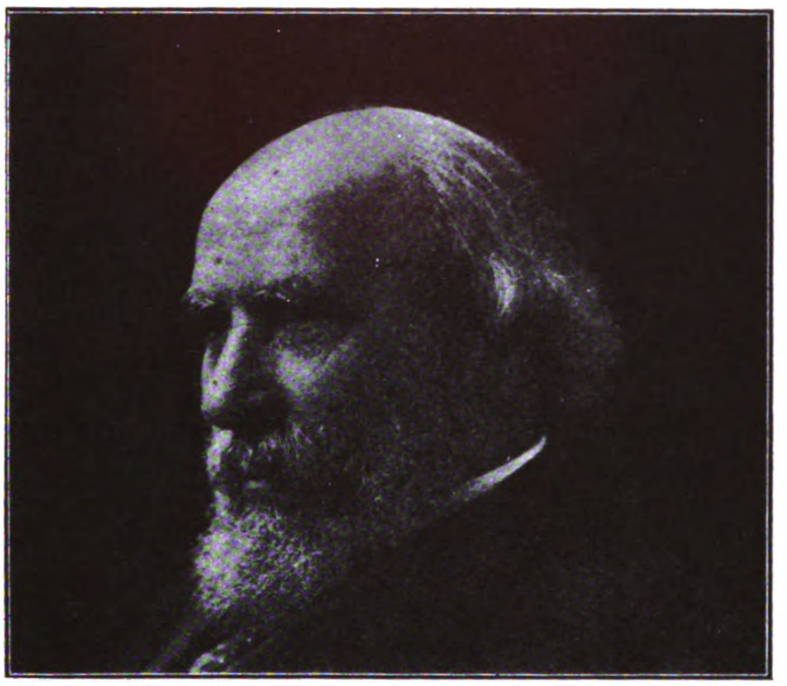
Socialism in Strange Places

IT may be true in the main, that the permeation of the public mind with Socialist ideas, methods of thought and reasoning, is due to the rapidly growing Socialist press and the unceasing circulation of Socialist literature by avowed Socialist enthusiasts. But it is also true that a considerable portion of this work is performed—perhaps unconsciously—by the popular magazines. At the very least, much of the writing that appears in them prepares the public mind to receive Socialism. As an illustration, we reprint



Jas. J. Hill, Railroad Magnate, and Apostle of "Intelligent Economy"

here three short editorials which appeared recently in that supposedly conservative publication, *The Saturday Evening Post*. Under the caption, "Farmers and High Prices," the *Post* comments as follows:

Mr. James J. Hill stoutly iterates his slogan: "Back to the Land!" It is easy to repeat with him and other eminent economists that these high prices for foodstuffs are due to a general desertion of the farm in favor of the city, but it is impossible to prove it.

From 1897 to 1908 the population of the United States increased twenty per cent. In the five-year period ending 1897 our average wheat crop, according to the Department of Agriculture, was four hundred and fifty million bushels. In the five-year period ending 1908 it was six hundred and fifty million bushels. Production increased about forty-four per cent., or more than twice as fast as population. The production of corn increased forty-five per cent., of oats twenty-three per cent. The number of milch cows, as reported by the Department, increased thirty-three per cent.; of other cattle, sixty per cent.; of sheep, forty-eight per cent.; of swine, thirty-eight per cent. In 1909 our chief grain crops were more abundant than ever before, and Canada—a competitor at least as regards exports—raised a hundred and sixty million bushels of wheat as against only eighteen million bushels in 1897.

Undoubtedly, if agricultural production had increased three times as fast as population, instead of only once and a half to twice as fast, food prices would be lower. But if the farm falls behind in competing with the city for hands, as Mr. Hill asserts, even at these high prices for farm products, what would be its position in that respect if farm prices were falling or remaining stationary? To attract more people to the farm, the reward of agricultural labor must be greater instead of less.

"Back to the land—that wheat may fall" doesn't sound to us like a very alluring call. As a matter of fact, from 1897 to 1907 clothing, fuel, metals, lumber and building materials advanced in price faster than food.

We venture to say that every Socialist will recognize that the economic reasoning of the *Post* in the above editorial is as sound as any Socialist could desire. On the question of Postal Savings Banks, the *Post* is equally logical and outspoken.

Opposition of bankers, as a body, to the postal savings-bank bill is somewhat discouraging.

Bankers are mostly good citizens, and we do not think they have, as a class, been corrupted by special favors at the hands of Government. They imagine, however, that postal banks might trench somewhat upon their private interests. This imagining, no doubt, is wholly vain. Probably postal banks, limited to paying a very low interest rate, would simply attract depositors who now shun the banks, thus bringing into the channels of trade money that is now hidden, promoting thrift and really helping rather than hurting the other banks. But so tender of itself may an organized private interest be that the bankers' organization absurdly denounces the bill as a dangerous innovation in government, and urges the Republican party to repudiate the explicit pledge that it would establish postal banks. This is somewhat discouraging as indicating how little anybody with an axe to grind can be trusted in politics.

Niccolo Machiavelli long ago pointed out that a just Government cannot satisfy the nobles, but may satisfy the people, for the nobles always wish to oppress somebody, while the people wish only to escape oppression. Translated into modern terms, with regard to what a Government's attitude should be as between the people and private interests that seek their own selfish ends, the maxim is still quite sound, and may be commended to Congress with reference to the bankers' opposition to postal banks.

The third editorial bears out the Socialist contention that there is no essential difference between the two great political parties as they now stand, and foreshadows a division of radicals from conservatives as the only method of making politics intelligible. It says:

How fine it would be if the two big political parties in this country would swap ends!

Here is that wing of the Republican party which is represented by Aldrich, Hale, Dalzell, Cannon; and there is that wing of the Democratic party which is represented by Belmont, Murphy, Taggart, Sullivan. The political ideals of both these groups are identical. They are so alike that, for example, when the Democratic group was in control of the Senate it produced a tariff bill that could hardly be distinguished from the bill that the Republican group produced when it was in control of the Senate.

On the other hand, there are the Republican Insurgents and those progressive Democrats whose political sympathies have found confused but sincere expression. These groups, also, want the same spirit in government—nominally differing on some unimportant details that might easily be adjusted.

Why don't the parties swap wings, giving us one wholly Conservative party and one wholly Liberal or Radical party—thereby restoring some intelligence to party nomenclature and some real significance to party divisions?

Superficially, it looks easy, and a good many hopeful persons dream of the event; but we suspect that they dream in vain. One need only glance at the program of the Liberals in England to understand what dubious welcome a wholly Radical party would find in this country.

The Insurgents and the progressive Democrats assert their essential conservatism. There cannot be a clear and deep division between the parties unless there is like division among the people. Broadly speaking, that division does not appear. We are still mostly all Conservatives, only Aldrich and Murphy season the dish too highly.

When it is remembered that the *Saturday Evening Post* has a million subscribers, and is a publication that is usually read with much more care than most, the general effect of such presentation of current topics will be at once apparent. In preparing the public mind for the reception of Socialist ideas, the *Post* is doing a work whose value must not be underestimated and which is most significant of the changing attitude of the public on economic questions.

A Lesson in Anatomy

Attached to the legs are the feet. Some varieties of feet are cold. Some people are born with cold feet, others acquire cold feet, and still others have cold feet thrust upon them.

The surface of the body is covered with cuticle, which either hangs in graceful loops or is stretched tightly from bone to bone.

On the face it is known as the complexion, and is used extensively for commercial purposes by dermatologists, painters, and decorators.

Between the cuticle and the bones are the muscles, which hold the bones together and prevent them from falling out and littering up the sidewalks as we walk along.

Packed neatly and yet compactly inside the body are the heart, the liver, and the lungs; also the gall, which in Americans is abnormally large.

These organs are used occasionally by the people who own them, but their real purpose is to furnish surgeons a living.—*Exchange.*

The Intelligent Vizier

(*Continued from page 4.*)

more, thou shalt have the privilege of using the bow-string on any such as oppose thee. Be of good cheer, for verily thou hast pleased me well. But, just one question more: Where under the sun hast thou learned such great and sapient wisdom in things political?"

"Where? Through reading, Sire. Through study of the laws and institutions of a land far, far across the sea, to westward."

"What land?"

"Excuse me, Sire, but let that remain for another time. I hear a disturbance outside the palace gates, and feel that I am needed to hand out either Plat-i-tudes or steel-jacketed bullets, whichever the rabble seems to need most. With Your Majesty's permission, I withdraw."

Then the Intelligent Vizier slid off the divan, saalamed three times to the mosaic, and departed to deal with the people. The rest of the day he spent in having the Royal Interpreter read to him the latest batch of papers from—but that's telling!

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Tom Watson

By Robert Hunter, in New York *Call*.

Tom Watson is to-day the most abjectly pathetic figure that struts the stage.

His audience is gone, and the lights are off, and so the old tragic-comedian that once filled the galleries has become sulky, sullen, ill-tempered and dogged.

Tom loves flattery, and he can still rub his own back until he purrs like a kitten.

But it grows wearisome to have to live on one's own praise.

And that is especially so of Tom, who fed on the adulation of the multitude until he became bloated, swollen and flushed with the sense of his own importance.

He could bear like the Turk no rival near the throne, and so Tom attacked and helped to destroy every rival who did not look with wonder upon Tom, the colossus that bestrode the world of Populism.

And the more rivals he destroyed the more vain, puffed up and inflated Tom became—and then—and then the multitude turned from him also.

And to recapture his audience he gave himself up to bombast, tall talk and heroics until every one sickened of Tom.

The farther he got from honest work and serious politics to boast and brag and vaunt and puff and swagger, the more men left him to blow his own horn.

And now Tom, the great leader without a following, has become insolent, imperious and arrogant.

He is furious with old pops that no longer heed his words.

He is impudent to the men who once considered him a big man, because they will not do his bidding and let him lead them where he will.

I no longer read Tom's papers, but I find a quotation taken from his struggling monthly.

And I consider it worth reading, if for nothing else than to see how insolent an old barnstormer has become.

"The old pops," says Tom, "who have been duped by such papers as the *Rip-Saw* and the *Appeal to Reason* ought to be ashamed of themselves. They stood with ME in years gone by—years that tried men's souls—and they ought to know that I would not misrepresent Socialism or anything else.

"They ought to know that I am more capable of discovering what Socialism is than they themselves are.

"They know that when they are at work, at their planting, or tilling, or carpentering, or bricklaying, I'm at work in my library.

"It is my business to read, reflect, accumulate knowledge and to understand political and social subjects."

Well, Tom, the people have moved on, even the old pops have moved on.

They have got tired of banter and bluster, of bombast and fire-eating and pomposity.

They have a notion, very absurd perhaps in your eyes, that they also can think, that they also have intelligence, and that they also can tell what they like and what they don't like.

They are, to be sure, planting, tilling, carpentering and bricklaying while you are in your library, yet they, even amid hard work, can reflect, accumulate knowledge and understand political and social subjects.

They are tired of being misled; they are tired of having only one thought to dwell upon and that the greatness, the intellect, the wisdom and the heroism of Tom Watson.

They are tired of fighting wind-mills and droves of sheep.

They are tired of Quixotism, and despite the fact that Tom Watson still breathes and writes and struts, they no longer believe that he alone is capable of discovering for them all they should know, of telling them all they should believe, of ordering for them all they should have or of directing them in all they should do.

And that's democracy, Tom. They begin to understand that it is THEIR business to read, reflect, accumulate knowledge, and to understand political and social subjects.

And that's the chief reason, Tom, for the fact that your audience is gone.

They are weary of I and me and my business, and my library, and my following, and my intellect, and my party, and my papers, and me and I and me.

A Strike-Breaking Episode

The car stopped suddenly in the middle of the block in the northeastern section. The conductor waved for the corner policeman.

"Make the motorman go on," he said. "He won't move another inch."

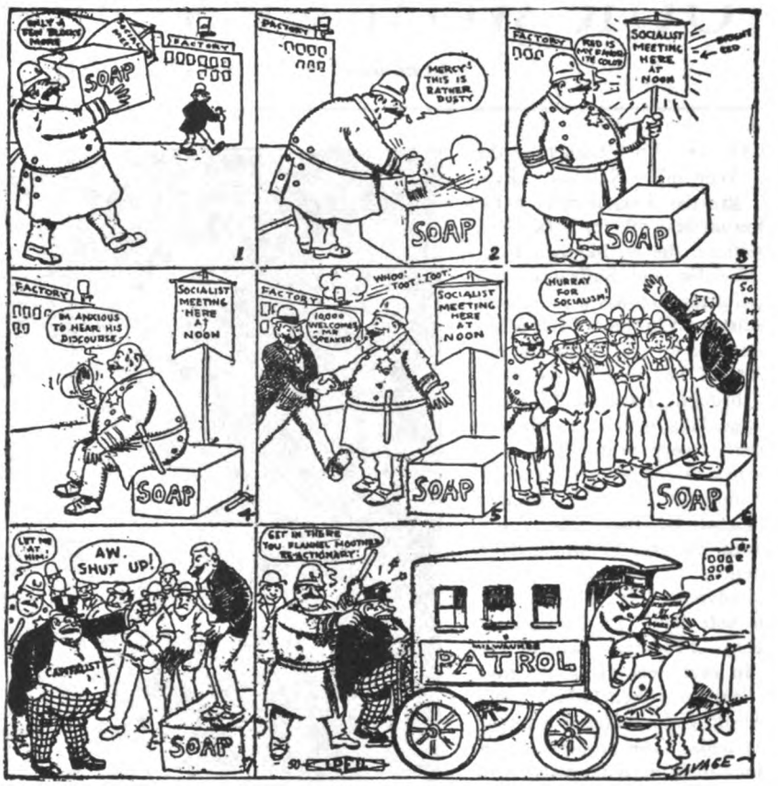
The policeman interviewed the motorman. No, he hadn't suddenly gone on strike, and he wasn't afraid, but—

"Well, what's the but?"

"Why, the man on the back refuses to divide up."

The policeman turned his back. There was a click of nickels and the car went on.—*Philadelphia Press.*

Milwaukee's Class-Conscious Cop



Savage in Chicago *Daily Socialist*.

MAY-DAY IN PATERSON

REGARDLESS of the fact that the First of May this year happened to fall on the Sabbath day, the Socialists of Paterson, N. J., with their accustomed disregard "of all morality" as T. R. might say, prepared to celebrate the occasion by renting the local Turn Hall for a meeting and inviting a member of the Wilshire staff as one of the principal speakers. They failed, however, to reckon with the local chief of police, and thereby hangs a tale.

That zealous official on hearing of the affair at once notified the owner of the hall that the proposed meeting could not be permitted and ordered him to lock the doors. The owner, who also does a healthy Sunday trade in alcoholic liquors, not daring to imperil its continuation, at once complied with the request, and on Sunday morning some hundreds of Socialists, not knowing the situation, found themselves on the outside looking in, instead of vice versa as they had expected.

A delegation of the locked out immediately sought the office of the chief with the intention of interviewing that gentleman. He was in, and a local Socialist named Alexander acted as spokesman for the rest.

Alexander after a formal protest inquired if the chief did not know he had no legal authority to forbid the use of the hall. That official admitted that it was illegal, but assured the delegation that he had upon his own authority and responsibility undertaken to see that they did not desecrate the Sabbath. No one could desecrate the Sabbath as they proposed to do, and get away with it so long as he had power to prevent them.

He further informed them that he would prohibit, on his own responsibility, the distribution of any Socialist literature, though there was no city ordinance against it, and would arrest violators of this fiat on the charge of disorderly conduct.

It happened at the same time that about two minutes walk from the hall there was a combined gin-mill and assignation house belonging to a prominent local politician. This establishment was just then doing a roaring trade in both departments—literally as well as figuratively—and Alexander, accepting the chief as the local guardian of Sabbath morality, offered to lead him to it for eviction purposes.

There was nothing doing in that line, however. Alexander was informed that it was "none of his damned business," which was strictly true, seeing it was the business of the aforesaid politician.

Finally Alexander proposed to guide the chief to between twenty and thirty other similar resorts, and as before, the proposals were rejected promptly and decisively.

The Socialists then formed in a sort of irregular parade and marched through the streets to just outside the city limits, where they halted and held an outdoor meeting without further interference. It wasn't a particularly jubilant assemblage, though the speakers tried to console the audience by pointing out how much better they manage these affairs in Milwaukee.

However, Paterson was saved—morality was vindicated—and the inhabitants, no longer menaced by the threat of Socialist desecration, were left to enjoy their inalienable right of observing the Sabbath by worshipping in what manner they thought best—even at the shrines of Bacchus and Venus—and profits did accrue.

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OUR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

***Conducted by* MRS. GAYLORD WILSHIRE**

THE New York branch of the Woman's National Progressive League gave a reception on May 7th for Mrs. Dora Montefiore, the well-known English Socialist and Suffragist, and Mrs. Corinne Brown, a prominent Socialist, of Chicago. Mrs. Montefiore told of the hopeless endeavors of her English sisters to put through Parliament Equal Suffrage bills which are shelved regularly every year. The situation has driven women to adopt more militant methods. Besides the Equal Suffrage, the Adult Suffrage Society, of which Mrs. Montefiore is Honorary Secretary, advocates a more democratic vote than England has at present. Property owners can vote in every county where they hold land, a system which gives the wealthy an undue advantage at the polls. The property qualifications must be done away with for another reason: the married woman would never have a vote since her husband is legally the householder.

Among those present were: Comrades Montefiore, Corinne Brown, Gates, Lambert, Janson, Robinson, Weeks, Wanhope, Ruge, Allen, Bower, Gelder, Brophy, Edlin, Felix, McQuatt, Mulkins, Hildegarde Hawthorne, Reeves, Fairweather, Gordon, Gates, Rivkin, Brown, Tridon, Straight, Lyon, Dr. Ingermann, Dr. Pavitsky, Dr. Jaeger, Dr. Robinson, Boudin, Lemon, Janson, etc., etc.

MRS. DORA B. MONTEFIORE
The Celebrated English Socialist and Suffragist.

Several musical selections were rendered in the course of the evening by Mrs. May Gates, soprano, and Miss Una Fairweather, contralto, both members of the New York branch.

Mrs. Montefiore afterward attended the National Convention of the Socialist party at Chicago, where she was received as a fraternal delegate representing the British Socialists and was given a voice in the convention as a matter of courtesy. She acknowledged this recognition in a brief but very interesting address at the opening session. While the convention was proceeding, Chicago kept Mrs. Montefiore very busy at various meetings during the evenings, her unusual ability as a public speaker on the subjects of Socialism and Woman Suffrage being instantly and universally recognized.

The Breakfast of the School Children

***By* HELEN SCHLOSS**

"WHAT are the people crying for?" said the gentle queen. When she was told that they wanted bread, she answered, "Well, give them cake."

When the cry was raised that 70,000 children go breakfastless to school every day, and when the gentle ladies read the item of news over their well-prepared breakfast, they also wanted to know if cake would not hush the cry, and instantly their hearts and purses were opened and cake in abundance was supplied. Breakfast kitchens had been opened, special investigations made, and all felt very unhappy. But notwithstanding that we have given these breakfasts every morning, we are still confronted with the hungry child.

Shall we dispel this from our minds, and say like a passage in the Bible: "The poor we shall always have with us"? And are we always to have hungry children? The answer comes back, as long as we shall have poor we must have hungry children!

Cake is not a very wholesome diet for children, nor is a breakfast here and there going to solve the problem of the breakfastless child.

I questioned every individual who was in any way connected with the feeding of the children in the morning, and here are some of the answers.

As for some of the school teachers, they were angry at this piece of extra work of having to question the children whether they had breakfast or not. Of course I will not say that every school teacher thought this extra work. In fact some of them are the cause of spreading the news of the breakfastless children. The trained nurses could not report actual poverty because they found rolls and coffee and sometimes cheese, butter and milk. One nurse who went to the breakfast kitchen to investigate said that some of the children were merely stuffing rolls and coffee, and had eaten breakfast at home. They went because the other children had gone to that breakfast kitchen. It is not poverty with these people, she said.

I too went to the houses where the children were supposed to be without breakfast, and I got down and also discovered that they were not starving.

To be sure people who are accustomed to charity are always asking for aid from every new face that comes in with a book and pencil. Some of them just live on charity. And since they must live, and there is no other means of a livelihood, they naturally take as much as they can get. The whole system is grab, and it manifests itself among the poor and reflects in the children, and we all know what the rich do in order to get as much out of life as possible.

Then if these children go for an extra breakfast, we say, "O, it is not true that they are hungry."

I for one would not dispel the great problem of breakfastless children from my mind, because in these breakfastless children lies the future race; it is the children that will be the men and women of our next generation, and we are building the future nation on breakfastless children.

When I say breakfastless, I do not mean to say that a child or a home is absolutely without food. In this present system of great wealth and great poverty we find that all the rich are doing something for the poor. It is an age of unrest, every human being is feeling the restless pulse of life, and they are consequently doing something. A great deal is being spent on charity, and if it were not for these charitable institutions I really do not know how these people could exist. As it is, they exist from hand to mouth. The family that is supported by charity gets three dollars a week for food, and free rent.

Can you imagine a family of five or eight living on three dollars a week? But this is what is given, and they must get

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W. N. P. L. NOTES

Comrade Selma Glauch, of San Francisco, writes us that "Woman's Day" in that city was a great success, and that a convention, with delegates from all the Woman Socialist unions of California, is being planned for September. Mrs. Villa Reynolds was chosen secretary of the William Morris Club at the recent election.

Comrade Rose Maas, of the Rock Island, Ill., branch, sends us several newspaper clippings showing that the Moline and Davenport branches have been very active, taking a firm stand in several local issues concerning the welfare and health of workers. On April 13th the two branches had a joint meeting to discuss the question of public playgrounds.

All comrades will be glad to hear that Comrade Montana Springer, the active secretary of the Stillwater, Okla., branch, who recently had to undergo a painful operation, has recovered her health and is at work again. She writes us that the prospects for the Socialist party in her neighborhood are very promising. "Socialism is growing by leaps and bounds," she says, "and many old men, hidebound Democrats and Republicans, are openly declaring that they will vote the Socialist ticket this fall."

Comrade Susie M. Heard, of Sharon, Pa., tells us that the South Sharon branch has had many well-attended meetings. She kindly sends us a very interesting paper on the white slave traffic written by Mrs. Maud Wagner, showing that prostitution is inevitable in a system which underpays women workers while making higher and higher financial demands upon them. "Exposures in magazine articles or from the pulpit, arrest and punishment, have not and never will abolish the evil. Reform may drive the unfortunates from place to place, but as long as we have capitalism demanding profits the evil will endure."

Another excellent paper, written by Mrs. Fredia Stephens, of the South Sharon branch, calls attention to the part played by the saloon keeper in this infamous trade, and quotes several cases in which mothers of families have had to resort to clandestine prostitution to keep up appearances.

Comrade Amelia Adamson, of Kennard, Pa., one of the charter members of the League, writes that she will be so glad to see pictures of the different members-at-large. She has not had the privilege of speaking to a Socialist for six years, as there are none in her town, so we may know how lonesome she is. Mrs. Adamson's picture appears on this page.

Mrs. J. B. Adamson,
Charter Member, Kennard, Penna., Branch W. N. P. L.

along. Now we know that there is no actual starvation, but we also know that these people cannot have very much to eat. If the family is well to do, the father earns from ten to fifteen dollars a week and many little mouths must be fed. The rent and gas bills must be paid, and they must all wear clothes.

Let me take you into one of these homes for a few minutes and show you what the child receives for breakfast, and how he eats it.

There is a family of six children, father and mother and two boarders. The six children sleep in the front room, father and mother, and oftentimes a baby, sleep in a dark bedroom with no light or air. There is supposed to be 3,000 cubic feet of air in these rooms. The boarders sleep in the kitchen. In a short while the air is used up, and they inhale again the impure air they exhaled. All windows are tightly shut, and in the morning the whole atmosphere is laden with impurities and poisons. The children are languid and tired and naturally remain abed until the very last minute. Then there is a scramble for clothes, and each child washes its face in an apologetic sort of way, plasters his hair down and is ready for breakfast, which consists of bread and coffee. Of course sometimes bread and butter and coffee, but on the average it is merely bread and coffee. The teeth of most of these children are decayed from dirt, and as for baths, that is not to be considered. Some of them never bathe, because the mother is too busy all day, and the children come so fast that it is impossible to keep track of all of them. They just grow up, like Topsy.

Now grant you that the children get a good breakfast when they go to the breakfast kitchen, but of what use can a good breakfast be when the child's stomach is filled with germs from decayed teeth, when its blood is laden with impurities, when it has no appetite for anything but cheap sweets and sour pickles? The human being craves for food, and when it cannot get the proper food, it resorts to stimulants.

So we see that the breakfast of a child does not merely consist of food, but when we take the child into consideration, we must also consider its environment, we must know whether it has healthy blood flowing through its veins, we must know whether it is not tainted with some dreadful disease inherited from the parents.

The mere feeding of the children in the morning will not abolish the breakfastless child, because this act in itself does not abolish poverty, and as long as we have poverty, we have the breakfastless children.

Now I know that it really does not require a great deal of wealth to feed children properly, and as Horace Fletcher said, that people can live very cheaply if they only knew how to live right. There may be a good deal of truth in that. But can we carry the message to the poor mother of food values, and how to get the best out of food at a low cost? The poor mother who has not even seen the ray of light, who knows nothing but poverty and degradation, will not understand the message of proper food stuffs. She is too busy in trying to keep body and soul alive, and never considers proper foods.

As I walk through the tenements every day and watch the children, I ponder over their future. I wonder how many of them will ever live a different life than tenement life, I wonder whether they are doomed to live or die in misery.

I find children in the care of consumptive women because they cannot make a living any other way, and earn a few pennies by taking care of babies whose mothers must go out to work.

In one house I found a baby with burning cheeks and wistful eyes. It sat on the floor gazing at me for a long time, and the expression on its little face was that of an old man. It did not patter, nor coo nor talk like a baby of eighteen months should. The woman told me that it is a good baby, it sits on the floor all day. Another baby was in charge of a consumptive woman, was bright and healthy, but the fate of that child may also be determined by its environment.

We pride ourselves on living in a scientific age, we are living in a civilized age, we have all the modern inventions, we enjoy all the luxuries of a civilization. We have the well-bred dog, the well-bred horse, we have the exquisite flowers.

More thought is given to plants and animals because they have economic value, but as for the human being, the child, the future citizen, we find him breakfastless and naked, we find him on the streets selling newspapers, we find him in the dark crowded tenements.

A flower cannot thrive in a dark, damp cellar, we know the results, but what does the world care for the results of children when they grow up to be men and women?

The thoughtful men and women who are interested in the problem of the child, who are interested how the child lives and what he gets to eat in the morning and at night must first of all consider his environment. It is necessary to allow the child to unfold like the petal of a flower in the sunshine, and unless we give it plenty of air and sunlight we will not get the best results.

The problem of the child rests with the educators, because they have a very hard time in teaching a stupid child. The child is not always stupid, but it is not in good health, and hence its stupidity. I am not a mental educator, but I firmly believe that if more time were spent on the child's physical education, if they were allowed to play out in the open, if meals were provided for these children, as in some of the foreign countries, there would be better results.

The whole world builds its riches, builds civilization on the backs of children. It uses its blood to enrich the nation, and it does not matter whether the child gets breakfast or not, for as long as it has to toil in factories, as long as it sleeps in a polluted atmosphere, as long as it has decayed teeth and a sickly body, the amount of food that it will receive will not make it a strong man or woman; in other words, it will not make it what a human being ought to be.

It is poverty that makes the human being what he is to-day, and it is poverty which causes some to sing the song of the shirt, and some of us hear the bitter cry of the children.

This bitter cry is ringing through the corridors of time, for ever since we discovered machinery, ever since we have civilized man that cry is heard, and we are still hearing this cry, and lest you forget, that we still have their cries, let me ask you to read Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children."

Our Monthly Study Course

TEXT BOOK—SPARGO'S "BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN."

Compiled by MRS. MARY OPPENHEIMER.

LESSON VII. CHAPTER III, continued: Pages 182-217.—Main points to be noted: Section 9—Moral ills resulting from child-labor. The whole tendency of child-labor is in the direction of a lower moral standard. Section 10—The ills which child-labor inflicts upon children are a curse and blight for all their after years. Section 11—Child-labor has no social justification; it exists only for the sordid gain of profit seekers. The constant demand for the cheap, tractable labor of children has had much to do with the creation of the supply. Section 12—The problem of child-labor in its relation to parental responsibility has never been fully investigated, although it is of vital importance. A chief cause is poverty.

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How About It?

L. M. B. Cincinnati, O.—What can Socialism do with the tramp problem?

Solve it by the removal of the conditions that produce the tramp. That is the general answer to all such queries concerning present-day evils, every one of which is a direct product of our economic system. Half a century ago, before capitalism had developed to anything like its present proportions, the tramp was practically unknown in this country. His appearance since then has kept almost exact pace with our industrial development. The tramp represented in the press as "the man who never worked and never will" is a myth. Such representations are merely shifts by which it is sought to absolve our social system of responsibility for the tramp. By far the greatest original factor in the production of the tramp is unemployment, which is in itself a permanent element of capitalistic production. Socialism, by providing opportunity for employment to all, would thus solve the tramp problem. For a more exhaustive account of the attitude of Socialism to the tramp question we recommend Jack London's leaflet, "The Tramp," which can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. for two cents.

M. J. O'B., Cleveland, O.—What is the attitude of the Socialist party on Asiatic immigration?

The party has not so far officially announced its attitude on this question, and we may remark here that even if it does Socialists do not necessarily have to agree with it. At the last National Convention in 1908 the question came up, but the party decided it had not sufficient data and sufficient information to found a definite statement on. It appointed a committee to study the question and report at the next convention, in May of the present year. The recommendations of this committee will be discussed in the next issue of this magazine, also the general position of the party on this question if any is formulated. It is just as well to remember, however, that Socialists have little power to do anything in the matter beyond stating general views, as immigration is almost entirely in the control of the ruling classes and is manipulated to suit their interests generally. Also it may be stated that it is hardly possible that any view a Socialist convention may take will not be subjected to justifiable criticism from various angles, as the question is one that contains many contradictory elements, which make a final position difficult, if not impossible.

THE ASCETIC OC-TO-PUS!

By GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND

Is it not most odd to ponder, as our wireless think-waves wander,
On this world's extreme divergences of taste?
From the débutante slender, to the Hottentot belle, tender,
With her minimum-of-eighty-inches waist,
Each of us has dietetic one-best-bets, sometimes ascetic,
Or mayhap gourmetic gorgings, gross and gay.
But our kindly old OC-TO-PUS (while press agents mildly dope us)
Merely craves a crumb or two of U. S. A.

For he's Modest Monster, so he is!
A hearty feed would put him out of biz!
Just a countyful of coal
Or a bank en casserole
Is quite enough, at lunch, to fill his phiz!

The discriminating Carib fancies missionary spare-rib;
The Dyak dotes on devilled slug, well fried.
The Esquimauxly lubber calls for eighteen helps of blubber.
"Ant!" the Kroo demands, "With aard-vark on the side!"
If you ask the coy Fuegian he'll admit his tastes are legion,
All the way from pickled babe to gore au lait;
But our Oily Johns and Morgans their assimilative organs
Merely titillate on meaty U. S. A.

Ah, he's a Simple Stoic, is the Oc!
A trifling million shares of watered stock,
An iced trust, a baked mine,
These suffice, for him to dine—
Or mayhap a bunch of rolling-mills, en bloc!

The Bushman eats his foe dense, after death, while rice and rodents
Form a staple of the gentlemanly Chink.
Give the Ainu lots of bear, à la claws and blood and hair,
He'll dispense with other forms of food and drink.
But our super-precious magnates' cloyed digestion rather stagnates
If there's anything substantial in the lay,
So you'll find them snug at table, with their scalpels keen and able,
Just dissecting dainty bits of U. S. A.

Oh, he's a Dainty Darling, so I swear!
He's a bird o' paradise, that lives on air!
Though the poor may gorge and riot
On rich foods, his jaws are quiet.
He's a real Ascet-Oc-To-Pus, I declare! . . .

H. W. R., Webster, Mass.—Will not the intended method of bringing Socialism by organizing a majority of the workers to vote it into existence create an antagonism among the capitalists that will lead to war, chaos and general anarchy? Is not this method open to question?

It is. And in that it does not differ from any other method. There is no method of working for the realization of Socialism that will not equally draw out capitalist antagonism. The idea that a party can be formed whose ultimate object is the realization of Socialism and that this party will not arouse the antagonism of the capitalist classes is the sheerest nonsense. As a matter of fact, the capitalists are much more keen to perceive when their interests are endangered than are the majority of the people engaged in movements which endanger the present interests of the ruling class. Mr. Gompers, for instance, insists on the harmony between capital and labor, denounces Socialism, and proclaims that the labor movement under his direction not only does not menace the capitalists, but actually helps them. But this does not impose on the capitalists, who lose no opportunity of pounding the life out of organized labor despite the protestations of Gompers. You may not like the idea of class antagonisms, but they are inescapable, and even if they do lead to war and chaos, it is through them that industrial evolution has always worked in the past and must work until capitalism gives way and economic classes disappear.

From a Famous Author

We have received the following interesting letter from Francis Grierson, whose work, "The Valley of the Shadows," was recently reviewed by George D. Herron in this magazine. Mr. Grierson, who was raised in the Middle West, the country of Lincoln, has been residing for some time in Italy with Mr. Herron, but is now returned to London.

No. 11 Cambridge Parade,
Twickenham, London,

DEAR MR. WILSHIRE:

While I was in Florence during an eight weeks' sojourn there, while sitting one day with Mr. Odon Por at his house, he gave me one of your books to read, and I was greatly struck with the opening chapter, which exactly harmonized with my own views of the social question.

I must say that I was all the more impressed with your sentiments because I was under the impression that you were opposed to poetic and artistic inspiration, and leaned to a somewhat materialistic view of life, and I told Mr. Por that I was glad that he called my attention to your book as now I was able to judge for myself in the matter.

Indeed, I found Mr. Odon Por a very serious and talented young man, and I was very pleased to be able to talk so much with him while in Florence.

I hope your work in South America is progressing. The time is ripe for great efforts and great events. Here in England we are on the eve of changes and great awakenings, but I have not been at all surprised at the political situation; I predicted the present strange state of affairs three years ago, and my articles in the *New Age* have been for more than a year charged with presentments and impressions in regard to grave world changes in the near future.

I am sending you a copy of the "Valley of the Shadows," which I hope you will receive, as I understand the New York Custom House authorities are hard to deal with in the matter of books.

I received a letter from Mr. B. O. Flower informing me of the changes he has brought about in his Review and I hope he will succeed, but the work is difficult and it requires much outlay.

Sincerely yours,
FRANCIS GRIERSON.

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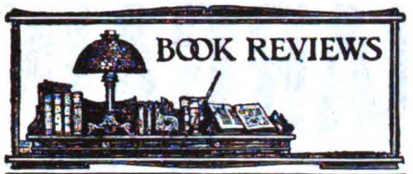

Any book mentioned in these columns can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. Unless otherwise stated, prices do not include postage.

THE CONFLICT OVER JUDICIAL POWERS IN THE UNITED STATES TO 1870. By Chas. Grove Haynes, Ph.D. Paper, 180 pp. $1.50. Columbia University. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, Fourth Ave. and 30th St., New York.

This volume, which is one of the most valuable publications of the Columbia University, contains matter of an historical nature which every Socialist engaged in public propaganda should be acquainted with. From the very beginning of the Republic this conflict has been waged, and the power of the judiciary over the legislature seems now so firmly entrenched that nothing short of a revolution can overthrow it. One hundred years before this time, the supremacy of the legislative over the judicial power had been permanently established in England as an outcome of the revolution of 1688, and the fact that in other matters British procedure was generally followed by the founders of the Republic, certainly sustains the probability that the exception in this case was deliberately designed by the ruling classes for their own purposes. A general reading of this volume also gives the same impression. The matter contained therein is mostly historical, and shows the increasing power of the courts over the legislature from the formation of the republic down to 1870. The volume itself is No. 392 of the series of "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law" edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, New York. It will well repay perusal by the Socialist who is curious to understand the manner in which the ruling class of this country have gradually entrenched themselves behind the judiciary and destroyed legislation that, while beneficial to the public at large, might have proven injurious to their interests.

THE WHITE ROSE. (Poems.) By John Kearnes White. Cloth, 48 pp., 75 cents. Published by the Author at Richmond, Va.

Readers of "Wilshire's" will doubtless remember Mr. John Kearnes White as the contributor of several very high-class specimens of verse to our columns, and those who have enjoyed them will hail with satisfaction the appearance in book form of this collection of verses. The work contains twenty-five examples of Mr. White's poetic ability, all of a high standard of merit. Two of the contributions which have appeared in "Wilshire's," "The King," and "The Red Flag," are included in the book, which we may add is very tastefully gotten up as regards binding, paper and print, making a most elegant and presentable little volume.

NATURAL SALVATION (SALVATION BY SCIENCE). By C. A. Stephens, M.D. Sixth edition. Cloth, 157 pp. $1.75. Published at The Laboratory, Norway Lake, Me.

A work which has reached a sixth edition, by that fact alone proves its title to consideration, and especially so in the case of a scientific work as is this of Dr. Stephens'. The salvation alluded to in the title is, of course, a very different concept to that of the personal salvation preached by the various creeds. Dr. Stephens' conception is rather the general elevation of the masses of humanity through the distribution of modern scientific knowledge, and his work may be regarded in some sense as a summary of this knowledge. Starting with the cell life, Dr. Stephens discusses the method in which the brain cells unite to form the human intellect and carries the reader on to a consideration of the problem of self-consciousness, from which point he proceeds to a discussion of the probability of immortality. The various problems of space, ether and psychical research are in turn taken up and discussed in a most interesting and instructive manner, and whether the reader is disposed to agree with Dr. Stephens' conclusions or not, he will have attained considerable knowledge of modern scientific facts when the conclusion of the volume has been reached. We should say on the whole that the real value of the work consists rather in the stimulating and suggestive qualities of the contents, than in the conclusions reached.

A VAGABOND JOURNEY AROUND THE WORLD. By Harry A. Franck. Cloth, 502 pp. $3.50 net. The Century Company, Publishers, New York.

Mr. Franck has given us a most entertaining and interesting account of a two-years' journey around the world undertaken by him several years ago. The unique feature of the volume is that the tour was actually undertaken without money, and the adventures related are literally those of a "vagabond." Mr. Franck, who is a university man, and a thoroughly live American, certainly had an exciting time, and though the rough experiences predominated, by no means an unenjoyable one. Starting out as "cattleman" he crossed the Atlantic, wandered over England, France, Germany and Italy as a genuine "hobo," and his recital of these experiences is not without instructive value as showing the types of wanderers in each country, and the attitude of society and the government toward them. Stowing away in a passenger steamer, Mr. Franck headed east and traveled through Egypt, Palestine, Ceylon, India, Burmah, Siam and Japan, finally crossing the Pacific to his native land, an itinerary that was only possible through the possession of a large stock of bluff, nerve and general resourcefulness, the description of which is perhaps the most entertaining part of the volume. The vagabond carried absolutely nothing with him in the way of personal effects beyond the rags he wore, but a kodak and a supply of photographic films, with the results of which the book is liberally and amusingly illustrated.

THE PEOPLE'S HOUR. By George Howard Gibson. Cloth, 137 pp.; $1.00. P. H. Murray & Co., Publishers, Joliet, Ill.

A volume of verse, somewhat roughly constructed, but by no means lacking in ideas. The author, as he states himself in his preface, is a workingman and has written for workingmen, the contents of his book being evolved mostly during periods of enforced idleness. There is a general opinion to the effect that poverty is the natural condition of the poet, and from this grows a popular supposition that the poet sings because he is poor, though a little reflection might show that poverty is not necessarily conducive to singing or at least to good singing. The poet sings not because of his poverty, but rather in spite of it. In connection with the volume above mentioned, we cannot help observing that Mr. Gibson might have done much better if he had periods of idleness that were not enforced, but these times come seldom to a wage earner. Poetry written when there is nothing else to be done, and which would not have been written had more necessary work been possible, is not likely to be of a very high standard. However, under the circumstances, Mr. Gibson has done very well, and as his verses all smack strongly of the Socialist faith he no doubt understands the necessary limitations that wage slavery puts upon the Muse, and works for the coming of a time when the poet will have real leisure instead of enforced idleness in which to do his best work.

Books Received

REVOLUTION. By Jack London. Cloth, 315 pp. $1.50. The Macmillan Co., Publishers, New York.

THE BEAST. By Ben B. Lindsey and Harvey J. O'Higgins. Cloth, 340 pp. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Morris Hillquit. Fifth edition. Enlarged and revised. Cloth, 389 pp. $1.50. Funk & Wagnalls, Publishers, New York.

AN INTERVIEW. By Daniel W. Church. Cloth, 163 pp. $1.00. Berlin Carey Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.

A SOLUTION OF INTERESTS DEPENDENT UPON MONEY, SUBSIDIARY MONEY, CURRENCY, EMERGENCY CURRENCY AND BANKING FOR EVERY NATION. By Charles Albert Long. Cloth, 54 pp. Aberdeen Publishing Co., New York.

THE MAN WHO WANTED A BUNGALOW. By Lionel Josephare. Paper, 10 cents, 93 pp. The Danner Publishing Co., 1508 Polk St., San Francisco, Cal.

THE WONDERS OF LIFE. By Ida Lyon. Cloth, 236 pp. $1.00. R. F. Fenno & Company, Publishers, 18 East 17th St., New York.

CHILDREN'S GARDENS FOR PLEASURE, HEALTH AND EDUCATION. By Henry G. Parsons. Cloth, 226 pp. $1.00 net. Sturgis & Walton Co., Publishers, 31-33 East 27th St., New York.

THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY. By Paul Lafargue. Cloth, 160 pp. 50 cents. THE CLASS STRUGGLE (ERFURT PROGRAM). By Karl Kautsky. Cloth, 217 pp. 50 cents. THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY. By Karl Marx. Cloth, 227 pp. $1.00. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 118 Kinzie St., Chicago, Ill.

THE RATIONAL LIFE. By Will J. Erwood. Cloth, 182 pp. $1.00 post paid. Published by the Author (Will J. Erwood Co.), Baltimore, Md.

"Did you ever know a man who had health, common sense, honesty and will power who was poor?" asked John D. Rockefeller. There was the "Man of Sorrows," Mr. Rockefeller.—*Johnstown Democrat.*

Health A Social Question

The American Association for the Advancement of Science is interesting itself in the very important question of the public health, and is endeavoring to bring it to the attention of the Government with the object of establishing a Department of Health as a much needed National institution. Needless to say, that with this object WILSHIRE'S is in hearty sympathy and will lend it all support possible. While we recognize that it is impossible to get the best results in this direction while the present economic system exists, this does not mean that even under present conditions a great improvement cannot be made. The reasons given by the A. A. A. S. why there should be such a Department are sixteen in number, as follows:

1. To stop the spread of typhoid fever through drinking sewage-polluted water of interstate streams.
2. To enforce adequate quarantine regulations, so as to keep out of the country plague and other similar pestilences.
3. To supervise interstate common carriers in so far as without such supervision they prove a menace to the health of the traveling public.
4. To have a central organization of such dignity and importance that departments of health of States and cities will seek its coöperation and pay heed to its advice.
5. To influence health authorities, State and municipal, to enact uniform legislation in relation to health matters.
6. To act as a clearing-house of State and local health regulations and to codify such regulations.
7. To draw up a model scheme of sanitary legislation for the assistance of State and municipal health officers.
8. To gather accurate data on all questions of sanitation throughout the United States.
9. To establish the chief causes of preventable disease and unnecessary ill-health.
10. To study conditions and causes of diseases recurring in different parts of the United States.
11. To correlate and assist investigations carried on in many separate and unrelated biological and pathological, Federal, State and private laboratories.
12. To consolidate and co-ordinate the many separate government bureaus now engaged in independent health work.
13. To effect economies in the administration of these bureaus.
14. To publish and distribute throughout the country bulletins in relation to human health.
15. To apply our existing knowledge of hygiene to our living conditions.
16. To cut in two the present death-rate in the United States, as the authorities agree might be done.

If you believe in this let your Congressman know it. Let us have that Department of Health as soon as may be possible.

Even in "barbarous Mexico" they manage some things better than we do. For instance, the Mayor of the city of Chihuahua on getting a report from the local Board of Health that the butcher shops of the city were spreading disease owing to the unsanitary condition of the places, instituted a reform in the shape of municipally constructed meat markets, twenty of which have been completed and all on the highest sanitary standard. The shops rent for $25 a month. Even in Mexico the "jungle" is not permitted to spread without limit.

An armed watchman in the Republic Iron and Steel Co.'s Chicago plant recently shot and killed a workman who was suspected of loitering around the premises, but as the company refused to give the watchman's name to the authorities his trial and acquittal became superfluous.

The Apostrophe and the Budget

(From *Life.*)

The Bishops—The Lord's will be done.
The Lords—The Lords' will be done.
The People—The Lords will be done.

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SPECIAL BOOK BARGAIN

The most comprehensive work on present-day Socialist activity throughout the world is without doubt Robert Hunter's

SOCIALISTS AT WORK

and it should be in the possession of every active, working Socialist.

This volume, which contains 374 pages, is less than two years old, and covers thoroughly the position, status, political activity and constructive programs of the Socialist movement in Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain and Belgium, besides containing an exhaustive supplementary chapter describing the movement in other countries. Socialist Programs, Socialism and Social Reform, Socialism in the Parliaments, and Socialism in Art and Literature, and various other phases of international activity are presented. In short, the volume for instructive purposes cannot be surpassed, and occupies a unique position in regard to the matter with which it deals. The author, who is well known as a most careful investigator, has taken all precautions to verify his statements, and the general accuracy of the volume is undisputed.

We have on hand one hundred copies of this valuable work, which has heretofore never retailed for less than $1.50. They are in perfect condition, and we propose to let them go at the exceedingly low price of **One Dollar.** Rush your order, as the supply at this figure will certainly not last.

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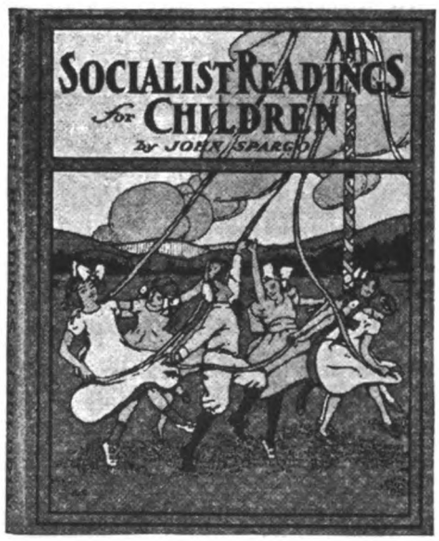
SPARGO'S "SOCIALIST READINGS FOR CHILDREN"

BEST book ever written for children on Socialism. Entertaining and instructive. Worth many times its cost to a family where there are little ones to be taught the truth. Hundreds of copies have been sold, but many who wanted to have it have felt that they could not pay the previous price of $1.00.



WE want to get the book well distributed among the boys and girls of Socialist parents, and have decided to put the price down to the lowest possible figure, 70 cents postpaid, 60 cents in lots of five or more. The edition is limited, so get in your order as early as possible.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE

200 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK

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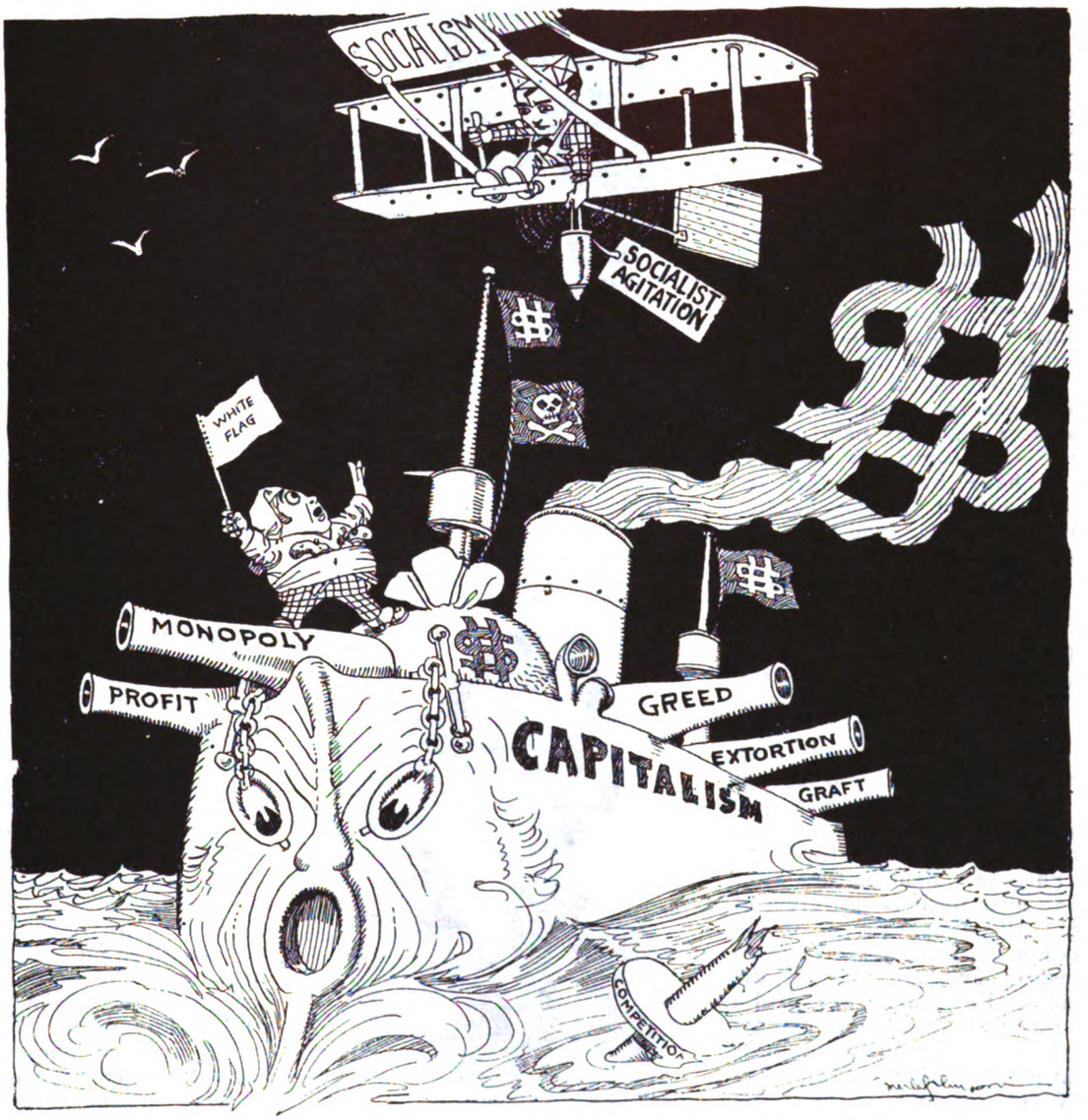
JULY, 1910 FIVE CENTS

WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"



HOW TO SECURE INDUSTRIAL PEACE

The developed aeroplane of the near future will make war utterly impossible. The mightiest fleet of Dreadnoughts will be completely at the mercy of these aerial destroyers, etc., etc.—Daily Press.

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How I Won The 'Round The World Trip

By GEORGE H. GOEBEL

I am asked to "tell how I did it?"—well, pretty much like "Teddy" digs the Panama Canal. More as a matter of language than of facts. A Socialist learns above all things that one does little of themselves, and that strength is in Collectivity. Replies to letters sent to friends in the earlier part of the contest disclosed that one contestant had Locals and comrades in several States working for him, that another was being actively aided by many Unions, another by many members of a fraternal organization in which he was prominent, and still another was Literature agent for the largest Local in the United States. All this, added to the fact of my being a portion of the time out as Organizer and therefore, as a matter of fair play, being under the necessity of treating all party papers alike in my meetings (I only obtained 313 WILSHIRE subs in my meetings, less than one-fourth those taken for other papers), made me realize I too must also get help or get "licked"—and since my boyhood days I have had a consistent prejudice against "getting licked." So like many a "laureled hero" before me, I drafted my wife, as good comrade, helpmate and friend as man ever had. And, thanks to her persistent, loyal attention to the details of correspondence, etc., and the generous friends and comrades, I am the chosen one for the Globe-trot.

But here! I forgot I was to tell you how *I* did it. So I will tell you how *we* did it. And how *you* could do it.

First.—Sink oneself in the Common Purpose. Realize that after all the Cause itself is the greatest thing. And that even a World trip is not worth as much as one's self-respect and the love of the comrades. For years I have had a fixed rule to help all Socialist papers alike. I determined to adhere to that rule, whether I won or lost the World trip, and so now I feel happy to say that not only have I achieved the World trip, by securing 7,553 subs to WILSHIRE'S Magazine, but also a very large number to *The Appeal to Reason* (2,500 *Appeal* subs since March first) and many to other party papers; with all that 12,000 new readers of Socialist papers must mean to the movement and the Party.

Second.—Understand your problem. Whether it be a large meeting to be arranged, a State to be organized, or a World trip to win, sit down quietly and analyze all

George H. Goebel, of Newark, N. J.
Winner of the Wilshire 'Round the World Contest.

the possible factors, good or bad, entering into the task, determined not to be frightened unduly on the one hand, nor over-enthused and optimistic on the other.

Thomas J. Mooney, of San Francisco, Cal.
Winner of Second Prize. He goes to the Copenhagen Congress.

Third.—By being a good "Bulldog"; many years experience in organization and other work has taught me that few people have stick-to-itiveness—the bulldogged tenacity to hold on to the very end of a chosen task. It was this thought and experience that finally determined me to risk entering the contest. Give twenty comrades the simple task of placing just one leaflet under ten doors for ten consecutive weeks, and, generally speaking, at the end of the ten weeks not over one of the ten will have done the small set task as agreed.

Fourth.—Learn, as I have already suggested, that one does little by themselves and that most people like to help if given a *definite* task and one "not too great to be easily possible." When we made a *general* appeal to our friends we got but little response, but when we said: "Do us this definite service of getting us four subs," it kept my comrade wife busy entering the names. And don't forget to "follow up"—when you ask for service realize that the other fellow may have troubles of his own, that in the daily hurly-burly of life it is easy to put your letter to one side, even though fully intending to reply. So give him another chance. And still another.

Not a town in the United States but the party activity and results could be doubled and trebled by following the simple rule on which I won this contest; all of which I have appropriated from the wisdom of others, and tested out by my own experience. And that's how I did it. And as the Magicians say, "Of course you can do it!"

I cannot forego in closing, thanking all the generous friends and comrades who have helped me in this contest. I thank them not only for the subscriptions, but also for the comradely spirit in which the service was given. This contest has given me an added greater opportunity of seeing into the heart of the "Jimmie Higgins" who make up the Socialist vanguard, and by whose blood and sweat has been built up this wonderful International Working Class Party. I can only hope to be in future, as in the past, one of the "Jimmie Higgins" and to give back in effective service any benefits that accrue from this trip. A clasp of the hands, comrades! And that glance of the eye that spells Comradeship—the greatest thing in the world, all embracing and compensating for all the heat and dust of the battle!"

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"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

WILSHIRE'S

GAYLOD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XIV No. 7 NEW YORK, JULY, 1910 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

Rockefeller's National Gift

INCE the first issue of WILSHIRE'S over ten years ago, Mr. Rockefeller has figured prominently in our columns; not as an individual, of course, but rather as a personification of the Trust and its economic results. And in view of some recent social activities which Mr. Rockefeller has been engaged in, we believe that some of the statements made in our columns many years ago as to his possible future activities, might, if reproduced at this time, prove not altogether uninteresting. In predicting the general result of the development of the Trust —as we have done so many times—it is possible, though perhaps to a lesser extent, to forecast something of what the owners of the Trust—and Mr. Rockefeller is perhaps the greatest of these—may be expected to do.

Away back in April, 1902, under the title of "Columbia's Race for Liberty," we published an editorial from which the following is an extract:

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 only turn his vast wealth to that end. 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 assist in its consummation.

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.

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

Certainly neither Mr. Rockefeller nor Mr. Morgan have as much cause as other rich men to disagree with the Socialists, because we say they are the agents who are working out our ideal.

The possibility hinted at here that a time might come when Mr. Rockefeller might use his wealth to assist in introducing Socialism, or even devote any part of it to experiments of a Socialistic character, perhaps sounded somewhat premature eight years ago. However, the possibility was never lost sight of by WILSHIRE'S and was subsequently referred to in many other editorial utterances. For instance, here are some extracts from an editorial entitled "Class vs. Class: Resultant," which appeared in the issue of November, 1904:

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 competitive system means death to society, the rich will also realize it, and they, too, will see the necessity of surrendering to the inevitable. . . .

We Socialists, who hold to the materialistic conception of history, would have to admit of having a ridiculously low estimate of the intelligence of the rich if we would deny the possibility of the rich recognizing the breakdown of the present system when the evidences of it were so palpable that an idiot could not fail to see them. . . .

It is absurd to deny that the two classes will not 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. . . .

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.

We do not claim for a moment that this position has been attained by Mr. Rockefeller, but at the same time it may be reasonably claimed that he has made an important step in this general direction, by his recent decision to turn over the major portion of his vast wealth to be held in trust for the promotion of "the well being and advance in civilization of the peoples of the United States" and "the promotion of any and all the elements of human progress," as is stated in the bill for incorporation as being the object of the Foundation.

Of course, Mr. Rockefeller is not a very popular character, and it is quite natural that all his so-called benefactions should be regarded with distrust and suspicion as to their ultimate object, but nevertheless it is only fair to him to admit that the project itself reveals that the projector has made considerable progress toward the social consciousness previously referred to, and has developed a fairly clear conception of the social character of wealth produced by modern methods of industry. Possibly Mr. Rockefeller has no suspicion whatever of the socialistic trend of his project, but this aspect of it has not escaped the attention of the capitalistic press.

The charter asked for provides that, if the Trustees are not satisfactory, the State may change the charter and take on itself the administration of the property, which is about as near as a capitalist can get to-day in the direction of turning his property over to the State for the benefit of the collectivity. In all likelihood, too, the State will eventually supersede the trustees as administrators.

At first Mr. Rockefeller wished to have the project under Federal control,

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but has since withdrawn the bill for incorporation from the Senate and gone to New York State for incorporation. In all probability, Mr. Rockefeller was induced to make this change by the objections of his brother capitalists, whose instincts warned them of the extreme socialistic character of the proposal to transfer the control and ownership of these vast properties from private to public hands, as the volume of press comment voicing this fear would seem to indicate. As it is, however, the project has undoubtedly a strong socialistic significance in itself, as showing the inevitable tendency to the transformation of private into public wealth, and that such tendency is recognized—whether in connection with Socialism or otherwise—by a capitalist of the Rockefeller type.

Hearst's comment on this matter in the *Evening Journal* is appropriate and to the point. Rockefeller, it says, "is doing what the people haven't had the brains to do for themselves. He is taking national wealth and using it for national purposes."

This, of course, is about what might be expected from a cautious journalist fearful of alarming his readers by pushing his radicalism to its logical conclusions. Still it also marks progress in recognizing Mr. Rockefeller's possessions as national property which ought rightly to be devoted to national purposes. The difference between Hearst and the Socialist is that while the former declares that the nation "should" own the Trusts, the Socialist insists that it is not a matter of "should" but of "must."

However accomplished, the transformation of Trust property on such a vast scale from private to public hands, besides being a testimony to the growing social consciousness of the capitalists, will also have considerable effect in widening the recognition of the really social character of capitalistic private property and making easier future transfers of a similar kind. In this sense we may agree with Mr. Rockefeller that his Foundation promotes "the elements of human progress," believing as we do that everything which tends to get us farther away from Capitalism and nearer to Socialism makes for progress. The fact that Mr. Rockefeller may not and probably does not see in his benefaction a prelude to the ultimate transformation of the Trust property to public ownership, is of no particular importance.

When the American people are sufficiently educated to make the demand that the Nation Must Own the Trusts, they may be surprised perhaps by the readiness with which their demand will be conceded by our Rockefellers. The only reason we have not had Socialism long ago is because we haven't asked for it.

"Insurgents" vs. "Stand-Patters"

IT has been quite a long while since the general attitude of the American people has been one of demanding a change. Ever since the days of Bryan in '96 and the Silver movement, the predominant note has been to let things stand as they are. In short, "Stand pat" has been the popular motto.

A departure from this stationary attitude is, however, quite noticeable in connection with the recent Insurgent Republican movement, the election of a Democratic Congressman from Massachusetts, the deposition of Cannon and the announced retirement of Hale and Aldrich from the Senate. All these events are significant of the strength of the revolt against the "stand patters" in the Republican Party.

The extraordinary increase in the cost of living, coincident with the passage of a Tariff Bill confessedly drawn up for the benefit of a handful of manufacturers at the expense of the public, has made a vast number of people think that after all there may be something done politically to change things for the better.

It is probable that to-day notwithstanding the scandal of the Tariff Bill, that if it were not for the extraordinary rise in the cost of living the people would still be content with the Taft-Cannon-Aldrich régime.

The general sentiment has been that even if the Tariff is arranged to benefit a few manufacturers, as long as the people generally get along fairly well, things should be let alone.

But the people generally are not getting along fairly well. Those who draw salaries or wages are finding it almost impossible, with present prices, to make both ends meet even with the strictest economy.

Nor are they specially interested in the Tariff question or proposals for a new Tariff arrangement. Though the present one is grossly unfair, they feel that it has but little to do with the increased cost of living, and display but small interest in the specific proposals of the Insurgents on that subject. The fact has been widely noted in the press, which laments the general indifference of the public to the special measures proposed by the Insurgent politicians. The proposed railroad bill, the conservation of national resources and other measures excite little interest, but the deposition of Cannon and the retirement of Aldrich and Hale, at the end of their Senatorial term, has attracted much more notice, owing, no doubt, to the fact that these men are generally recognized as the chief political tools of the great plutocratic exploiting interests.

The fact seems to be that the people have largely lost faith in both Republican and Democratic politicians, whether "stand-patters" or "insurgents," and instinctively feel that no measure proposed by either can be depended on to go to the root of the matter on the predominant question of the increased cost of living—the one question in which they are really interested. And they are unquestionably right.

It is fairly certain that eventually this Insurgent movement will result in bringing large masses of the public face to face with the question of Socialism as the final solution of the increased cost of living problem. The conception that society can only feed itself on a co-operative basis, with public ownership of the nation's resources as the first essential, is even now growing rapidly in the public mind. Insurgent politicians who propose nothing of the kind, but content themselves with futile Tariff tinkering, etc., are not likely to get much attention while the cost of the necessaries of life mount ever higher and the food question becomes ever more pressing.

What attention they have had so far, results much more from the spectacular phases of their movement—the deposition of Cannon, the Pinchot-Ballinger-Glavis controversy, etc., for the public still likes sensational amusement. The Insurgents have so far provided the circus, but the bread has not been forthcoming. Possibly Mr. Roosevelt will shortly provide other circus attractions of a still more sensational character and thus keep the public amused and expectant some time longer.

However, all circus and no bread, is a policy that at most can be only temporary. And as capitalism has nothing else to offer, we may reasonably predict a turning of the masses toward Socialism for relief from this condition, and at no very distant date either. It is the turn of the Socialists now to "stand pat."

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Why Men Become Socialists

WHY is a Socialist?

When the Chief Executive of the nation declares publicly that Socialism is the greatest question of the day, such a declaration surely gives an added interest to the question asked above.

How, why and for what reasons do men become Socialists? If Socialism is the important question Mr. Taft declares it to be, this question is surely no less important.

It is a question which used to be generally dismissed with a joke or a sneer, but this method of disposing of it is no longer possible.

While Socialists were few in number, and none of them of any prominence in the public eye, it was perhaps natural that they should attract no particular attention. But that time is past. The number of Socialists has increased to the extent that two Presidents, Messrs. Roosevelt and Taft, have been compelled to testify to their importance in public documents and speeches.

Perhaps it is not a matter of any great public interest as to how and why any particular workingman became a Socialist. An unknown man can hardly be expected to become a subject of general interest just because he has changed his political views.

But the case is different when a man whose views and opinions are familiar to millions of his fellows announces himself as a Socialist. He may not really be of more importance than the ordinary wage earner, but while the public thinks he is, that makes all the difference.

Charles Edward Russell is such a man. For thirty years he has been before the public as a popular writer on social subjects. His books and magazine articles have circulated everywhere and are known to millions. He stands at the head of that group of investigators designated as "muck-rakers" by Mr. Roosevelt, and perhaps there are not a dozen men in these United States who reach an audience as large as that reached by Mr. Russell.

And having become a Socialist, Mr. Russell has written a book telling why.

We predict that the public will read this book. Not so much, perhaps, because of their interest in Socialism, but rather to satisfy their curiosity as to why a man like Mr. Russell should declare himself a Socialist.

It is not our intention to relate Mr. Russell's story here. It will do the reader more good to procure a copy of "Why I Am a Socialist" and go through the recital for himself. Also it will be much more interesting.

We may, however, mention some of the things which apparently had little or nothing to do with bringing Mr. Russell to announce himself a Socialist.

There is nothing in his book to indicate that he has pored long and deeply over philosophic treatises, intricate theories, or obscure essays on political economy. Nothing to show that he has ever read the ponderous tomes of Karl Marx, commonly referred to as "the Socialist Bible." He makes no references to "dialectics," "materialistic conceptions of history," or "surplus value," and uses no terminology of the kind usually connected with what is called "scientific Socialism." Not that these matters are valueless, but that Mr. Russell has reached his conclusions without their aid, is the reason we mention them here.

For more than thirty years Mr. Russell has been a trained observer and investigator of the facts of our industrial and social system. The accumulated impressions made by these facts finally led him to perceive that their ultimate outcome must be Socialism. And his book consists of a relation of these facts. He has reached Socialism through a study of life itself.

Charles Edward Russell,
Celebrated Journalist and Author of "Why I Am a Socialist," recently nominated as Socialist Party Candidate for Governor of New York State.

It was a long-drawn-out process and the conclusions were by no means hastily reached. Mr. Russell started his journalistic career as a reformer. He had no quarrel with our social system—in fact, it is doubtful if he recognized it as a system at all. He saw various abuses and injustices, and, assuming that they were the result of individual turpitude, he exposed them, in the hope that the guilty individuals would take notice, repent and reform. Nothing of the kind happened. He still continued "muck-raking." The heaps of social filth which he exposed still remained—growing larger and smelling viler than ever. The individuals and groups to whom Mr. Russell traced their origin not only did nothing toward their removal, but actually opposed it. The public, to whom he appealed, pretended to be shocked, closed their eyes and noses, and passed by the ill-smelling collections. Publicity had been attained, but it had accomplished nothing.

Why was this so? Here was a question for the investigator, and Mr. Russell was compelled to tackle it. Without an answer to this question his life work was wasted. Equipped with experience, brains, honesty and courage, he set about discovering the why and wherefore. Gradually it dawned upon him that the exigencies of what he called "Big Business" were responsible for the paralysis of permanent reform. With unerring accuracy he followed the trail to the doors of the "Big Business" interests. Then he pleaded, warned and denounced. They turned a deaf ear.

Pursuing the trail still farther, he made the connection between "Big Business" and our economic system—the system of production and distribution—of private capital and wage labor—the system based on the antagonism of the individual and the community. Then he wrote "Soldiers of the Common Good" and "The Uprising of the Many" to demonstrate the superiority of social over private ownership of the means of life.

Then came the final recognition that this was also the object of the Socialists; that his arguments were theirs also; that while he had been groping for the truths he had discovered, they were commonplaces with the Socialists; and finally he realized, as they did long before, that the present economic system instead of being stable was evolving rapidly toward collective ownership, and that the evils he had been exposing were, in the last analysis, symptoms of the inexorable coming of change, and the ultimate breakdown of the existing industrial and social system.

This point reached, he was ready to give a public reason for the faith that was in him, and he accordingly relates it in this volume, "Why I Am a Socialist."

The Wilshire Book Co. handles Mr. Russell's work. It contains over three hundred pages, is bound in substantial cloth, and sells for $1.50 net. For those who are curious to understand the why and wherefore of the modern drift toward Socialism this book is perhaps the most suggestive that has yet appeared.

WHY I AM A SOCIALIST. By Charles Edward Russell. Cloth, 301 pp. $1.50 net. George H. Doran Co., 35 West 32d St., New York.

A New Experiment in Co-operation

The Co-operative Buyer's Association has been formed by a number of people who are anxious to assist the *Chicago Daily Socialist*. Their plan is unique and so simple there is no reason why it should not work. They have made an arrangement with wholesale houses in Chicago by which they purchase groceries in wholesale quantities and receive a commission for securing the order. The comrade who has charge of filling the orders is connected with one of the largest wholesale grocery concerns in Chicago and has had twenty-five years experience in the business.

Anyone who will buy in bulk quantities orders amounting to $10 or more can get the benefit of wholesale prices. From 20 to 40 per cent. can often be saved. The Co-operative delivers all goods free in Cook County, Illinois, and to other places goods are sent by freight. It is not an uncommon thing for a number of Socialists to get together a $50 order. Many branches of the Party and Trade Union groups are clubbing together to take advantage of the low prices by ordering goods in bulk. At present the Co-operative is sending goods to nearly every State in the Union, and most of the orders are repeaters.

We advise all our readers to address a letter to the Co-operative Bulk Buyer's Agency, 180 East Washington Street, Chicago, for further particulars. A small commission on each order goes to the *Chicago Daily Socialist*. Surely buying necessities on a plan which saves money is a much better method of contributing to the support of a daily Socialist paper than going down into one's pocket for a donation.

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BUT a very few years ago, Socialism as a subject of discussion was thought unworthy even of mention by those who sit in the seats of the mighty in this land. It was a somewhat noteworthy matter then, when Mr. Roosevelt, some three years since, embalmed the word in one of his numerous presidential messages, and subsequently attacked it violently in the *Outlook Magazine.*

The example set by the versatile Roosevelt in this matter has now been followed by his placid successor Mr. Taft, who in a recent address at Jackson, Mich., informed his audience that Socialism was the dominant question of the times and must be met by society.

For Mr. Taft this means considerable progress. It is quite an advance in intellectual development for him, when contrasted with the time when asked at a public meeting what a workingman, unemployed, starving and unable to find employment should do, he could only answer "God Knows."

Not the Socialists, but the logic of events it is that compels such recognition. What Mr. Taft dimly perceives is the break down of present property relations threatened by the wide-spread and ever-growing economic unrest here and elsewhere, and within and through which Socialism gradually takes form. Soon this perception will be universal, and with still larger vision it will be recognized that what now seems but a 'dominant question" is in reality an imperative necessity.

THE majority of those critics who denounce Mr. Roosevelt on the score of "un-Americanism" for urging Great Britain to rule Egypt with a stronger hand, are entitled neither to admiration nor respect.

Hearst, who is especially active in this regard, holds essentially the same views as the man he denounces. He advocates the Diaz régime in Mexico, howls for the annexation of Nicaragua, insists on the retention of the Philippines, and clamors always for a greater navy. On these questions he takes an exactly parallel position with Roosevelt on the Egyptians, and advises the United States government just as Roosevelt advised Great Britain.

Roosevelt is honest and logical; Hearst is both dishonest and illogical. Both uphold the present economic and political system, but Roosevelt sees clearly and correctly that Imperialism in politics is the necessary complement of autocracy in industry, a fact that Hearst is either too illogical to comprehend or too dishonest to admit.

Though Roosevelt prefaced his Imperialistic advice with the assertion that he was "a real—not a mock democrat," no point can be made against him on that score. Imperialism everywhere proceeds under the mask of such "democracy," even Hearst's Imperialism. Whatever kind of a democrat Roosevelt may be, Hearst is the same kind.

As between the fraudulent democracy of Hearst, and Roosevelt's outspoken Imperialism, we prefer the latter every time. Class rule and class exploitation are facts, and though the Socialist works for their abolition, he has much more respect for the man who openly recognizes their existence than for those whose "democracy" consists in keeping up the false pretence that they have no place in the present conduct of the world's affairs.

THAT there is a limit to the "literature of exposure" in the popular magazines has been discovered by several interested parties recently. First, by the owners and publishers of the *American Magazine;* second, by Mr. John Kenneth Turner, the writer whose series of articles on "Barbarous Mexico" have previously appeared in and now disappeared from that magazine; third, the parties identified with the powerful interests who have forced the suppression of the articles in question, and fourth, the Socialists and radicals, the only element of our population which apparently cares much about the freedom of the press.

Mr. Turner has now been compelled to use the columns of the *Appeal to Reason,* a Socialist paper, as the medium of publicity for the remainder of his recital, and in the issue of that paper, of May 28, occupies nearly six columns detailing his suppression and the reasons therefor. Big business interests in this country he holds responsible; American capitalism, dominant in Mexico, cannot afford to have his revelations reach the public.

Whether these same interests will take measures to prevent the publication of Mr. Turner's recital in the *Appeal,* remains to be seen. Of course, the same kind of pressure cannot be exerted on that paper, as was effective in eliminating Mr. Turner's story from the *American Magazine.* But the suppression of the *Appeal* has long been an object with the political powers that be, and this move may not unlikely stimulate them to further efforts in that direction.

Judging from the apathy displayed by the majority of the public on such matters, it seems as if "freedom of the press" might be practically abolished in this country without much general objection. Already half a dozen Socialist editors are at present either in jail or under sentence of imprisonment for utterances distasteful to the ruling classes. From this to suppression is but a step. The establishment of the institution known in Russia as "the underground press" then looms up as one of the possibilities of the future.

THE proposed increase of freight rates, which the government seeks to prevent by issuing an injunction restraining the railroads from putting it into effect, brings out in plain relief the unavoidable struggle between capitalistic groups for the possession and retention of the surplus value extracted from the workers.

The position of the railroads is that the increases of wages they have had to pay, owing to the higher cost of living, makes increased freight rates imperative. And it must be admitted that if the higher cost of living justifies higher wages it is difficult to see why it does not equally justify higher freight rates.

The shippers on the other hand declare that, despite higher wages, the income of the railroads has not decreased and therefore an increase of rates is not justified. They also have increased wages, and are now asked to defray in addition the loss sustained by the railroads in raising the wages of their employees.

Reduced to its simplest expression the case stands thus: The cost of the maintenance and upkeep of the human working animal has increased. One group of capitalists seeks to place its share of the cost upon the shoulders of the other, which in turn naturally objects, asserting that the first group is well able to bear its own burden without inconvenience.

Without interfering with the fundamental rights of private property it is not possible to dictate to the property owner the price at which he shall sell his commodity, or prevent him from increasing that price. The commodity which the railroads have to sell is transportation, and as the railroads are private enterprises quite as much as

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the factories, there seems no good reason why the products of both should not be placed on an equal footing as regards buying and selling.

Logically the interference of the government can only be justified on the ground that it regards railroads as public enterprises, operated not for the profit of individuals, but for the benefit of the community. But such, of course, is not the case, and the railroads are perfectly justified in opposing the injunction as illegal and contrary to the rights of private property.

If freight rates are to be legally fixed by the government, then the government must own the railroads. If the public wants transportation or any other commodity at the cost of production, the public must own the means of producing such commodities. The manufacturer who "denounces" the railroads for raising freight rates wants the highest possible price for his products also, while condemning them for a similar desire to get "all the traffic will bear." When these interests clash, no injunctions can effect any permanent adjustment. Nationalization is the only solution of the contradiction.

AS an instance of evolution developing toward revolution as its final stage, there is perhaps no better example than that afforded by man's recent conquest of the air.

It seems only yesterday since the first aeroplane recorded a staggering and uncertain flight of a few hundred yards at a public exhibition. To-day, journeys between one and two hundred miles are of almost weekly occurrences, while twenty and thirty-mile flights are too commonplace to record.

Spectacular flights follow each other in such rapid succession that it is hardly possible to keep count of them. Scarcely does Paulhan make his 186-mile flight from London to Manchester than Curtiss traverses the 150 miles between Albany and New York. Another Frenchman crosses through the air from France to England, and an Englishman more than duplicates the feat by crossing from England to France and returning to his starting point without alighting. And by the time this reaches our readers, in all probability a dozen other journeys by aeroplane, still more sensational, will have been accomplished.

Less than four years ago the popular expression regarding a visionary, impractical person described him as "up in the air." To this phrase the aeroplane has brought sudden death.

Still a few years farther back the experts of the great World's Columbian Exhibition at Chicago refused to list the flying machine of the day among the legitimate exhibits, and relegated the inventor outside the fence with the discoverer of perpetual motion, the quack doctor, the faith healer and other fakirs. And to-day the fact is indisputable that man can fly.

This is surely catastrophic enough in its suddenness. The aeroplane had its evolution, to be sure, but this was neither long nor generally observed.

May there not be a parallel here for the coming of Socialism? Those who have observed, know that the world is on the brink of economic change, and the measure of time may be much shorter than generally supposed. Twenty years ago the statement that we might fly in five hundred or a thousand years went unchallenged. The same was said of Socialism then. What intelligent man has the hardihood to repeat it to-day?

REFRESHING FRANKNESS

By GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND.

IT is not often that "our best citizens," our men of light and leading, of property, probity and patriotism, are so far caught off their guard as to voice the actual sentiments which dominate them. When writing for general publication, when speaking before audiences of "intelligent fellow-workers for the welfare of our glorious country," they usually manage either to skim lightly over the thin ice of any really vital question or else so to intoxicate themselves and their auditors with "the exuberance of their own verbosity" that no time or attention is left for the analysis of what any of it really signifies.

Among themselves, however, all that is changed. *Then* they say what they mean, and say it with a direct forcefulness which really gives some ground for thinking there may yet be some intellectual power in that group which Mallock glorifies as the possessors of all true "ability."

As an example, consider the following item that recently fell into my hands. It was not written, I am sure, for proletarian consumption, but strictly for that of the "better class." It is taken from a "Weekly Financial Review," issued by J. S. Bache & Co., Bankers, New York City, April 9, 1910. After a consideration of the cause of high prices, and the "extravagance" of the American people, comes this gem of purest ray serene, of high-minded faith in democracy, of law-abiding fidelity to our glorious institutions—including our Supreme Court,—of lofty and noble Americanism, to wit, viz., also videlicet:

". . . Would not the whole country have been better off materially, as well as morally and politically, if no extra session of Congress had been called to revise the Tariff? If Mr. Taft had adhered to his declared intentions of making this a business man's administration, . . . thus fostering the confidence of American and European capital? If, when the Standard Oil decision was announced in November last, Mr. Taft had at once declared his purpose to put through Congress an amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which would allow legitimate business to continue without disturbance?

". . . The whole country *would have ignored the Supreme Court decisions*, and business . . . would have gone on actively in the development of legitimate prosperity, which has been halted."

Every citizen of age in the United States is entitled to a vote, and we have been taught to pride ourselves on this as one of the greatest heritages of liberty and to look with feelings of superiority upon other countries whose franchise freedom is limited. In Canada, for instance, the property qualification is necessary. No man there may vote unless he shows some evidence of thrift, and thrift cannot be attained without thought. In other words, the intention in Canada is to have the nation governed in the ultimate resort of the vote, by its thinking people, and behold! Canada is not overriden with foolish laws and buried in over-legislation as we are.

A correspondent, commenting on the Review of last week, which set forth the disabilities of a great community laboring under the disadvantages of politically-passed laws of noxious effect, writes:

"I have read with interest and approval your Review of April 2d.

"But what of it? You are merely in the right. You have no might to enforce it against the grafter, gambler, legislatures, and horde of saloon-wielded, ignorant, socialist, foreign voters. You merely represent the hopeless minority of business men, who fatuously try by being in the right, and having the best interests of the community at heart, to protect themselves and uplift our country. Your attitude reminds me of Æsop's Lamb, which, while drinking from a brook, was hailed by a wolf who said, 'I am going to eat you because you have muddied my water.' The lamb called attention to the fact that the brook flowed from the wolf to him, not from him to the wolf, but the wolf replied, 'I am going to eat you, anyway.'

"Why not drop the lamblike character, since you must be fleeced and eaten, anyway, and get out in the open and attack our social rottenness at its root, which is universal suffrage, and become a leader for a property qualification for the franchise. In other words, 'No pay taxes on a reasonable sum, no vote.' Thereby you would turn politics into statesmanship, make officeholding honorable, and get the conduct of the country's affairs from the hands of hoodlums into those of the truly safe and sane. Have you got the nerve to move the first shovelful of earth in this mountain? Whether you have or not, permit me to paraphrase a French proverb by saying that eloquence in the rags of defenselessness was never true."

I wish some Socialist or Trades Union speaker or editor would do one or two things, just to oblige me. First, I should like to hear uttered in public, or see published, through the columns of a labor paper, a similarly strong demand for the disfranchisement of the "Plutes." Second, have likewise a similarly pious wish expressed that the verdict of the Supreme Court be "ignored" in some important labor case which (like all labor cases) had gone against the interests of the workers. I should like to watch, then, from a distance, and see just what would happen.

Who volunteers for this service? Surely, if such sentiments are just, right and proper from our most eminent citizens, our white-vested and kid-gloved bankers, parallel ones are also, under our Con-sti-tu-tional Guar-an-tees, ditto ditto for the Proletaire.

I await with interest the result. Who speaks first?

In the meantime, I trust that Wall Street, in mailing out its reports, will by no means fail to remember that they are often read with interest by the "saloon-wielded, ignorant Socialist" voter.

Competition doesn't always lead to monopoly. Sometimes it leads to bankruptcy instead.

Aeroplanes, it is asserted, will make war impossible in the future, so of course the only reason for the continued building of ten million dollar "Dreadnoughts" is to test the truth of the assertion.

While the cost of living goes up, the Coffin Trust may be depended on to see to it that the cost of dying doesn't go down.

When the large thieves slip through the meshes and the small ones are retained, it is somewhat difficult to figure out the peculiar construction of the net of Justice.

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A GOOD

THE AREMU MINE IN BRITISH GUIA

Power House in center, containing two 120-h.p. engines direct-connected to two 75-KW A. C. Generators and one 90-h.p. Ingersoll Compressor. A'l ra
house for reception of goods, which are floated up the Aremu Creek in the small flat-bottom boats, as shown in photo. We can bring in up to five tons w
feet; just to left of this is the Superintendent's house. To the right center is the Mill House, containing a 10-stamp Allis-Chalmers Mill and a crusher, both o

"GOOD as a gold mine" is a proverbial saying, and if modified to "Good as a good gold mine" I doubt if any one would dispute it. For what can be better to own than a hole in the earth to which you may at any time go and dig out gold—gold, that metal the possession of which makes the owner the only man truly free in our capitalist world of private ownership?

The recent greatly increased production of gold now disturbing the world is owing to the introduction of the cyanide process. Without cyanide there would have been practically no increase in the world's production of gold. It is the discovery of the cyanide process which gives to the Bishop Mine offer its great possibilities; so great, indeed, that my relation of them has been—in some quarters, at least—received with incredulity. However, I am not surprised at doubt, for the story I tell is a large one; but, after all, it is much less difficult to believe than would have been the story of the prophet of a few years ago who might have truly prophesied that the production of gold would go up from less than two hundred million dollars per year in 1892 to nearly five hundred million dollars in 1910. Cyanide is responsible for nearly all this three-hundred-million-dollar annual increase.

The great center of the cyanide treatment of gold is South Africa, where, notwithstanding the depth of the mines, some two or three thousand feet, the comparative narrowness of the veins and the low values of the ore, not to speak of the absence of water power, the production of gold is greater there to-day than in any other country.

Less than seven years ago the Bishop Creek Mine, with all its immense deposit of gold ore, would have been valueless, merely because the knowledge of the cyanide treatment then was not sufficiently advanced to allow such ore to be profitably worked. To-day the reduction of Bishop ore is a perfectly simple proposition, as simple as if the ore were "free" milling. The public generally is ignorant of the great advances that have been made in the science of the reduction of ores like that of Bishop Creek. They know about the immense increase in the annual production of gold, but they have not yet realized that the cause of the increase is merely due to the cyanide treatment, a treatment to which the Bishop ore has been found to be perfectly amenable.

The gold in the Bishop ore is not "free"; that is, you cannot see it with the naked eye, but its there all the same.

This explains why such an immense body of gold ore in such a comparatively accessible place as Inyo County, California, has hitherto escaped notice.

The Bishop Mine comprises over ninety claims in the National Forest Reserve, high up in the Sierra Nevada Mountains of California, south of the Yosemite National Park. Grafters of all kinds have been working all kinds of illicit schemes to grab land in the forest reserves, and the scandal has been as great that when any one to-day applies for a patent for mining claims within the forest reserve he must first prove he really has a mine before he can get his patent.

It's over two years now since we first set out to get a patent for our mining claims, and it's only a few months ago—after a most searching examination made two separate times by different Government mining engineers—that we finally got our patents.

Pinchot and Ballinger both had to be satisfied that Wilshire had a real mine before the patents issued.

If any one thinks it's an easy thing to get a patent for a mining claim in the National Forest without having enough evidence
valuable, I advise him
the assay reports of the
saying that I wished
but was refused permis
in the Forest Reserve
rather rubbing it in
way to help establish
to a favorable Govern

Shortly, we have in
deposit of gold ore from
running in values from
surface showing of five
up by a good double
a depth of 290 feet.
pany a wonderful water
cient to generate pow
stamps and then some
Pelton water wheel
hundred horsepower.
liminary milling plant

We have now erec
quarters for me and
equipped, two large
and one a Sullivan,
electric light plant, a
water power.

The mine has been
most favorably not
reputation, but also
Bishop, who recently
delegation headed by
postmaster. I might
like a prophet, no ho
people of Bishop had
could come out from
mine right under the

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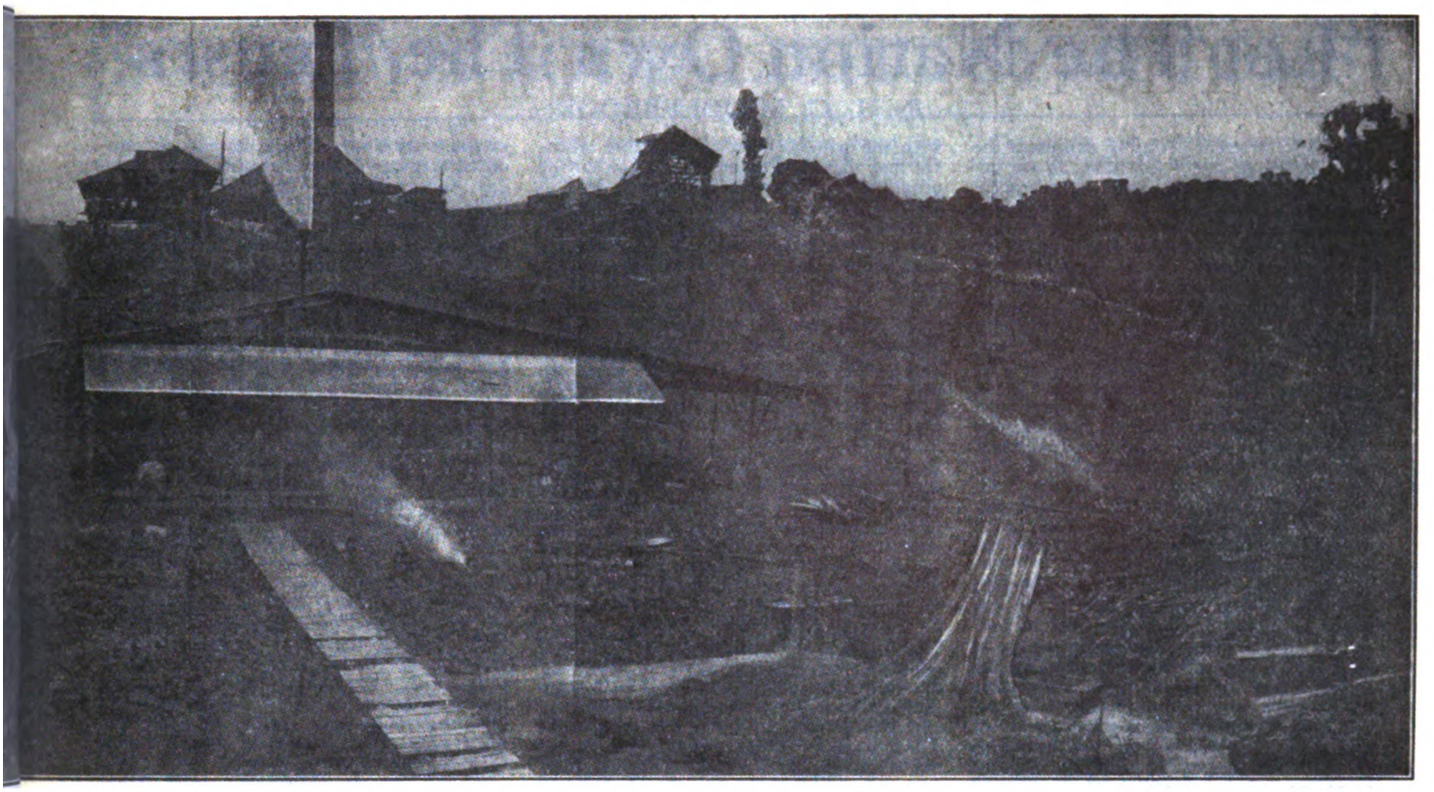
)LD MINE



)ONTROLLED BY GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

84-h.p. Worthington Boilers. One engine gives power enough, the other is a spare; one boiler is also a spare. Extreme left, the large building is a store ing two boats together; no trouble getting in the heaviest machinery any time of the year. Center of photo, behind smokestack is the house for the staff, 80x40 electricity. The headframe is just back of mill, hardly to be distinguished. The dump is seen to right of mill. Rubber plantation back of the mill.

nine to make the stock it on. I tried to get ament experts, frankly iem in my prospectus, hey don't want mines anyway, and it was em to go out of their re by giving publicity port.

hop Mine an immense o fifteen feet wide and fifteen dollars, with a The mine is opened ment working shaft to is owned by the com- right at the shaft suffi- gh to run a thousand have now installed a ill generate about five ufficient for the pre- ome to spare.

the mine commodious assay office completely pressors, one a Leyner mith shop, air hoist, ich is run by our own

ined and passed upon experts of well-known local community at p, at my invitation, a ter, the Mayor, and the t a miner is somewhat his own country. The sed much doubt that I ork and find a big gold a mine that they had been walking over unwittingly for forty years. But ever since that delegation got the assay returns from their own samples, taken from wherever they listed, there is not a man in Bishop who doubts the value of the Bishop Mine.

I am very anxious to see the Bishop mill in operation at the earliest possible date. I have already given orders for the erection of a small stamp mill, which should be running by the end of October, if not earlier. This mill is but a preliminary plant and in no way commensurate with the possibilities of the mine. All it will do will be to practically demonstrate the values in the ore and give us some valuable pointers for the larger plant. It will incidentally, no doubt, give us enough gold to more than pay expenses of our development work; but this is not enough. I want to see Bishop equipped with one of the greatest milling plants ever erected, for I think the mine will justify such a plant.

I am going to put every surplus dollar of my own into the Bishop Mine to help build this mill, and I want others to help me along. I have been rather short of money recently because of the calls upon me for the equipment of the Aremu Mine in British Guiana, but I am glad to say that this mine is now in operation and paying well. The last two weeks' clean-up was 416 ounces, say $8,000, and, inasmuch as the cyanide plant is not yet completed and we get but two-thirds of our values by amalgamation, it may be figured that the clean-up should have been about $10,000, or at the rate of $5,000 per week.

This is not the place to talk about the Aremu Mine, ask for a prospectus if you want to know, and I only mentioned it in order to explain that I am selling stock in Aremu merely in order to purchase stock in Bishop to build the mill, and that I pledge in honor every dollar's worth of stock I own in Aremu to guarantee the building of the Bishop mill.

I have already spent over $250,000 in development work on the Bishop Mine, and I stand ready to sell enough Aremu stock to put that much more into it if necessary. This shows my confidence in Bishop.

Well, this is most of my story about Bishop. If you wish stock you can fill in the amount wished. Stock is sold for cash or upon installments of 5 per cent. per month.

If you should die before you pay up I will issue the full amount of stock subscribed for to your heirs free of further payments.

The price of stock is now 55 cents for each $5 share; the price will be put to 60 cents very shortly. It is worth par, $5 per share, if the mine is what I think it is.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

APPLICATION BLANK

GAYLORD WILSHIRE,
200 William Street, New York.

Dear Sir:—Please find enclosed { cash / money order / draft } for..... Dollars,

being { full / 5 per cent. } payment on..... shares of Wilshire Bishop Creek Company stock.

Name .....

Street Address.....

Town .....State .....

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"Let The Nation Own The Trusts"

By H. C. MIDDLEBROOK

THIS statement certainly expresses the belief of every Socialist, as we accept this as the only correct solution of the trust problem, and we might add, the Labor problem also. We further agree that this is the inevitable result of existing conditions and in keeping with the law of social evolution. However, I can see nothing for Socialists to do to hasten its advent. We must be content to leave that important part of the program to Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. The imperative duty of every Socialist is to educate every one with whom they come in contact, in every walk of life, thereby preparing the public mind for that great day when, by means of the ballot, Socialism shall be declared the law of the land. Then shall "*Peace on earth and good will to men*" be permanently established and its full significance and beauty fully understood and appreciated by all.

I realize the fact that any well-informed Socialist is more than a match for any advocate of the profit system, but in pursuance of our plain duty, viz., sowing the seed for a co-operative commonwealth, the Brotherhood of Man, Socialism, true Christianity, our motto is invariably assailed with the question which is most naturally suggested by the proposition,—How do you propose to have the Government come into possession of the trusts? Now, I must confess that all the answers which I have heard to this question are far from satisfactory. I have an explanation of the probable method which has the merit of gaining the approval of those to whom I explain, and has never been accused of injustice or of being inequitable. I cannot conceive of success in pursuing "a step at a time" policy, neither in an interest-bearing bond payment, only to be repudiated later on, of necessity.

I hope to see no steps taken toward Government possession of railroads, oil wells, mines, lands, or large manufacturing industries until Socialism has won its victory at the ballot box and its executive inaugurated. It would then be definitely known that the "new order" would be promptly established. As an act of courtesy, it would be becoming a Socialist President to notify the coachers of evolution, owners of "the earth and the fulness thereof," Morgan, Rockefeller & Co., as to what was about to take place, and asking them if they would kindly submit a proposition as to the most satisfactory method to them, for the transfer of the utilities held *by them* to their Uncle Samuel. They, I have little doubt, would return a demand, or request, for a cash consideration, ranging somewhere between fifty and one hundred billion dollars, in gold coin of standard weight and fineness. (Their "confidence" in the intrinsic value of gold has been well established.)

They would be promptly informed that as their demand was largely in excess of the amount of gold coin their Uncle had in bank at that date, he would gladly advance a stated amount of gold coin, and to cover the balance due them, he would issue and pay to them, full legal tender Government notes redeemable in standard gold coin, on or before twenty, or fifty years, after date of transfer, at the option of the Government, *without interest.*

Now let us review the transaction to ascertain if there is any injustice done either to the holders of the utilities or to the government. Let me here state, this proposition seems to be in perfect accord with the popular idea of equitable transfer and sale, and none of the holders of property would consider it unjust, and in view of the fact that the Socialists had carried the election by a large majority, and we are all agreed that in this "land of the grafter and home of the slave" majorities shall rule.

We will now consider the Government proposition accepted by M. R. & Co., the necessary documents of transfer are delivered and the stated amount of gold coin and the balance of new, crisp, government gold notes in various denominations are handed over and "*the Nation owns the trusts.*"

We now consult our ancient and venerated documents to ascertain the extent of our liberties, as we do not wish to commit ourselves to any policy not truly American. We read in the Declaration of Independence the provisions made for us when the heavy hand of oppression should weigh us down and *our titles as free men be all but lost,* these *inspiring* words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

We therefore find that to "*alter or abolish*" one form of government and "*institute a new government*" *is clearly and undeniably a purely American idea.* After the transfer of the utilities has been completed we will set ourselves to the task of reconstruction, with a zeal born *of love of justice,* and the result *will* be, *in truth, "a government of, for and by the people,"* a national co-operative commonwealth where the only standard of value shall be labor, represented by labor receipts, probably known as labor checks or time cards, with which every citizen can supply his *every need without tribute.* Silver and gold will find no employment, save in the trades and arts, and gold for a time will be used to redeem the notes above referred to, thereby "maintaining our national honor."

I have a suspicion that the "intrinsic value inherent in gold" will be put to a severe test to retain this reputation, but of course a Socialist is full of wheels.

When our comrades Morgan or Rocky drop into the Government store to purchase supplies for their larders with their pockets full of gold coin, or gold notes, they may feel a trifle out of joint with the new order, as the courteous clerk will decline their gold coin or notes except for the actual labor value of gold, which will not be much. They will be further informed that the articles desired by them could be as easily procured by surrendering labor receipts issued for services rendered to society personally, as all labor receipts will be non-negotiable, and they in fact will, at an early date, be the only means of effecting an exchange of the products of labor. While it may be conceded that our illustrious comrades (Morgan, Rocky & Co.) are slightly out of joint with these conditions, they are, in reality, infinitely less out of joint than the millions of wage slaves found themselves under the profit system which they upheld.

Now, to disabuse the mind of any suspicion that Uncle Sam has in any way repudiated his obligation to Morgan, Rocky & Co. by refusing to accept their gold coin in exchange for the products of labor, let me assert, without any fear of successful contradiction, *that the present possessors of the means of production and distribution,* **the trusts,** *have come into possession of them, not by exchanging products of their own labor, but by exchanging* **United States** *money,* "every dollar as good as gold," *which they obtained by exploiting labor. Therefore,* they receive for their holdings gold coin or notes as good as gold, because redeemable in gold. (All sensible people know that only gold possesses intrinsic value? so we are told), therefore there could be no wrong perpetrated in such a transaction. Gold, however, will lose its power to *buy labor or to exploit labor or the products of labor,* for so decreeth the King (the people), and, by Divine right, they have made no mistake.

O. Henry, well-known as the foremost American short story writer, died in a New York hospital on June 5. His real name was William Sydney Porter, "O. Henry" being a nom de plume. He was 43 years old.

Goldwin Smith, the famous British-American populist, died at his home in Toronto, Canada, on June 7. He was 87 years old. Professor Smith was an earnest advocate of annexation of Canada to the United States, and during his later years wrote extensively against Socialism.

Freeman Knowles, editor of the *Lantern* of Deadwood, S. D., an old Socialist veteran and a tireless fighter in the cause, died last month at his home.

Among recent deaths may be recorded that of Dr. Robert Koch, the eminent German bacteriologist, who discovered the bacilli of tuberculosis.

One detail about the recent municipal election in Denver that the capitalist papers generally overlooked was the fact that the Socialist vote was 2,969, as compared with 1,508 two years ago.

An illustrated monthly Socialist paper has been established in Chicago. It bears the name of "Hope." Mr. Ward Savage, the clever cartoonist of the *Chicago Daily Socialist,* is in charge of the venture, and his cartoons will form a prominent feature in the new publication.

In the recent Danish elections the Socialists polled a total of 98,719 votes, a gain of six thousand over last year.

The Southern Presbyterian Church has decided that it doesn't believe any longer in infant damnation—that is, in the next world. Possibly this perception is due to the fact that the Southern cotton mills have transferred infant damnation from hell to earth.

Vital statistics of France show a progressive decline in the birthrate. The returns for last year show 770,000 births, as compared with 792,000 in 1908. Since 1851, France has added but 3,000,000 to her population, while Germany has increased ten times that figure in the same period.

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SOCIETY'S SOCIALISTIC SYMPTOMS

A sinister portent of the gradual slackening in business is the growing number of idle railroad cars, which during the worst months of the recent industrial depression totalled about 400,000. This figure had been gradually reduced until March of the present year, when there were but 17,000 idle cars enumerated. Since then the figure has grown until the last report of June 8 shows more than 126,000 cars idle, of which about 30,000 were engaged in coal transportation. The figures given are from *Bradstreets*, which quotes them in turn from the bulletin of the American Railroad Association.

A municipal plant for the preparation of asphalt for street paving is in successful operation at Winnipeg, Manitoba. It employs 125 men in the factory, and 75 on the streets, and lays down a substantial asphalt pavement at $2.30 per square yard. Winnipeg has now 58 miles of asphalt paved streets.

"Within the past month there have been two advances of $1.00 per 100 pounds each in the price of beef. During the winter it remained high, but now it is still higher and liable to take another jump. The advance is from 2 to 5 cents a pound. Up to now beef has been sold in large quantities, but there is a growing fear that people will refuse to buy it at the present high prices." This statement does not refer to the United States, but to Canada and is taken from the report of the American Consul at Kingston. It forms a complete answer to those who deny that the high prices in the United States are not paralleled across the northern border.

The exploitation of Turkey by American capital is proceeding apace. Latest reports declare that J. P. Morgan & Co., and other New York financial combinations are to finance vast railroad projects in the Ottoman Empire together with the construction of waterworks on a large scale, tramways, etc. If the loan is arranged it is said that one of the conditions will be that American materials will have preference above those of all other countries. Whether the European creditors of Turkey will consent to a monopoly of this kind, however, remains to be seen.

Dr. Kellogg, the famous Battle Creek specialist, is reported as authority for the statement that at the present rate of increase of insanity the world will in 265 years become one vast insane asylum. Insanity, he declares from statistics, has increased 100 per cent. in the last fifty years.

"Only one party now in evidence has any real comprehensive policy to offer," says Ray Stannard Baker in the *American Magazine*. "Whatever may be our hostility to its tenets, the fact remains that the Socialist Party is the only one that makes any pretense to having reasoned out our present conditions to an ultimate conclusion." Mr. Baker is not a Socialist, but he is too able a man to be imposed upon by the feeble objection regarding the supposed "57 varieties," the refuge of the wilfully blind and the invincibly ignorant.

The recent city election in Denver turns out to be a considerable victory for municipal reform in the direction of the public ownership of public utilities. A municipally owned water system was authorized at the same time that a private water company was defeated in its efforts to secure a new franchise. Against the opposition of both old party machines the principle of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall was triumphant. The election is looked upon as a complete vindication of the truth of the charges brought forward in Judge Lindsey's recent volume, "The Beast and the Jungle." All that appeared in the capitalist press regarding the results of the election was that Denver had gone "wet."

The practise of superheating steam for locomotives is giving good results in European countries, a saving of 20 per cent. being claimed in England and a still higher economy in Germany. On the Italian State railways the saving in coal is estimated at 23.3 per cent., while the trains carry a 12.6 per cent. greater load and gain 9.6 per cent. in speed by using superheated steam.

A new petroleum oil field is being developed on the northern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains in Russia about fifty miles from the Black Sea. The amount and thickness of the oil indicates that the district will take a most prominent place in the world's oil production. It is reported that the strata contains a vast abundance of fish and vegetable remains, which would seem to militate against the inorganic theory of the origin of petroleum. In one particular cliff no trace of oil was found anywhere except in a layer of sandy clay which was full of ancient fish remains.

One of the first results of the recent Labor victory in Australia is the decision of the Victorian government to retain in its ownership the coal fields of the province and operate them for use instead of profit. An eight-hour day is established for the miners, no person being permitted to work more than forty-eight hours in one week below ground. The State will use the coal for its own railroad system and will sell the surplus for manufacturing and domestic purposes.

Radium is being sold by the Austrian Government at the rate of $16,500,000 per pound. An American physician has recently purchased 100 milligrams of the substance for $8,000. The radium is never sent by mail, but is always delivered by a special messenger. It is packed in a small ingot of solid lead, which in turn is encased in a small box of nickeled brass of special design. The stuff is sold only to scientific institutions or well-known scientists, and is always delivered at the risk of the purchaser.

The Supreme Court of Illinois has recently sustained a State law limiting the hours of labor for women employed in wage working, thus exactly reversing a decision on the same question which it put forth fourteen years ago. It then took the ground that as, according to the Constitution, sex was no bar, women were therefore endowed with the fundamental and inalienable rights of liberty and property, which included their rights to make their own contracts, and it was therefore unconstitutional for the police force of the State to deprive them of such rights. Since the issuance of this oninion, however, no Illinois workingwoman has come forward to complain of her deprivation of liberty or any other "right" which fourteen years ago the Supreme Court considered endangered.

Professor J. J. Laughlin, of the Department of Political Economy in Chicago University, in an article denying that increased gold production is the cause of present high prices, concludes his paper by saying: "May it not be the psychological hour to call for the creation of a new aristocracy of the simple life, of those who care for the reality and not for the shadow, for the true inward pleasures of the mind rather than for the external evanescent show? May it not be high time to create a freemasonry of those who do not ask how much one has nor how much one knows, but what one is?" This certainly should satisfy those gross and vulgar people who can't get sufficient food on account of high prices, for what are the needs of the body compared with the true inward pleasures of the mind?

Merely as a note from the tail end of the procession it may be recorded that Tom Watson, the one time Populist leader, has gone back (?) to the Democratic Party.

The steady and resistless growth of Socialism in Germany has been again exemplified by the rejection of Chancellor Bethman-Hollweg's franchise bill in the Prussian House of Deputies. The bill eliminated none of the oppressive restrictions of the Three Class System against which the Socialists have made so many remarkable demonstrations recently. Its rejection is one of the most significant defeats the Government has sustained, and besides discrediting the Bethmann-Hollweg administration, it makes electoral reform in the near future a certainty.

In the recent French elections the vote of the Socialists increased from 850,000 to 1,100,000, and the number of representatives in the Chamber of Deputies from 54 to 76.

Agitation in Egypt against British rule is taking on somewhat of a Socialistic character, as is evidenced by the workers of that country holding their first May-Day celebration this year. The event possibly throws some light on the utterances of Mr. Roosevelt in Cairo and London advocating the intensification of the rule of the strong hand in Egypt by the British Government.

Two more Socialist editors have been thrown into jail for exposing local corruption and immorality and thus arousing the hostility of the business element. The men in question are C. W. Norton and Edward Cheves, editors of the *Oklahoma Pioneer*, published in Oklahoma City. If this sort of thing keeps up, it is quite possible that we shall be compelled to borrow from Germany the institution of the "straw" editor, the staff member customarily kept on hand for going to jail purposes, which in that country is an indispensable adjunct to the running of a Socialist paper.

The case of Fred. D. Warren, managing editor of the *Appeal to Reason*, has been taken to the United States Court of Appeals, and in all likelihood it will be several months before a decision is reached. Warren is managing his own case and appealed it himself. In the meantime he has been nominated for Congress in Kansas and a strong fight will be made for his election. In all probability the case will not be decided before the next Congressional election, and the result is likely to have some bearing on the decision.

Mr. J. W. Van Cleave, president of the Bucks Stove & Range Co. and former president of the Manufacturer's Association, died recently at St. Louis from an attack of heart disease. Mr. Van Cleave was noted for his hostility to labor unionism, and it is said that his death was accelerated by the constant struggle he maintained against the unions.

Evidently it doesn't pay to murder schoolmasters—even in Spain. The answer to the butchery of Ferrer last October is seen in the establishment last month of an avowed anti-clerical government, whose first move has been to take steps against the religious orders, thus repeating the political situation in France. One open and avowed Socialist, Pablo Iglesias, has been elected to the Cortes, and many other candidates with strong socialistic leanings. The clerical vote in Barcelona, the scene of Ferrer's murder, was but one-sixth of the anti-clerical polls. The Prime Minister, Canalejas, is extremely anti-clerical and ignores all the protests of the church factions, his policy being stated as that of "Europeanizing Spain," and he has a big majority to help carry it out.

Opportunity comes but once—under capitalism. Under Socialism it will be an every-day visitor to every door.—*Appeal to Reason.*

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OUR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

Conducted by MRS. GAYLORD WILSHIRE

LET US STAND ERECT

By BERTHA WILKINS STARKWEATHER

THE scornful Ladies of Leisure who adorn the cover-pages of our popular magazines arouse in the hearts of most working-women only righteous indignation. The sneering superciliousness of these beautiful surfaces, each intended to represent a woman's face, makes us forget the harmony of coloring, the rich curves of arms and of throat, the sparkle of gems and the shadowy grace of plumes; it leaves us without thrill of satisfaction. In the diamonds which they wear we see the glitter of our tears of despair; their great plumed hats are little hearses bearing our hopes to burial.

There are women among us, too tired to think; while others, though overworked and exploited to the limit of endurance, are beginning to ask why these work-bruised fingers, why these tired, aching feet as we bend over our slavish toil virtually carrying these drone-females upon our bended backs?

We working-women are beginning to realize that it is time lost to those we serve, to ourselves and to the race—this time spent in ironing mountains of their useless frills; time lost to the world when we seal our own chances for a happy, useful life in the tiny stitches of their dainty satin-lined gowns. As maids of all work we are condemned to hard labor at solitary confinement as we fly to do the bidding of the ladies of leisure; rebellious

Bertha Wilkins Starkweather,
Member W. N. P. L., Santa Maria, Cal.

thoughts do sometimes creep to us through the walls from the outside world. It is not only the fire from the cooking-range which makes our blood boil. We see them fare sumptuously while we await their commands, too tired to be hungry ourselves.

So, side by side with our brothers in the fight for a livelihood, we women of the working class are beginning to realize that there is a mysterious power which holds all of our class yoked together, and not until all rise together can we shake off the killing load. We have heard of a few brave ones who have tried to lift the burden alone—but though they fell back dying, we have learned from their sacrifices that concerted action is all that is necessary to make us free!

Suppose that we who bear these scornful ones upon our bended backs should stand erect at last and so let them learn the lesson of gravity?

That short distance from our backs to the ground is the difference between superciliousness and sincerity. It is good to be sincere, so it is a crime longer to keep the Scornful Ones in their misery of selfish ease. A long stand, a strong stand and a stand altogether!

It will give the Master Class that little journey from our backs to the ground which will transform cruel task-masters into fellow-workers.

W. N. P. L. NEWS AND NOTES

Comrade Mollie Price Cook, President of the Davenport branch of the Woman's National Progressive League, sends in the following report of the work of her branch. She says: "We have held eight regular meetings beside the organization meeting and a public meeting, April 3, at which May Wood Simons spoke on 'Some Present-Day Problems.' Previous to the April 3 meeting, our time was taken up entirely with business. We started with seven members and now have eleven, with a prospect of four or five new members. On April 14 we held a joint meeting with the Rock Island and Moline branch of the League, and had Rev. R. R. Atkinson, of Davenport, a Christian Socialist, talk to us on 'Public Playgrounds.' At this meeting I presented some resolutions drawn in response to an appeal in the 'Woman's Journal,' protesting against the present atrocities of Russia toward Finland and sympathizing with Finland. Copies of these resolutions were printed in the newspapers of the tri-cities. This gave our little club quite some advertising, and several outsiders have expressed their curiosity about what we stand for. We have decided to study the Course on Bebel's 'Woman,' which you kindly sent us. I think it will prove most entertaining and instructive."

Celia May Beacn,
Member W. N. P. L., Branch Eden, Wyoming.

Comrade Celia May Beach, of Eden, Wyoming, whose picture appears in this issue, writes that she finds the idea of organizing a welcome committee in each town excellent. She says: "There are about fifty families here scattered over a territory of twenty miles. We have organized a Woman's Club and are doing practical work in parliamentary law and domestic science. As I am president of the club and outline the work, I use every opportunity to get in a wedge for Socialism by teaching fundamental principles. WILSHIRE'S is a monthly visitor in many of these homes, and in the near future we may be able to form a branch of the League."

Comrade Jennie Isenor, of Wiscasset, Maine, sends us her photograph, which for lack of space will have to be held over for the next issue of the magazine. She appreciates very much seeing the faces of the different members of the League in the Woman's Department of WILSHIRE'S. It somehow brings the members closer together.

Ella Baldwin,
Member W. N. P. L., Branch Delphi, Okla.

Comrade Ella Baldwin, President of the Delhi, Oklahoma, branch of the League, whose picture we publish this month, writes that the branch in her town has been having regular meetings. They are much pleased with Spargo's book and the leaflets secured from headquarters. They are distributing leaflets broadcast. Comrade Baldwin intends taking a trip through Southern Texas this month for purpose of getting woman signers to the Woman Suffrage Petition.

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How About It?

J. W., Denver, Colo.—I voted a straight Socialist ticket at the last city election here. I also voted for a "Dry City." A great many comrades say it is not good Socialism and condemn my action. What do you think? Are they right?

From the standpoint of Socialism your action in this respect is a matter of indifference. Socialism prescribes no particular position on such a matter, but leaves it to individual opinion. The comrades who say it isn't "good Socialism" are correct, but only in the sense that it isn't Socialism of any kind, "good" or "bad." It is a matter with which they as Socialists have nothing whatever to do, and you can simply disregard all such comment and follow your own inclinations in all such questions. The fact that Socialists are not Prohibitionists doesn't necessarily make them anti-prohibitionists, nor does the other fact that all Socialists recognize that the liquor traffic cannot be abolished by Prohibition, forbid a Socialist to vote saloons out of the city in which he lives. Had you voted a straight Prohibition ticket—if there was one in Denver—and neglected the Socialist ticket, their comment would be justified, but not otherwise. They may disagree with your act on other grounds perhaps, but not on those of Socialism. You prefer a "dry city," and they prefer a "wet" one. That is the only difference between you, and Socialism leaves you to express your preference as freely as it does them.

H. H. G., Buffalo, N. Y.—Received copy of your paper. There is no chance for your Socialism in this country. The American people don't want ideas imported from Germany or anywhere else. The Republican Party suits me all right.

Evidently you don't agree with President Taft on this question. He is a somewhat prominent Republican and he thinks Socialism has a chance in this country, and recently said so in public. True, he doesn't like it any more than you do, but he has sense enough to note its growth and declare that it must be faced by the American people. Even if it were a foreign importation—which it is not—no protective tariff capable of keeping out ideas has yet been devised or is likely to be devised. It is not an importation, but a growth indigenous to every country which has the same system of production and distribution we have here. You are simply deluding yourself with a foolish prejudice against things foreign, and you will find plenty of people more knowing than yourself, who do not like Socialism, to encourage you in this prejudice. Similar ideas are fostered by the capitalists of every country on earth. Only recently Kaiser Wilhelm declared that the Socialist ideas in his empire had their origin in America. The remark was intended for the consumption of people of your type, and they believed it just as you believe that Socialism was made in Germany and imported here.

T. F. R., Boston, Mass.—Is a doctrine authoritative or binding on Socialists because it is expounded in the writings of Engels, Marx, Hyndman, Bax, or others? Does the fact that such writings are circulated by the Socialist Party make them authoritative? Where does authority as to Socialist doctrine reside? In the writers or in the opinion of the rank and file of the party?

The works of Marx, Engels and others are not regarded as authoritative in any way by Socialists. Unless their statements accord with the intellectual perception of the reader or student, the latter are at full liberty to reject them. This holds good, no matter by whom they may be circulated, even by the Socialist Party.

There is no such thing as authority in Socialist doctrine, in the sense that authority is claimed for theological doctrines. Every student may not only interpret as he perceives, but is encouraged to do so. Socialism aims principally to make independent thinkers and reasoners, rather than "followers" who accept statements on authority. This may and does make for differences of opinion, and at times confusion, but these differences are ultimately thrashed out in discussion, and the general result is that the great body of Socialist thought tends ever to become more harmonious. The intellectual "boss" has no recognition in the Socialist movement. All statements, positions, theories, tactics, etc., are fit subjects for the freest analysis and criticism, and in this sense it may be said that the general level of the intelligence of the majority determines the doctrine, always, however, subject to reconsideration. In short, the Socialist movement occupies the scientific position; the general ideas it regards as fundamental are evolved from reason, observation and experience and at the same time a recognition of the continuity of evolutionary processes in social, political and industrial problems. We might add here also that the concept "rank and file" has no theoretical recognition in Socialism, though it is frequently used. It implies at the opposite pole, "the intellectual boss."

G. D., Akron, Ohio.—Why are you always harping on the Democratic Party and never say anything of the Republican Party?

Your question assumes "the thing that is not." As a Socialist publication this journal regards both parties as essentially the same, so far as their attitude to the working class is concerned. As a matter of fact, while we pay little attention to either—as parties—we devote more space to the Republican Party, for the reason that it is in power and its policies rule the nation, while the Democratic Party is practically a negligeable quantity. And besides, when we do mention either, we do not denounce—we explain instead. The Republican Party is the party of the present, the Democratic the party of the past, and the Socialist the party of the future. The first represents things as they are to-day and as they cannot be much longer. The second represents things as they were, and can never be again, and the third represents things as they must be in the near future. One represents the great capitalist and the Trust era, the other the small capitalist and the era of competition that is forever past, while the Socialist Party represents capitalists of no kind, whether great or small, but merely the interests of the producing classes. The last editorial in WILSHIRE'S dealing with the Democratic Party appeared after the election of 1904. Since then that party has been so evidently disintegrating that we have not thought it worth while to devote any space beyond a mere passing item to its approaching demise. Our struggle in the future must and will be with the great capitalists represented by the Republican Party, and it is these great capitalists who have swept the small ones (represented by the Democratic Party) off the political chessboard, and have thus saved us the trouble of bothering with them beyond a short notice now and then of their futile efforts against complete extinction.

The commuter, Hearst's type of "Mr. Common People," seems about as ungrateful as the rest of us. After the railroads have, through cheap fares, enabled him to acquire a home in the suburbs, he is now protesting against increased passenger rates, just as if his benefactors were entitled to no consideration after all they have done for him.

Because Roosevelt suggests to England that it isn't necessary to spare the rod in order to spoil the Egyptians there is no special reason for protest on the part of the latter. The advice has always been acted on anyhow.

"The rich take to high finance; the poor to burglary. That is the only difference," says a writer in the New York *Call*. The *only* difference! Isn't burglary punishable by law?

A New York priest has discovered another antidote for Socialism. Give every Socialist ten acres of land and he will cease being a Socialist. For the land's sake!

Canada has set aside an area of 14,000 square miles on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains as a Government Reserve. The strip begins at the United States boundary and runs northward to the 54th parallel. Its width varies between ten and fifty miles. Forestry and water conservation will be scientifically developed within the area.

The ultimate justification for raising freight rates is that the railroads need the money and think they are able to get it.

If the churches have failed to stop the Jeffries-Johnson prize fight, which many people believe to be a fake, the question arises how they propose to put an end to a real conflict like the class struggle.

Curiously enough these good people who would have us believe they are merely waiting for an experiment in Socialism, don't seem particularly elated over the fact that Milwaukee has provided one for them.

Owing to the increased cost of living, Kaiser Wilhelm has had his yearly wages increased by $500,000, and he didn't even have to threaten to strike to get it.

Now that the Steel Trust proposes to go into the distributing business, iron and steel jobbers may consider the announcement equivalent to a formal notice that their services as intermediaries are no longer required.

A correspondent takes us to task for not expressing sufficient sorrow for the death of King Edward. We hasten to assure him that we are quite as sorry for King Edward's death as he would be for ours—did he happen to hear of it.

Attorney-General Wickersham has declined to entertain charges brought against the Steel Trust by Mr. Samuel Gompers. In all probability the charges entertained him instead.

While capitalist class rule exists, "the right of self-government" remains an empty phrase.

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In Convention Assembled

THE National Convention of the Socialist party, which opened its sessions on May 15 in Chicago, though it adopted no new policies of great importance, but rather, in the main, reaffirmed the old positions, was, nevertheless, of considerable value in bringing together a part of the most active and intelligent of the membership for the interchange of ideas and opinions as to general policies and the discussion of problems and questions on which the party is seeking more information than it now possesses. The word "congress" describes the gathering much better than "convention."

About 125 delegates were present from all parts of the country, a considerable proportion of whom were women. The sessions were held in a large hall in the Masonic Temple, Chicago's biggest sky-scraper, and lasted eight days.

Reports on organization, constitution and propaganda were discussed at great length, and numerous minor amendments and changes made, a special program for woman's activity in the movement being evolved also.

Perhaps the three most important questions discussed, outside of exclusive party matters, were those of immigration, agriculture, and government by commission according to the "Des Moines plan."

On the first question a majority report recommending the exclusion of Chinese, Japanese, Hindus and other Asiatics from immigration was discussed with much energy for nearly two days. This report based its recommendation on the grounds that these peoples were so far behind the social and industrial evolution of America that their presence here in masses would create new race problems which would tend to keep the workers divided, and thus prolong the life of the present system. The general argument against this position was that the policy proposed was in opposition to the principles of international Socialism and the solidarity of the working class. After a long and somewhat pointless discussion, the report was rejected in favor of a substitute which was essentially a restatement of the position of the last International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart upon the matter, declaring against mass importation of workers and contract labor.

Upon the question of agriculture and propaganda among the farming population, the report of the committee in charge frankly stated that the subject was so vast and so complicated that enough data had not been gathered and analysed to warrant any positive program or specific recommendations. A very interesting discussion ensued, in which many farmer comrades took a leading part, and finally the committee was continued for farther investigation to report at the next convention of the party. The same course was taken previously with the Committee on Immigration.

The attitude of the party to city government by commission was discussed at considerable length by the delegates. On the whole, the plan met with no marked hostility, though some serious objections were noted.

A significant feature of the gathering was the number of women delegates present, and still more significant was the growth in intellectual development displayed by most of them. It seemed to show, what many scientists declare, that there is no inherent difference between the intellectual capacity of men and women provided the latter are given the same opportunity for mental development. There were at least a dozen women delegates present, of whom it could be truthfully said that they showed intellectual qualities in no way inferior to those of any dozen men delegates that might be selected from the assemblage.

One of the noted visitors to the convention was Mayor Emil Seidel, of Milwaukee, who was also a delegate and acted as chairman of one session. Mayor Seidel in handling the business of the convention showed an aptitude and discretion that promises well for the efficiency of his administration of Milwaukee. The Wisconsin delegates, five of whom were from that city, were naturally a center of attraction on account of the notable Socialist victory recently won there. After the convention adjourned a large number of the delegates took advantage of the occasion to pay a flying visit to Milwaukee to observe the initial workings of the new administration.

Chicago, as usual, treated the visitors most hospitably, and the local Socialists played the host at a banquet to which every delegate was invited, and a most enjoyable time ensued.

Speaking generally, the Congress disclosed a considerable intellectual advance on the part of the membership and a much wider recognition of the importance of immediate practical problems than had previously been displayed, which, of course, was to be expected as the political influence of the party increases. The utmost harmony prevailed between the delegates, notwithstanding many differences of opinion on the various questions discussed, and the debates approached nearer the standard of scientific discussion than those of previous years, the arguments on either side containing little or no personalities, but being fairly confined to the merits of the questions at issue.

Group Photograph of Delegates to Socialist National Convention. Chicago, May, 1910.

To Aremu Stockholders

DEAR SIR:—In my last circular to you referring to Aremu Rubber and Gold Co. stock, in which I quoted you a price of 33 1/3 cents per share, I was not then in position to talk as confidently about early dividends as I am now.

Two events have occurred: the mine is now paying well, owing to the mill being in operation, the clean-up for last two weeks being 416 ounces, about $8,000, and we have opened up on the second level a new body of very rich ore, in which we have been drifting for the last month and have still to find a limit to its extent.

It should be mentioned, too, that the clean-up of 416 ounces was from ore taken entirely from the second level, and that gold gained was entirely by amalgamation. Our cyanide plant, now being built, would have increased the gold gained by about 50 per cent. Hence it can be seen that the mine, even with the preliminary equipment of 10 stamps, is not only earning enough to pay for planting the rubber trees, but also give a surplus for dividends. It is the intent to put the stock upon a 6 per cent. dividend basis at first, figuring on the price at 33 1/3 cents per share, and then, as the mine develops and the rubber trees commence to bear, the dividends will mount up year by year to over 300 per cent. per year, as you can figure out yourself by referring to the prospectus. The only reason that I am selling my Aremu stock is because I wish to purchase stock in the Bishop Company to help along the building of the Bishop Creek mill. Otherwise I would not sell a share of my Aremu. Yours,

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

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Any book mentioned in these columns can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. Unless otherwise stated, prices do not include postage.

HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Morris Hillquit. Fifth edition. Enlarged and revised. Cloth, 389 pp. $1.50. Funk & Wagnalls, Publishers, New York.

In the seven years which have elapsed since the initial appearance of this volume many events have occurred which justify the appearance of this, the fifth edition, and as Mr. Hillquit's work is the only exhaustive history of the Socialist movement in this country, the additional chapters detailing the progress of the last seven years give it a much increased value. These chapters include well written expositions on such subjects as the Trade Union movement of the present day, the "open shop" movement, the policies of the Manufacturers' Association and Civic Federation, the entrance of the American Federation of Labor into politics in the campaign of 1908, the rise and progress of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Moyer-Haywood case, and the industrial unrest in the west as represented by the Western Federation of Miners. A special chapter is given to the recent progress of the Socialist Party, the growth of the vote in the various elections, the Hearst movement, Socialism and the Farmers, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, the Christian Socialist League and other manifestations of the growth of Socialism that have appeared since 1904.

A chapter on the problems and prospects of present-day American Socialism concludes the work, which is followed by an appendix in which the National Platform of 1908 is reproduced as the most recent expression of American Socialism.

READINGS IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS. By Charles A. Beard, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of Politics in Columbia University. Cloth, 624 pp. $1.90 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

As the Socialist movement grows in numbers and power and faces new problems, a general understanding of American history becomes ever more necessary for the student and active worker in the movement. This volume of Dr. Beard's may be taken as a sample text-book of the sort of literature required to meet this demand. The author has arranged his matter in several historical series with the object of showing the initial position taken on various questions since the establishment of the republic, the modifications and amendments proposed, adopted and rejected, in short, he gives us a picture of the evolution of ideas on government and politics in this country from the earliest time to the present day. Through it all the Socialist student will have no difficulty in perceiving the thread of economic determinism which decided the various changes. Dr. Beard very correctly states in his introduction that the revolution which established this republic was in no sense a repudiation of British theories of government, but on the other hand merely a repudiation of British economic dominance by the rising merchant and manufacturing classes. The British common law and British jurisprudence generally was continued as the essential basis of the governmental fabric, and as this body of law dealt almost exclusively with property relations, no fundamental change was made—the difference between republic and monarchy being merely a surface difference changing the outside form only, while leaving the essential content unchanged. Among the subjects treated are the early charters of the various provinces and colonies under British rule, legislative documents foreshadowing the drift toward separation, tentative constitution making, Articles of Confederation, The Constitution of 1787, and the amendments thereto at various subsequent periods; the formation of parties and the gradual evolution of party machinery; state and municipal government; the evolution of the Supreme Court and its powers; Tariff and Free Trade; the Slavery question; political and economic differences leading up to and following the War of Secession; the Populist and Free Silver movements, etc., etc.

The book is a veritable mine of information for the student, and represents a type of literature, a knowledge of which must become an essential part of the intellectual equipment of the intelligent Socialist. The materialistic conception of history of which we talk so glibly, becomes merely a barren formula unless we acquaint ourselves with the history which unfolds and demonstrates the validity of the conception. And it is a work of this kind that Dr. Beard has provided.

THE BEAST. By Ben B. Lindsey and Harvey J. O'Higgins. Cloth, 340 pp. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

Out of the multiplicity of volumes now being issued dealing with social questions, this book of judge Lindsey's perhaps takes first place as being replete with what is called "human interest." The judge, who modestly asserts that he has no skill in writing and has had to have the assistance of Mr. O'Higgins in getting his work into book form, has nevertheless produced one of those exceptional books of which it can be honestly said that it is "impossible to lay down until finished." It is the plain, unvarnished tale of an honest and straightforward man, told in homely language, and yet with a power that grips and holds fast the reader to the last word. Judge Lindsey tells of his experiences in Denver as a reformer specially interested in saving boys from the criminal life into which the general political conditions of the city seemed to force them. The opposition which he receives in this work gradually resolves itself into a force which the Judge personifies as "The Beast," and which he later fully and correctly identifies with the local political machine composed of Republican and Democratic politicians, all of whom in turn reflect the interests of the local corporations, or as the muck rakers have it, "Big Business." The conflicts with this "Beast" into which the Judge was forced in carrying out his work of reform, comprise the contents of the volume, and as before stated are recounted in an extraordinarily interesting manner. To the Socialist reader there is nothing particularly startling in the revelations made by the Judge, and it is difficult to conceive just why he, with a long training in local politics, should feel surprised at uncovering the monster and discovering his real composition. The Socialist who has long ago identified Judge Lindsey's "Beast" with the capitalist system generally, may perhaps wonder that the identification should not be equally plain to others, but as Judge Lindsey clearly writes into his story his own gradual disillusionment, we have no alternative but to believe him. The outcome of the recent municipal elections in Denver records still another victory for Judge Lindsey's reform policy and a temporary defeat for "The Beast."

There is in the volume one peculiar allusion which may be worth mentioning to show that even as yet Judge Lindsey has much to learn as to the capability of the animal whose iniquities he exposes. Stories set afloat to discredit Judge Lindsey—stories of gross immorality and general depravity, he has no difficulty in refuting as deliberate fabrications of the "Beast" in question. He recounts, for instance, the attempts made to lure him into houses of ill fame, and to entrap him in various other ways, and is at no loss to trace these attempts to their correct source, while at the same time he apparently swallows as truth the monstrous fabrication of Harry Orchard, without any seeming suspicion that it also may be traced to the same quarter. His "Beast" is quite capable of fabricating falsehoods to ruin Judge Lindsey, but has no need to exercise its inventive powers to hang Haywood and Moyer. We incline to believe that in this matter Judge Lindsey is as yet somewhat credulous or perhaps unobservant.

However this may be, the Judge has given us a most interesting volume, and we hope that he will tell us more of "The Beast" in future recitals, for he has still much to learn of the animal and its habits.

Books Received

CAESAR'S CHARACTER. By William Waddell. Cloth, 245 pp. $1.00 The Neale Publishing Co., New York and Washington. On sale by Author at 2711½ Armand Place, St. Louis, Mo.

THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY. By "Dogmatist." Paper, 84 pp. 3 d. Published by H. S. Ross, 283 Elizabeth St., Melbourne, Australia.

UNIONISM INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL. Collection of essays published by Local Philadelphia, Socialist Party, at 1305 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa. Paper. Five cents. 32 pages.

AN ABSTRACT OF A BILL FOR AN UNEARNED INCOME TAX. Henry Boothman, Libby, Montana. Paper, 15 pp. 25 cents. Published by the Author at Libby, Montana.

TWENTIETH CENTURY SOCIALISM. By Edmond Kelly. Cloth, 446 pp. $1.75 net. Longmans, Green & Co., Fourth Ave. and 30th St., New York.

JUGENDGESCHICHTE EINER ARBEITERIN. Von Adelheid Popp. Paper, 87 pp. German text. Ernest Reinhardt, Publisher, Munich, Germany.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES. Vol. III. By Gustavus Myers. Cloth, 413 pp., $1.50. (Price of the three volumes, complete, $3.50.) Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago, Ill.

SAMUEL THE SEEKER. By Upton Sinclair. Cloth, 315 pp. $1.50. B. W. Dodge & Co., Publishers, New York.

While the general theme of this work is by no means original, it is a new field for Mr. Sinclair, who in "Samuel" has succeeded in producing an amusing and at the same time an instructive book. It is the old subject of the difference between preaching and practice, between society as it pretends to be and as it really is. The author has put what Nordau calls "The Conventional Lies of our Civilization" into the form of a novel.

Samuel is an unsophisticated country youth, who has been reared in a secluded locality with a pronounced religious, moral and patriotic atmosphere. Knowing little or nothing of the world outside of his immediate neighborhood, he naturally concludes that what he has been taught is also the guide and rule of conduct for all mankind, and that the world in general is dominated by these ideas and conforms its actions thereto, just as he does.

The story goes on to relate how Samuel, forced to seek his living away from his father's farm, gets out into the great world and is gradually undeceived by it. In due course of time he comes in contact with the pious exploiter of child labor, the religious hypocrite, the political grafter, and several other specimens of the flower and fruit of capitalism. He also has a sham love affair with a conventional young lady who makes an easy conquest of his heart until he discovers that on her part the affair is looked on as a passing amusement.

Samuel is strictly composed of the stuff that earnest and sincere reformers are made of, and naturally imagines that he has only to call the attention of the offenders to their conduct to put everything right again. The result is of course that he makes himself an intolerable nuisance, and becomes generally disliked in the community.

Finally he gets on the scent of a particularly atrocious grafting scheme in which he finds to his horror that the wealthy and respectable church going members are as deeply involved as their tools, the political grafters through whom they propose to work the scheme. Samuel starts out to tell the public at large what he has discovered, but discovers in turn that those he would expose have blocked his scheme for publicity at every point. Then he as a last resort betakes himself to the pastor of the church and asks for the use of the building to publicly expose the designs of the wicked. Naturally, he embarrasses the reverend gentleman by such a request, and the latter attempts to check the persistent Samuel by a most artistic display of shuffling and religious platitudes. Samuel, however, is not to be denied. He can't get the church, so he proposes to do his talking on the street and has some handbills printed to that effect. This brings him into contact with the local Socialists, who second his efforts so thoroughly that the affair is finally put "under the auspices of the Socialist Party." The chief of police forbids the meeting, but the Socialists and their new convert Samuel are not to be checkmated in that manner, and they go ahead with the meeting. The police interfere, and speaker after speaker is hauled down from the stand and clapped into jail. Finally Samuel mounts the rostrum, the police make one general charge on the crowd, there is a confused scuffle, and Samuel disappears in the mêlée with a broken crown caused of course by a police club. At this point the author leaves his hero.

We strongly recommend a reading of "Samuel" for respectable persons generally and clergymen in particular. It should be especially good for the latter, considering the ambiguous position they occupy in modern capitalist society.

THE FUTURE OF TRADE UNIONISM AND CAPITALISM IN A DEMOCRACY. By Charles W. Elliot. Cloth, 128 pp. $1.00. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

A LIFE FOR A LIFE. By Robert Herrick. Cloth, 429 pp. $1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

WAGE-EARNING WOMEN. By Annie Marion Maclean, Ph.D. Cloth, 180 pp. $1.25. The Macmillan Co., New York.

With Wilshire's Readers

JOHN A. HEARD, Frederick, Md.

I think the May number of WILSHIRE'S is very attractive as well as valuable for propaganda. The article on "What Is Socialism" fills a long-felt want in WILSHIRE'S.

A. F. MENDENHALL, El Modena, Ca.

As I have never yet let you know how I like the Magazine in its new dress, I take this opportunity to add my praise to the many others you have received. WILSHIRE'S gets better every issue. They are good enough to keep, but mine is usually passed on to some erring economic sinner.

H. Z. MORGAN, Pine Bluff, Ark.

Please allow me enough of your valuable space to congratulate you and express my appreciation of WILSHIRE'S. It comes near being an ideal Socialist publication, and its pages, free from all taint of commerical exploitation, are an example and an exhortation to all of us.

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"THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRUST," by Gaylord Wilshire. Best pamphlet on the Trust Question that has ever been written. The regular price is $2.00 per 100 copies; during July and August the price will be $1.00 per 100.

"THE A. B. C. OF SOCIALISM," by Harvey P. Moyer. Regular price, $1.00 per 100. Special July and August price, 50 cents per 100.

"EASY LESSONS IN SOCIALISM," by W. H. Leffingwell. Unexcelled for the beginner. Hundreds of thousands have been sold, and the demand for it still continues. Price, $2.00 per 100 copies. During July and August, $1.00 per 100.

"AMERICAN PANICS," by Howard H. Caldwell. This was written by Comrade Caldwell in 1907, at the outset of the present panic. Comrade Caldwell explained why the panic would continue. The events have justified his prediction. Regular price, $2.00 per 100. Special, July and August, $1.00 per 100.

"THAT BLESSED WORD 'REGULATION,'" by Charles Edwin Russell. Especially applicable just now, when there is so much talk of "rate regulation." Regular price, $1.00 per 100; during July and August, 50 cents.

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EDITORIALS

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Book Reviews, Verses, Miscellaneous Items.

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Gold and Rubber: Kings in Com-

MY reference to the Aremu Gold mine in the last issue of this magazine has given rise to so many inquiries that, against my original intent, I have decided to save a lot of letter writing by telling the Story of Aremu in these columns.

The Tassawini Mine

A little over two years ago I went down to British Guiana to inspect the Tassawini Gold Mine. British Guiana, otherwise called Demerara, I might say, for the sake of those who don't keep track of all the little governments on the earth, is a colony belonging to Great Britain in South America on the Atlantic Ocean north of Brazil, and is a nine-day trip from New York. It is the far-famed Eldorado where Sir Walter Raleigh sought the Lake of Gold, and gold is to-day, after sugar, the greatest export. The whole of the country back from the coast seems more or less heavily impregnated with gold. Millions of dollars have been taken out of the creeks and rivers by negroes from alluvial washings. However, most of these easily accessible washings have now been worked out, and the future of mining there, as in other countries, is to be done by machinery under the direction of skilled experts. The old days when any man could go out with a pick and shovel and bring in gold by the pound are almost passed.

However, while there are square miles of gold-bearing alluvial ground which makes one think that there are many places where capital might be applied to advantage, it will be found that the opportunities are not so many as at first appear. It's hard prospecting, don't try it.

The gold has been washed out of reefs that are not very easily found or if found do not always show up as rich as might be expected. For instance, all about the Tassawini Mine were signs of old negro washings and indeed some work then going on, and no doubt the Tassawini Reef itself was the source of much of this gold, but it is too low a grade for a stamp mill. It is an immense hill or series of hills composed largely of a low-grade gold quartz decomposed and in place. It would not pay to mill, but it seemed an easy enough thing to put in a hydraulic plant and wash down the hills by water power and get dollars where the negroes were getting cents. But it was not quite so simple as it looked. We have gotten good returns, $137,622.32 in bullion since we began, but this is not as much as we expected. It's impossible to accurately prospect such ground as Tassawini. We continually sink prospect pits wherever the ground looks promising, but results cannot be predicted accurately we have found. That Tassawini was sure to be irregular and uncertain I warned buyers of stock at the time of selling, as will be seen from one of my circulars. I was indeed so concerned about the mine that while I thought there were immense possibilities, and I think so yet, that I guaranteed my buyers against loss. The working of the mine has justified my forecast. For one month we will get a bullion return of $17,000 and the next month one of less than $4,000. It always keeps one on the anxious seat. However, now that we have about completed a drainage tunnel which will open up a large territory of new and promising ground I look for larger and more regular returns.

Fuel Car, Aremu Mine

Tassawini is not a failure, it has actually produced over $137,000 in gold, and its record of $17,000 per month is likely to be repeated when we get into the new ground, but in the future I will stick to straight gold quartz mines, like Aremu and Bishop Creek, worked in the regular way, the gold to be extracted by stamp milling and cyaniding. No one can yet say that Tassawini may not exceed all that I thought it might do, but meanwhile don't buy any South American Gold Company promotion stock at any price unless I give the word.

The Discovery of Aremu

During my inspection of Tassawini I heard rumors of there being further back in the bush an immense outcrop of rich gold quartz called the "Aremu Mine" which had every indication of being exactly the kind of a mine I was on the lookout for. The ore was said to be soft and so rich as to be easily worked by hand, and that there were then some two hundred or more negroes digging the ore with picks and shovels out of an open cut and then merely crushing it with the sides of their picks and taking it down in sacks on their heads to the creek and getting rich from the gold they washed out.

This sounded so much like a fairy story that at first I laughed at it, and it took considerable urging by a number of alleged eyewitnesses before I could be persuaded to make a trip of investigation. It was quite a long journey back to the mine, requiring six days of travel in boats over dangerous rivers full of rapids and waterfalls, and finally a long twenty-five-mile walk through swamps and over bridgeless rivers. Odon Por, who was with me, will write up this trip some day. The country was quite uninhabited except for a few negro gold diggers, and all our provisions had to be carried with us on the heads of our negro "droghers."

Roosevelt's trip through Africa was a Pullman to a brake-beam compared with it. Of course, now that we have opened up a waterway the travel is easy. I can quite understand now why, notwithstanding all the well authenticated rumors about the wonderful Aremu Mine, no white man had ever ventured before to hit the Aremu trail.

However, the trip was enjoyable in spite of all the hardships and dangers

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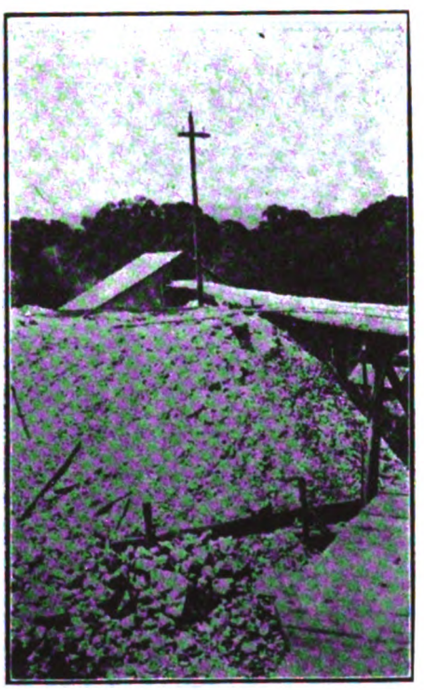
bination.—The Story of Aremu

and we really had a "perfectly corking time." Ask Odon. Notwithstanding that we were almost under the equator it is never oppressively hot in the forests of British Guiana and, singular to state, the swamps here seem to breed few or no mosquitoes. The rains are torrential, but the drops are so warm that you are never chilled as long as you keep walking, even if wet to the skin. The nights are always cool and delightful.

We found the two hundred negroes there as promised, and all busy as beavers digging out the ore from an immense quartz vein 30 to 40 feet wide that outcropped on a small hill. They had made an open cut with a series of pits all about 30 feet deep and 6 feet wide at the bottom, and extending along the center of the vein about 600 to 700 feet in length. They were then crushing the ore, as said, with the sides of their picks and taking it down to the creek and washing out gold by the pound. It all seemed like a dream, almost incredible, but there they were right before our eyes, and not only did we see the gold they were then washing out, but I saw the official British Guiana government gold returns from the mine for many months previous corroborating all that had been claimed. There is a royalty of 70 cents per oz. on gold in British Guiana, and every miner and mine has to pass all his gold through the revenue office and keep a book showing the exact amount of gold won. There is no chance of any deception there about how much gold a mine has been producing.

There had never been any thought on the part of the negroes that they would ever find a purchaser of their mine. They were merely looking to getting their return from digging out the gold themselves in their own primitive ways, not a bad life either, for the climate at Aremu is both healthy and agreeable. I was there five months last winter with my wife and baby, and we were always well.

However, the Aremu Mine could not be worked by an open cut forever, and was not such a good thing for the negroes as it at first appeared. They had already in fact mined almost as much ore as they could by means of an open cut, for the ground was soft and the sides could not stand up under the heavy tropical rains. Danger of death from cave-ins was constantly menacing the negroes. They knew it, too, from sad experience. They had been working previously in other places along the same vein and in the same manner for along a stretch of over two miles, and they knew that whenever they began to get down to a depth of 30 or 40 feet they had been driven out by the sides falling in. They had no knowledge of sinking and drifting. Hence it was not such a difficult matter to get them to sell the Aremu Mine, although the price was not as low as under the circumstances it might have been. The negroes figured that as they might not be able to work much longer anyway, they had better take my offer and seek to find another Aremu. They had found others before on the same vein, and why not more, but as yet



Ore Dump, Aremu Mine

no more have been discovered. After buying the Aremu Mine I got control of all the territory in the vicinity by means of a Ten Thousand Acre Concession granted by the British Guiana Government.

As for the negro sellers, they have not yet spent their purchase money, and until they do I don't think they will spend much time looking for more gold mines. Not many negroes work when they don't have to, and some white men don't either.

On returning to Georgetown I cabled to New York for machinery and a ten stamp mill. Inasmuch as the Aremu vein outcropped along the surface of the ground for over two miles and I was confident that we would require power at more than one point, I decided that it would be an economy to have a central electric plant which could distribute power where needed.

There is a good water power for electricity, about 15 miles distant, but as there is unlimited wood for fuel, it was decided to generate the electricity at first by steam, so I ordered three 84 h.p. boilers. These with two 120 h.p. engines directly connected to two 75 K-W. generators are now installed and operating well, and furnish us our power. I might say here that the first work was to clear out Aremu Creek and make it navigable. This we did, and it was a tedious, expensive job, too; but it is what has made the transportation of machinery to Aremu possible. We take up the very heaviest machinery to the mine without breaking bulk. After getting the power plant running we were in position, with our air drills and hoist and electric sinking pump, to go ahead rapidly with mine development work to be ready for the 10 stamp mill. We also have installed a fine 90 h.p. Ingersoll compressor which runs our air drills and our Cameron sinking pump.

We now have our shaft down 180 feet and have run two levels. The first level runs clean through the hill and into air at both ends, it's about 1,200 feet long. The pay shoot is about 400 feet long. The second level is now in about 350 feet east of the shaft and something like 250 feet is in good pay ore averaging $16 to the ton 6 feet wide. It's still in the pay, the last assay from the face, as per cable, assays $17 to the ton. The west drift has $20 ore, but is not yet developed.

The mill started in operation last March and has been running right along successfully and profitably. The gold, while ideal for cyaniding, is too fine for a large extraction by amalgamation. We have been getting 63 per cent. from the plates; however, we always intended to add a cyanide plant and we have impounded our tailings for future treatment. The latest cyanide process even with free milling ores is to omit amalgamation altogether, slime the ore and cyanide everything. The extraction of Aremu ore by this method should be 98 per cent., as opposed to 63 per cent., and another great advantage is that the ore from the mill, not having to be crushed fine for amalgamation, can be passed through a much coarser screen,

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Gold and Rubber: Kings in Com-

thereby doubling the tonnage capacity of the mill. The coarse pulp from the mill is fed to a tube mill which slimes it ready for the cyanide treatment.

This is a comparatively new method of treatment and has lately been introduced at both Goldfield and Tonopah with great success, quite superseding amalgamation. I had not decided upon this process even as late as a month ago when I last referred to the Aremu Mine, but I am now convinced of its great advantage to Aremu because of the doubled tonnage as well as the increased extraction. At present we are, as said, using amalgamation merely and are daily getting through 50 tons of our soft ore with 63 per cent. extraction.

The actual gold gained at Aremu for the last 11 weeks is 1,945 ounces which, at $18 per ounce, is $35,010. If we had had a cyanide plant we should have run through just double the quantity of ore and at the same time have increased the extraction from 63 per cent. to 98 per cent. This means that we would have had over $100,000 to our credit for the 11 weeks run instead of $35,000.

When the cyanide plant is in operation, our gold production should be $10,000 per week or over $500,000 bullion per year. The share of profits for the Aremu Rubber and Gold Company, which owns about a two-thirds interest in the Aremu Mine, should be sufficient to pay 4 per cent. per annum upon its outstanding common stock. Inasmuch as I am offering this stock at 16 2-3 cents for each dollar share, or six shares for one dollar, a 4 per cent. dividend upon par means 24 per cent. per annum to those who purchase at this offer.

While I figure that our net earnings should be sufficient to pay 24 per cent. return to the investor at present prices, I don't wish it to be thought that 24 per cent. is all I am expecting.

The Future of Aremu

The Aremu Mine outcrop indicates an enormous deposit of ore. There are very few gold quartz veins in the world that outcrop for over two miles thirty feet wide showing values all along up to $20 to the ton. I don't know of a single one that shows as many old hand workings as does this Aremu vein. It's a most remarkable deposit of gold ore, and with the exception of Bishop Creek, which is not a free milling ore, I do not think there is such a prospect as Aremu anywhere in the world.

There is no chance of my being mistaken about the statements of fact I am making: the quartz is not only exposed, but we have had a mill working on it for four months and we have the results not only of theory but practice to guide us.

Aremu Rubber Concession, Rubber Tree, One Year Old

When you buy stock in this company you get an interest in a mine not only well developed, but one that has the mill in actual and profitable operation. I believe you will merely have to wait for your dividends until the cyanide plant is installed, and this is an undertaking, as you know, comparatively small and inconsequential, particularly so when everything else is already operating.

The cost in cash to me for Aremu has been considerably over $200,000 to date. I spent my money, developed the mine and got the mill running before I offered a share of stock for sale. Do you know of anyone else who ever did this? This certainly shows my faith in Aremu. I should further acknowledge, however, that I did not intend to offer this stock for sale at all, but had in mind keeping it for myself and using the profits to further my pernicious doctrine of "Let the Nation Own the Trusts." However, I am in honor bound to build that Bishop mill, and I see no better and quicker way to raise cash for Bishop than to sell my Aremu stock, even if at half price. I started out to ask double the present price. I can sell some Bishop stock, but I am sure I can sell more Aremu stock, not that it is better, but because the mill is built.

Rubber Planting

It so happens that the Aremu Mine is in the midst of a territory unequaled for growing the genuine Para rubber trees. It occurred to me that as we cleared our ground for fuel and timber for the mine that we might as well be planting out rubber on the land thus cleared, for clearing is the great expense in rubber planting. Aremu is contiguous to the Amazon Basin where the greater part of the world's Para rubber comes from, and by planting the Hevea Braziliensis or genuine Para rubber trees we would be sure of a great profit.

I was at first like most Americans against rubber planting on account of the many failures of American companies who had planted rubber in Mexico. However, when the British companies who had planted rubber in the East and Ceylon commenced to pay their 100 per cent. and 200 per cent. dividends and the U. S. Consular reports said that there had been practically no failures among the British companies, I started out to investigate and find out why the British succeeded where we Americans failed. The explanation was all simple enough; the British had planted the genuine *Para* rubber, the Hevea Braziliensis, while the Americans had planted the Castilloa. The Castilloa not only bears less rubber and the rubber is not so valuable as Para rubber, and besides the

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climate of Mexico is not so well adapted to rubber growing anyway, as is Ceylon and the territory near the Amazon Basin like British Guiana.

We have already some fine, lusty, vigorous Hevea trees growing on our Aremu concession, and there is no question but that we have an ideal place for Para rubber. I can furnish all kinds of authority for saying this.

The Aremu Rubber and Gold Company through its ownership of the capital stock of the Aremu Rubber Co., Ltd., controls a concession of 10,000 acres surrounding the Aremu Mine, and it is the intent to gradually plant this out in Para rubber, using part of our profits from the mine to pay the expense of planting.

We have already bought from the British Guiana government 100,000 Hevea Braziliensis seeds and will proceed to plant them out at once as a starter. The profits from rubber are simply immense if you plant the right kind of tree, the Para rubber, and we have that tree, and if you have the right soil and climate, and we have both, you can't help making money.

A rubber tree can be tapped at the 4th year; this is now known, but it used to be thought that you had to wait considerably longer. At six years the trees begin to bear well and at eight years the cash returns are heavy. Rubber is one of the commodities that is particularly affected by the current disease of "high price." It's way up now. It has gone up from less than a dollar a pound to $2.50 per pound in the last year, and there is every reason to think it will go even higher. It's an article that cannot rapidly be increased in supply, and on the other hand the demand for the automobiles and electrical appliances is ever increasing.

A Para rubber tree at nine years of age will produce 6 pounds of rubber, according to U. S. Consul General Du Bois at Singapore. Taking rubber at $1.00 per pound, less than one-half the price it is now selling at, then each 9-year-old tree should produce $6.00 worth of rubber per year. We have room on our concession, at 100 trees to the acre, for a million trees, and at $6.00 per tree, if it were all planted, means we would have an income of 6 million dollars a year. If the 100,000 seeds we now have grew into 100,000 trees these trees alone would bring in $600,000 per year. We not only have the proper land, but we have the mining organization to superintend the planting, and finally we will have the money to plant with, so therefore it seemed to me a most happy thought to put double harness upon gold and rubber, those kings of the financial and industrial world, and make them pull in the dollars for us.

There has been lately an enormous speculation in rubber plantation shares in London, but somehow or other the Americans have been a little shy on rubber. Whether it is on account of their unfortunate Mexican experiences or on account of not wanting to wait six years for returns I don't know. With Aremu stock we avoid Mexico, and as for the waiting there is no waiting, because the gold mine will be paying us dividends while we wait for the rubber trees to bear.

Conclusion

Well, this is my romance of gold and rubber. I have found a great gold mine and have built the mill, and now that everything is a success I invite you to come in and join with me in my success. The gold mine is in the center of our ten thousand acres of rubber land. I propose to gradually plant out this land in rubber as we clear our land for the mine use. We have to clear this land anyway from year to year, and I think it a great idea to use part of our profits from the gold mine to plant rubber. A rubber plantation grows better every year for 100 years, and even the Aremu Gold Mine cannot look for a life of 100 years. My price for Aremu Rubber and Gold stock is 16 2-3 cents for each dollar share, sixty shares for $10.

I am not going to sell much, for I again repeat that I am selling Aremu merely because I want money for Bishop Creek Mine. If you buy Aremu you help Bishop, for the money I get from Aremu will go to Bishop. If after buying Aremu you decide you prefer Bishop I will exchange with you any time within one year from date on basis of present prices. If you want some figures upon rubber and a panorama view of the Aremu Mine in full operation send for a prospectus.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

To GAYLORD WILSHIRE,

200 William Street, New York City.

Herewith please find {money order / cash / draft} for $..... {cash / 10%} payment upon.....shares of Aremu Rubber and Gold Company at rate of 16⅔ cents per share. It is understood that the par value is $1 per share.

Terms: { 10% cash and 10% per month; / 5% discount for all cash.

Name.....

Street Address.....

Town..... State.....

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"LET·THE·NATION·OWN·THE TRUSTS"

WILSHIRE'S

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

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Reno and the Negro Problem

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

THE so-called "race fights" already resulting, at the time of this writing, in the death of seven men, all, by the way, negroes, which ensued after it was known the negro had bested Jeffries at Reno is but another illustration of my contention that the crux of our negro problem is the Southern white man's fear of negro domination.

This is not an idle fear, if the negro were free to vote as he wished, either, as so many of our Northerners affect to believe. But the fear is to be removed by neither Judge Lynch nor illegal and unjust disenfranchisement.

There must be instituted justice between white and black in the South and, strange as it may seem for a Socialist to say, there must be instituted a political system that will safely preserve, *as long as we have Capitalism,* property rights in the South, and inasmuch as the whites own most of the property, this means that the whites *must* hold the political power.

There is no use of us Americans prating about the rights of man, equality and fraternity and all that. We have no rights of man in America, we have rights of property, and as long as this country, either North or South, believes in private property it's going to have a government which actually protects the owners in their rights.

Notice I use the word "actually." It's the practice, not the theory that counts. In a way, if the white voters of the North so chose, they could create just as much concern about property rights in the North as do the black voters of the South, but just now the voters of the North are as unanimous in their political support of property as any Capitalist could wish them to be, and therefore there is no reason to interfere with the right to vote.

If the voters of the North should commence to vote for Socialism so heavily that it was evidently only a question of a short time when the Socialist Party would be in a majority there seems to me no doubt that the Capitalists would most certainly strive to restrict the right to vote. How, I cannot predict, perhaps by having a plebiscite and electing Teddy as our perpetual President with Kermit heir apparent.

Now if the negroes had perfect freedom to vote as they pleased they would not, it is true, menace private property by voting for Socialism. They would destroy property by electing men so incompetent or so dishonest or both that there would be no value to any kind of property in the South, public or private.

This is no theory, it's the actual result of what has happened in Hayti from whence I have just returned, and it was the result of the negroes dominating the southern States after the war.

Although government by the whites of the South is a disgrace to our civilization in its incompetency, after all, when one has seen Hayti he cannot but admit that bad as are the political institutions in the South, and filthy as are many of their cities, yet Hayti is incomparably worse in every respect.

For the last 110 years the two million or so of negroes in Hayti have had a free hand to do as they please in an island wonderfully rich agriculturally and in minerals, with fine rivers and harbors and a delightful and salubrious climate.

What have these negroes done? They started out with a civilization given them by the French, from whom they had revolted and then massacred, and they have been gradually losing this intellectual inheritance every year, year by year, ever since their year of freedom—1802. In some respects they have less of a social organization than African savages of to-day.

Their form of government, like that of Mexico, is perfect in its democracy —on paper, infinitely better than we Americans have in our Hamiltonian constitution, but their elections are farces, even more so than in Mexico. In Mexico the President selects certain civilians who must vote as he says, while in Hayti the President confines his voters to his soldiers.

The President of Hayti is an autocrat who uses the resources of the country for his own private aggrandizement, and the only way he is ever deposed is by a forcible revolution organized to install another grafter in his place.

The island exports some 75 million bags of coffee per year, there is an export tax of $4 gold per bag, there is $300,000 of revenue per year in one item alone, but you can go from one end of the island to the other and you cannot see where $30,000 per year is spent, except upon that ridiculous joke, the Haytian army.

Education is largely in the hands of the Catholic Church, but I doubt if any indictment can be found against the church for the backward state of affairs in Hayti, for the negroes seem as immune to the bad influence of priestly superstition as they are immune to influences for good. The only educated white men who ever penetrate the bush of Hayti are the French Dominicans, and while I share with most Socialists a strong prejudice against priestly influence and think it has done untold harm in Italy and Spain and the Philippines, yet I am prepared to admit that the Dominicans are the only leaven now in Hayti. They confessed to me the feeling that their task was a pretty hopeless one, that indeed Hayti was steadily going back.

The Haytians can all read and write pretty well, and may be spoken of as an educated nation, and they certainly have economic freedom. The land will give anyone a living who is willing to scratch it one day in the week and anyone can have land for the ask

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ing. There is also no great concentration of wealth, not much wealth to own in fact except land.

No railroads, and no factories using power, except hand power. I saw twenty or more negroes all turning cranks in a factory to separate the seed from the cotton. Labor is worth a dollar a week. The cotton by the way is very superior to our own cotton.

The coffee of Hayti is of excellent quality, but there has not been a plant set out since 1802. The entire coffee crop of Hayti is a volunteer crop from the original planting, and I can't think of a better illustration of the richness of the land and sloth of the negroes than this.

Yes, Haytians have economic freedom, but political freedom in name only; there is no freedom of the press nor of speech. There is not even freedom of the body; everyone is required to be off the streets in the principal cities after 10 o'clock at night. However, this is not such a hardship, for the streets are badly paved and filthy, and there is no such thing as town lighting. The reigning President forbids you the street at night, fearing that you may be hatching a revolution. He lives in a huge palace, guarded like the Czar of Russia.

The politicians who share the Presidential graft do not even have the decency to spend their loot at home. They hie themselves to Paris and never return until their last cent is gone on Parisian maidens and champagne.

Now while I have all this to say about the failure of the Haytian negroes to organize a good government, I wish also to say that Hayti has not only demonstrated how bad the negro political organization is, but she has, on the other hand, also shown me to what heights certain individual negroes may attain when free from social and economic domination.

I had already seen some fine examples of what the West Indian and Guiana negroes may become when educated in England, and who had returned to be lawyers or doctors in the place of their birth, men of distinguished manner and cultivated speech, negroes of a stamp that by no chance do you ever see the like in America, although ours are exactly the same lineage, all being descendants of former slaves. It would surprise many Americans to see what possibilities the negro has in him as exemplified by the negro doctors and other professional men to be seen in British Guiana, but it would surprise them still more to see the best type of negroes in Hayti, negroes whose parents have been wealthy enough to send them to Paris for education. Men highly educated, speaking Spanish and English perfectly, and of course French, for French is the language of Hayti. But it is not the education of these negroes that astonishes, it is the general air they have of men of the world and to the manner born. They show what is the result in never having been in an environment in which the negro was looked down upon as an inferior being. I don't mean that they are objectionable at all in their manner of holding their heads up, they merely stand before the world as a freeman should stand. Of course, there are not many of these flowers, probably not one out of a thousand, but where one can be produced more can be had by proper culture. The ordinary Haytian negro is a dirty ragamuffin who is content to live in a pigstye, but it is by the flowers, both white and black, you must judge the possibilities of the human plant.

The contrast coming from the island of Curaçoa to Hayti is most striking and certainly should upset many of our preconceived ideas as to happiness coming from the privilege of voting.

Curaçoa is owned by the Dutch, and the people upon it have no vote, in fact none of the people in the West Indies, not even in our own Porto Rico have much to say about their own political affairs. The people of Curaçoa are largely negroes, and they are all well housed in good brick structures, much better housed in fact than are most of our American white workingmen and better than any of our black ones. They are well clothed, and well educated, nearly all speaking both Spanish and Dutch. The streets are spotless and the health of the place is remarkable. There is very little chance for cultivation on the island; it's pretty barren, very little rain, so the negroes are nearly all merely hired men; but nevertheless the contrast between them and the ragged, dirty Haytians and their filthy houses was certainly no argument in favor of Democracy for the negro.

In every one of the West Indian islands, which are colonies of the various European nations, the negro is upon a political equality with the white, if there is any difference between men it arises purely from a property qualification, and if a negro can't vote, neither can the white man; but, as said before, there are not many who can vote anyway, white or black, and when they do vote, their voting don't count much, for the home government, by virtue of its power of appointing a majority of the local legislature, dominates the situation.

Hence there is little democracy in these islands, and yet the negro has all the rights that a white man has and both are satisfied, and there is no talk of any race question. Why? Merely because the white man, notwithstanding that he is often in number only five against one hundred, knows that the negro majority cannot ruin him, and on the other hand the negro knows from long experience that he will be given an equal chance with the white man in every sphere of life, business or professional. Both white and black look to the home government for ultimate justice, and they get it too.

The result of all this is that the negro lives in peace and quiet, and those negroes that have the ability have a chance to develop it. The white man gives to the negro his organizing ability, assisted, it is true, by his Home Government, and the result of the combination is that both blacks and whites get about all that can be gotten out of things, as they are under our present competitive system.

If the white man is going to be continually in terror of a negro majority and there is thus to be the continual friction between the two, as seen in our Southern states, then it's better for the negro to have a country for himself like Hayti, as bad as it is, than to go on as we are going in America.

Washington should see that if the negro cannot properly govern a State —and he can't—that he should not be allowed to jeopardize the whole social structure by exercising a franchise he is not fitted for. However, it is absurd to beat around the bush and allow the negro to be illegally disfranchised by dishonest "grandfather" clauses and place him absolutely politically and economically at the mercy of the whites of the South who merely look upon him as a beast of burden. The negro must feel that he has the protection of some power greater than his local State organization, which he rightly considers is a power to crush him rather than protect him. His vote is no use to him anyway, even if he had it, it's simply an article of commerce between the different white political grafters. How to work this plan out without conflicting with our ideals indeed is a problem, but it certainly must be worked out if we ever expect to solve our negro problem of the South before we enter into Socialism.

It must be understood that the plan I propose is merely a reformatory one and has no reference to the status of the negro under Socialism, for I consider that under Socialism, with its organization giving justice and equal political and economic rights to all, the Negro Problem will be no problem at all. We will never hear of any such problem. The Negro Problem is one of the many Problems of Capitalism that will automatically disappear with Socialism.

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Vol. XIV AUGUST, 1910 No. 8

Gaylord Wilshire sailed on July 12, on the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse, for London on a business trip. He will not return until after the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen, which he expects to attend.

THE International Congress of the Socialists at Copenhagen on the 28th of the current month of August will be the most important gathering of the kind ever held. Not because new issues are to be decided, but because Socialism itself is so much more an important issue than a few years ago. As a matter of fact Socialist Congresses of to-day in the matured state that Socialism finds itself are more important as forming a meeting place where Socialists may become personally acquainted than for anything else.

The resolutions are bound to be formal and for novelty of little account. There is little or nothing that can be developed along Socialism that is new or original or that will not be already known to the attendants of the Congress, but nevertheless the opportunity afforded for the advancement of the solidarity which comes when men who wish to work together become better acquainted is of great importance.

The difference in language is of course an obstacle to the full attainment of this end, and this is particularly so in reference to the born Americans in attendance, for, generally speaking, Americans are poor linguists. However, as the Socialist Party of America usually sends a number of foreign born men to represent it abroad, to that extent the question of language is solved.

Long life and many happy returns to the International Socialist Congress!

WE Americans are showing some signs of education on one line anyway. We are getting a clearer notion of the why of prostitution.

How short a time ago it was when all our "moral" and religious people looked upon the prostitute as merely a woman who had "abandoned" all the true and right to voluntarily give herself up to a vicious life of pleasure. "She has made her bed, let her lie in it," they would say when someone might suggest pity and rescue for a wrecked soul.

Compare the new term "white slave" with the old one of "sporting girl," and it instantly shows the progress of public knowledge upon prostitution; and yet it must be remembered that while to-day everyone knows what "white slave" means, yet it is only two years ago when Tom Taggart dared to declare he did not know what the phrase meant. Of course he did know, but he also knew that at that time the phrase was not well enough incorporated into our speech to make his plea of ignorance sound absurd as it would to-day.

Socialists who are discouraged at the apparently slow progress of the recognition that the workingman is also really another kind of a white slave should reflect that after an ignorance of ten thousand years almost the entire world has suddenly in a short year or so quite revolutionized its views upon the willingness of women who become prostitutes.

The world do move.

WHILE it is quite true that man does not live by bread alone, it is equally true that he cannot very well live without it, and the question of having a clean, healthy bread supply is of vital importance to the public health. These remarks are in reference to an article and several illustrations elsewhere in this issue, showing how good bread can be made and is made—not as yet, unfortunately, in this country, but in the city of Budapest in Europe. The article is from our special European correspondent and relates how the afore-mentioned city solved the bread-making question within its own limits, by collective ownership and operation of the means of producing bread.

This article is of special interest in view of the present bakers' strike in New York, and the conditions under which the city gets its bread supply. Being left to individual competition, investigation of the strikers' charges have shown a condition of bread production that fully parallels the horrors of the meat-packing industry as described in Sinclair's "Jungle." Unsanitary factories reeking with disease germs and unspeakable filth, bakers worked to the limit of physical endurance, snatching a few moments' sleep on the kneading tables, adulterations too numerous to record, short weights and highest prices for the most inferior product—if the average New Yorker actually knew of the revolting conditions under which his bread is produced, he would at least sympathize with his own stomach, even if he cared nothing for the woes of the wretched journeyman bakers whose miserable conditions have finally forced revolt against inhuman exploitation.

"IF this contemplated prize fight is permitted it will be a moral calamity," said the reformer.

"How do *you* know that Johnson will win?" was the reply of the sport to whom the remark was addressed.

The above is a sample newspaper joke which appeared just before the battle. It illustrates in a most amusing manner the observation that the truth is often spoken in jest. The victory of the black man is a moral calamity, as has been fully recognized by the almost universal suppression of the exhibition of the moving pictures taken at the ring side. It is also a financial calamity for the enterprising but shortsighted gentlemen who purchased the privilege, and now find their anticipated profits reduced to the vanishing point. They overlooked the moral calamity involved in the victory of the negro.

Had Mr. Johnson been pounded into insensibility by Mr. Jeffries, morality would not have been endangered to any appreciable extent. The pulpit protests against the exhibition of the pictures would have been as futile as they were against pulling off the fight. It is a gladsome spectacle for the general public to behold the slaughter of a negro by a white man, and a depressing one when the contrary occurs. So in regard to Mr. Johnson's victory, public morality finds itself for once in accord with public opinion, and the moving pictures are sternly prohibited. The fact that it was neither able nor willing to deal with the substance, in no way prevents it from dealing summarily with the shadow.

In a certain sense it may be said that the cause of public morality was ably upheld and assisted by Mr. Johnson's physical prowess, but he can hardly expect to receive the thanks of a grateful public for his efforts in this direction. While we are without doubt a moral people, we don't like to have our morality thrust upon us—especially at the hands of a colored brother—but in such case it is both politic and expedient to make a virtue of necessity.

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WHAT a difference the word "home" signifies to us of to-day to what it did to us of twenty-five years ago when the New York Court of Appeals said in pronouncing a tenement house bill unconstitutional: "It cannot be perceived how the cigar-maker is to be improved in his health or his morals by forcing him from his home, with its hallowed associations and its beneficent influence, to ply his trade elsewhere."

Of course to us Socialists of twenty-five years ago, referring to a crowded tenement house reeking with tobacco dust, and the whole family from the baby of four to the grandmother, crowded in kitchen and bedrooms making cigars, the happy home with its "hallowed associations" was a grisly joke, but the general public of that day swallowed it well enough and the New York Supreme Court of 1885 no doubt thought it was making not only a legal, but a moral decision.

The ways of life of all classes of to-day have destroyed the home. The rich man has abandoned his home for an automobile by day and a hotel by night. The poor man has abandoned his home either to make a cigar factory of it as the law and necessity directs, or to tramp from town to town seeking a new job.

The flag follows trade and so does the workingman and his family. The father goes to the foundry, the wife to the cotton mill, and the children to the shop. "Hallowed associations" are at times somewhat mussed up in transportation between being carried around by the rich in automobiles and the poor on brake-beams. However, the constitution is still revered.

AFTER a connection of three years with the wealthy and aristocratic Church of the Ascension in New York City, Alexander Irvine, a well known Socialist preacher, who, during that time used its pulpit as a medium for Socialistic sermons, has been removed from his position by the vestry, for the reason that "the public was beginning to look on the Church of the Ascension as the Socialist Church," and considering this as a "harmful advertisement" they took steps to stop it.

Commenting on this action, the *Literary Digest* declares that "naturally, the action of the vestry is roundly denounced by the radical papers. But," it continues, "the more conservative press generally takes the view that the church has the right and obligation to decide who shall speak from its pulpit and what shall be the nature of his discourse."

WILSHIRE'S is a radical paper to the extent of being avowedly and uncompromisingly Socialist, but in this case, if the remark of the *Digest* is true, it forms the exception. When the thing that is both probable and expected has occurred, denunciation is both foolish and futile. We no more deny the right of the Ascensionists to dispense with Mr. Irvine's services than we would deny the right of the Socialist Party to cast out a speaker who was using its platform for the spread of ideas contrary to Socialism. And we see nothing particularly "conservative" in avowing such an opinion either.

Comrade Irvine did good service for the Socialist cause during his three years' incumbency of that pulpit, and while we regret that he could not manage to hold on for three years more and still another three, we have no hostile criticism for the vestry that considered his work a harmful advertisement. From their standpoint it was a natural enough conclusion, though from ours we consider it an excellent advertisement for Socialism.

In actual warfare it sometimes happens that a temporary position is captured from the enemy and used against him while it can be occupied, but if the enemy recaptures it, he is not for that reason denounced. Analogous instances occur in the class war, and the same logic applies to both. Let us clear our minds of cant.

FOLLOWING the evolution of all other Roman Catholic countries of Europe, Spain, that less than a year ago murdered the schoolmaster Ferrer, has now developed a definite anti-clerical element, which already dictates the policy of the government and is vigorously pushing that inevitable rupture between Church and State which has marked the history of France, Italy, Austria, Belgium and other countries where the Church of Rome once exercised a predominating power.

And just as in other countries, these so-called "progressive elements" in Spain who are waging war with the church are by no means Socialist or even Republican in regard to ideas and policies. On the contrary, it is in the main the modern rising capitalist bourgeois element in Spain, as it has been everywhere else, that first finds itself involved in an unavoidable conflict with the Papacy. As yet, the Socialists of Spain are extremely weak, both politically and numerically, having but one representative in the Spanish Cortes.

However, the Church is not altogether wrong in leaving the impression that anti-clericalism and Socialism in Europe are identical. In so doing she has an eye to the future rather than the present, perceiving correctly enough that the process of the conflict leads ultimately to Socialism. It is the same perception which leads the Socialist to insist that Socialism can appear and develop only through the appearance and development of modern capitalistic production. And in Spain just now it is the growth of this mode of production that has primarily and finally precipitated the conflict with the church. The protests of the capitalistic manufacturers against the industrial competition of the religious establishments in Spain is merely one of the many proofs of this statement. These manufacturers are anti-clerical to a man.

What the Church is now opposing is the evolution of modern capitalism. Neither party have any choice in the matter, nor is the result in any way doubtful. Economic development can neither be stopped nor stayed by clerical opposition, whether in its early stage of capitalistic production or in the later stage of Socialism.

FROM Germany comes the news that a daily paper with a capitalization of one million dollars is to be started immediately, its avowed object being to combat Socialism, which it is feared will sweep the empire in the coming election. Behind the venture is Prince von Fuerstenberg, a millionaire crony of the Kaiser, who is also said to be deeply interested in the success of the publication. The annual expense of the organ is estimated at $450,000, and all the great capitalistic interests of the country have promised generous support in the way of advertisements.

If we remember rightly, the Kaiser in the election of 1903 used a similar device, being instrumental in the launching of a daily organ with a high-sounding Imperial title which we cannot now recall, as it only lived until election day, when the Socialists increased their vote from 2,100,000 to over 3,000,000. It is evident, therefore, that the Kaiser and his advisers desire to give history a chance to repeat herself at the coming election, the best posted German Socialists confidently predicting an increase in the vote next year from 4,500,000 to 6,000,000, as the propaganda is at present making tremendous strides among the rural population.

It is not stupidity but rather that no other means can be devised, that dictates the use of a weapon that has so signally failed on previous occasions. Germany has practically tried everything possible, from suppression to concession, to stay the onward march of Socialism, and everything has been in vain. Rich rewards await the man or men who can devise some new and untried method of combatting the pest, which the Kaiser took in hand twenty years ago when he deposed Prince Bismarck for incompetence in this matter and has since steadily demonstrated his own.

The "mailed fist" method being clearly impracticable, the Kaiser is now reduced to the last desperate expedient to stave off dissolution by throwing Imperial paper wads at his rebellious subjects.

The new King of England, it is said, has no democratic traits, but this doesn't mean that he can't acquire them if a large and gullible section of the populace insist that he be endowed that way. The resources of journalism in this respect are practically inexhaustible.

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The Indignant Subscriber

A Comedy By UPTON SINCLAIR

CHARACTERS:

APPLETON MELVIL: Editor-in-chief of the Metropolitan "Leader."

MR. JONES: The Indignant Subscriber.

SCENE: *A private lake upon the estate of Theophrastus Gobble, the Railroad King.*

TIME: *A summer afternoon.*

From right to left extends a grassy bank. At left is the boat-house, a corner of the dock being visible, with a boat tied to it. The "boat" is composed of two arm-chairs, facing each other, with a board about six feet long fastened under the seats and connecting them. There is a cross-stick about three feet long, with two loops of cord, which serve as rowlocks for the oars, which are brooms.

AT RISE: *Melvil, a stout and imposing personage in a frock coat and silk hat, strolls along.*

MELVIL. So this is Gobble's lake! Well, well! Quite a piece of work! It must be nearly a mile wide. (*He gazes right.*) Who's this?

JONES (*pleasant-faced, middle-aged man, enters right*). Good afternoon.

MELVIL. Good afternoon.

JONES. Isn't this Mr. Melvil?

MELVIL. It is.

JONES. Mr. Melvil, the editor of the Metropolitan "Leader"?

MELVIL. The same.

JONES. I thought I recognized you. I am one of Mr. Gobble's guests. My name is Jones.

MELVIL (*with stately bow*). I am pleased to meet you.

JONES. I was told that you were coming down to-day, and I was very much interested. I have been a subscriber to the "Leader" for many years.

MELVIL. Ah, indeed!

JONES. I thought I was the first of the guests to arrive.

MELVIL. I came before lunch.

JONES. Oh, I see. That accounts for it. Beautiful weather we are having, is it not?

MELVIL. Yes; we are very fortunate.

JONES. A fine lake, isn't it? And to think that once it was a cranberry bog! I can remember it all very well.

MELVIL. You have known Mr. Gobble a long time, then?

JONES. Oh, yes! I was a classmate of his son's in college, you know.

MELVIL. Oh, I see.

JONES. Have you been on the lake yet?

MELVIL. No; not yet.

JONES. Wouldn't you like to take a row and see the scenery?

MELVIL (*hesitating*). I don't know——

JONES. Come ahead. We have plenty of time.

MELVIL (*taking out his watch*). What time——

JONES. We have two hours before dinner. I'll show you the caves.

MELVIL. Caves?

JONES. Yes; didn't you know there were caves? Come—here's a boat! (*Goes left and carries on the "boat," Melvil assisting.*) All ready, now. (*Steps into boat and takes oars.*)

MELVIL (*gets into boat very gingerly, and with much fuss*). Careful, now. Ah! Hold fast there. That's it. Give me that other cushion there.

JONES. All comfortable?

MELVIL. All right, I guess. I don't often go rowing nowadays.

JONES. No; I suppose the vast responsibilities of a paper like the "Leader"—extraordinary paper! Push off. (*He rows.*) Ah! there's no exercise like rowing.

MELVIL. I used to be very fond of it.

JONES (*rowing*). This boat goes like a canoe! Light as a feather!

MELVIL. It seems very light. Are you sure it's safe?

JONES. Oh, have no fear. I'll take care of you. And besides, this lake is nowhere over five feet deep.

MELVIL. Is that so?

JONES. Yes; it was carefully made so that no one could be drowned in it.

MELVIL. Very interesting; but even so, I'm not dressed for a bath.

JONES. No; I suppose not. Don't you swim?

MELVIL. I'm sorry to have to confess that I don't.

JONES. Not a stroke?

MELVIL. No; not one.

JONES. Too bad! But we won't try to learn to-day. The water is quite cool!

MELVIL (*touching it with his hand*). I should say so!

JONES. Observe that view, Mr. Melvil. I should think that we were now just about in the center of the lake.

MELVIL. Just about.

JONES. Nearly half a mile from either shore. This would be a particularly unpleasant place to capsize.

MELVIL. I should say so!

JONES (*leans down and begins to take off his shoes*). I think I had best be prepared.

MELVIL. What are you doing?

JONES. I'm taking off my shoes.

MELVIL (*in amazement*). What for?

JONES. It would be hard walking ashore, for the bottom's muddy. And it's well to be on the safe side—you never can tell, you know, when you are out in a small boat.

MELVIL. But, my dear sir——

JONES (*sitting up*). There. That's all right.

MELVIL. But——

JONES (*rises in the boat, lifting an oar in each hand*). Now, then!

MELVIL (*in terror*). What! Be careful!

JONES. Sit still! (*Hurls one of the oars off left. A loud splash is heard.*)

MELVIL. My God!

JONES (*sternly*). Keep still! Do you want to upset the boat? (*Poises the other oar.*) Heave ho! (*Hurls it.*) Now then!

MELVIL. Why! Why!

JONES. Sit down, sir.

MELVIL. What have you done?

JONES. Can't you see? I've thrown the oars out into the lake.

MELVIL. But—but why?

JONES. So that we can't row any more. I want to have a talk with you.

MELVIL. Good God!

JONES (*coolly*). Don't be profane; and above all don't jump round in the boat like that, for you are very heavy and the boat is light.

MELVIL. What do you mean, sir? What——

JONES. I'll be very glad to explain if you'll keep quiet a while. (*Takes out cigarette and proceeds to light it.*) Do you smoke?

MELVIL (*gazing about in terror*). What is the meaning——

JONES (*puffing at the cigarette*). In the first place, Mr. Melvil, I have to make it clear to you that the story I told you is a pure fabrication. My name is not Jones, and I am not a guest at the great Mr. Gobble's week-end party.

MELVIL (*aghast*). Oh!

JONES. I never laid eyes on Gobble, so far as I know; and if I did, it would probably take a deputy-sheriff to keep me from jumping on him. But I heard you were coming down here, and I happened to recognize you. And suddenly the thing flashed over me. It was my chance! And—as you see—I have taken it.

MELVIL (*staring wildly*). But why? What—— (*Glances behind him.*)

JONES. You are getting ready to shout for help, I perceive. Let us be clear on one point at once. I have brought you out here, Mr. Melvil, because I want to talk to you, and I want to be beyond the possibility of interruption. Beyond the talking, I don't mean you any harm, and you have absolutely nothing to fear. But as far as the talk is concerned, *that* I am determined to have. You will observe that I have the drop on you. You can't swim a stroke, and I am an expert. You are not prepared for a bath, and the water is cold. And I tell you that if you make any outcry, or raise a disturbance in any way, over goes the boat, and I swim ashore, and you are left standing in the mud until the boatman comes out for you!

MELVIL. Villain!

JONES. Nor can you hope to be revenged upon me. I can get to that shore before any boat can overtake me! and even if I were caught, I have committed no offence. You entered the boat of your own free will; and I have a perfect right to throw oars into a lake—at least I never heard of any law against it. No doubt it might be made against the law for this occasion—I have observed that the Supreme Court is willing to make any kind of law to oblige your eminent friend, Mr. Gobble. But even granting that—consider what a plight you would be in when this story got out—consider what your deadly rival, the "Daily Star," would make of such an opportunity! If you will think it over calmly a while, you will see that it is very much better for you to swallow your pride, and listen to what I have to say to you.

MELVIL. Are you a madman?

JONES. No; not precisely. But in this matter I am a very desperate man, I assure you.

MELVIL (*gasping*). What—what do you want to say?

JONES. I can explain it in a word, Mr. Melvil. You will understand when I tell you that I am one of the subscribers of the Metropolitan "Leader."

MELVIL. Oh! (*His jaw falls.*)

JONES. Ah! You begin to see! You have had many talks with me, Mr. Melvil! For not less than twelve years I have listened to your ideas—I have listened in silence and helpless protest while you expounded your views upon every subject on the face of God's earth, from the destiny of the human race to the

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price of pork in the Sandwich Islands. And now, Mr. Melvil, editor-in-chief of the Metropolitan "Leader"—the worm has turned. For a brief half hour you are going to listen to me! You are going to learn my ideas upon just one subject—upon yourself, and the respectable and conservative newspaper of which you are the editor and proprietor!

MELVIL. Well, I'll be damned!

JONES. Did you think, Mr. Melvil, that you would never have to pay for it? That vengeance would never seek you out? Do you think that a subscriber has no rights whatever?

MELVIL. But my dear man! You don't have to read my paper!

JONES. An obvious statement—and yet a falsehood—like everything else that you write! I am a civilized man, and I have to read a newspaper. Your paper is edited in the interests of Gobble, the Railroad King. If I don't like that, I can read the paper of Grab, the franchise pirate. Or there is Smith, who wants a cabinet position, or Brown, who wants to be president, or Robinson, who wants to get his daughters into Society. I can take my choice; but, in any case, what I have to rea is the opinions of a bag of money, and not of a man.

MELVIL. Why don't you start a paper of your own?

JONES. A question, Mr. Melvil, that is a sneer! What chance have I to start a paper while you have your feet in the trough? You publish the advertisements of the department stores, and they pay you a small fortune for it. If I had a paper I should tell about their girl-slaves, and the starvation wages they pay them; and do you think that I would get the advertising? You stand in with the political machine, and all its iniquities; and so you get all the city advertising. I should defend the interests of the public; and do you think that I would get it? And without this money how should I be able to hire the clever writers whom you have trained to serve your interests? What chance should I have against their ridicule, their misrepresentations, their caricatures? No, no! I am powerless! I can only read, and writhe and suffer! Power and ownership—the right to express yourself—the right to be heard, and to be believed, and to influence the world—these are yours! And I—I am the public—I have but one right—the right to pay! To pay—do you hear me? For of course it's not only my opinions that are mocked—it is my pocketbook that is robbed! I am not one of the rich and comfortable, who can take it out of other people; I am one of those unhappy men who have to make ends meet on a salary! And these Wall Street robbers that you defend—it is *my* money that they are reaping in! They raise the price of products—it is *I* who pay! They water stocks, and unload them on the market—it is *I* who buy them! And then I said to myself: I will buy no more—I will put my money in bank. And then came the panic—and I found that they had my money anyway! I had paid once more! . . . Do you understand all that?

MELVIL. Yes. You have been very unfortunate——

JONES. Unfortunate! I have been like everybody else in the country— the only difference is that I know it. I know how I am robbed. You and your class—you own the machines and the railroads and the banks—you own the political parties, the legislatures and the courts—you own the newspapers and public opinion—and you sit on top—watchful and greedy—guarding your pile! Your pile, I call it—the accumulation of all the injustice of the ages. Wealth that you and your class have acquired by knavery and cunning, by bribery and fraud, by every form of economic violence and cruelty! by the buying of franchises and public privileges, by watering stocks and misrepresenting values, by rebates and midnight tariffs, by adulterating products, by cornering markets, by beating down wages and screwing up prices! And all this mass of villany and deception—it has been converted into Standard Securities, and made sacred and respectable! It has become "vested interests," which you cannot attack without wronging the widows and orphans! It has become private property, which the constitution of the land exists to protect! And you who own it, you the heirs of privilege—you want nothing in all the world save to be let alone with it! You are sleepless and alert, watching jealously for the least sign of protest—for the least sign of awakening, of a stirring of the patient people; for anything sincere, anything vital, anything with a promise for the future! You have enslaved all the talent of the race and corrupted it—taught it to destroy its own hopes and powers, like some greedy animal which devours its own young. You have raised a new school of writers, who know only how to ridicule and sneer, to caricature and defame! You have made it your task to crush out progress, to frustrate and to torture the lovers of excellence! You go through the world like some huge monster of the jungle, trampling the fair flowers beneath your feet! You are a butcher of the ideal, an assassin of hope, a murderer of the future of humanity!

MELVIL (*purple with rage, rising in his seat*). Infamous wretch!

JONES (*shouting*). Sit down! Sit down! (*Shakes boat.*)

MELVIL (*collapsing in terror*). Stop! Stop!

JONES. Very well, then! Keep still, and take your medicine! It hurts you, I've no doubt—you never had anyone tell you the truth before! You are used to living with the rich, whose tool and creature you are! You are used to making speeches at their banquets; to being told that you are a great thinker—a leader of public opinion, and all the rest! But now you are hearing the opinion, not of a vested interest, but of a *man!* (*With sudden intensity.*) Tell me! Did you think that you could escape forever? That you would not be haunted by all these murdered dreams? That you could go on to crush out the aspirations of the race, and not somehow be punished? Do you think that our visions have no right to live? The dreams of inventors and poets and prophets of the new time that is to be? Has a man no rights in the world of ideas—to the things that are the most precious in life to him?

If I sandbag you and take your purse, you have me put to jail; but you destroy my reputation and my credit and my influence, and there is no punishment for you! A writer with a new vision of justice—a statesman with a new call to action—you set all your bloodhounds upon him! You misquote his words, you misrepresent his motives, you caricature his appearance—you prey upon him—you blast his life! I could tell you the names of men whom you have ruined—whom you have driven to despair and death! And I tell you that the power to do such things must be ended—the world will not forever be exposed to the fury of such blind monsters of greed and hatred as you predatory journalists——

MELVIL (*fuming*). Impudent wretch.

JONES. Yes! Sit there and rage! That is what I brought you here for! Where you must sit and listen, whether you like it or not—where the other fellow does all the talking, and the truth is what he chooses shall be believed! Don't you see that that is my position? Exactly that! For twelve long years of agony I have had to occupy it; and to-morrow I must go back to it again—and you will be master again, able to say whatever you please!

MELVIL (*with a sigh*). Ah!

JONES. *Yes!* You hadn't thought of that! But don't deceive yourself, it will never be the same. You will have the memory to haunt you! For once you have heard the truth—you have seen yourself as you are! And it will stay with you—you will not forget it! And when you recall it, it will be for a symbol to you; the truth is out—you cannot pen it up, try as you would! The world is coming to see through your sham respectabilities—you cannot hold back the tide of humanity forever! You think, perhaps, that I am a solitary madman; but I tell you that I am only one of thousands and tens of thousands who have found out the secret of their miseries, and have set themselves to teach their fellow men! We have begun our attack upon your fortress of iniquity—and never will we rest while one of its stones is left upon another. For we Socialists——

MELVIL. (*upon whom a great light has been breaking*). Oh!

JONES. Hey?

MELVIL. I see!

JONES. What do you see?

MELVIL. You are a Socialist!

JONES. Yes! A Socialist!

MELVIL (*with profound relief*). That accounts for it!

JONES. Yes! That accounts for it! You've given me a name now, and you're satisfied! You're back in your editorial sanctum—you know just what to say—just what to think! A Utopian dreamer! A fantastic visionary! An apostle of discontent! You've got us classified and pigeon-holed—you know exactly where to look for us. And every reader of your paper knows what to think about us before we open our lips—knows how to answer our arguments without hearing a word of them. That's the sort of a work your masters pay you to do! To cast a spell over us—to make us into a by-word and a jest—so that every loafer on the street-corner and every clown in the drawing-room is ready with a sneer when we are named. That is the outrage we have to bear from you—we the heralds of the coming civilization! Fifty years from now men will look back and wonder how the very children in your nurseries could fail to see the truth of all our claims; will wonder by what black magic this free democracy was ever broken to the yoke of Mammon! But you—you are the magician! You who own the sources of information—who decree what the people shall know and what they shall think—who invent the catch words and shibboleths, who pollute the river of public sentiment at its source! (*A pause. He gazes at Melvil intently.*) You think that is strong language, don't you?

MELVIL. I do.

JONES (*with sudden interest*). See here, man! Am I to understand that you think you really believe what you print in your editorials in the "Leader"?

MELVIL. Of course I do!

JONES. And you consider yourself a respectable citizen, guiltless of all crime?

MELVIL. Of course I do!

JONES. And "The Leader" has supported Tammany Hall! You have defended its ticket at the last two elections, and urged the people to vote for it! And you

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have lived in the City of New York—you have looked into the faces of those millions of wretched wage-slaves—pent up in filthy tenements—condemned for life to poverty and ignorance, to misery and drunkenness and despair! And all the powers of evil that prey upon them—the saloon-keepers who wish to keep the pennies of the fathers, the brothel-keepers, who wish to trap the daughters, the pool-sellers who set snares for the sons—all these are banded together, and their name is Tammany Hall! Every thug and every thief—every savage and every seducer in the whole vast city is behind that organization. And there is the district leader, with his campaign funds, there is the ballot-box stuffer and the plug-ugly, there is the policeman with his club to pound the people into submission—and last of all, but not the least, there are the so-called respectable, conservative newspapers of the Metropolis!

MELVIL. You misrepresent——

JONES. I know! I know! Tammany Hall does not get the support of the "Leader" because of any of these things; the vice interests and the saloons don't advertise in your paper, and they don't own any of the stock. Your nigger's in another part of the wood-pile. The organization didn't get your support until it began to give away franchises to your fat friend, Gobble. And nowadays your fat friend Gobble contributes most of the campaign funds—and thus adds his rivets to the chains which bind down the miserable population! And you can sell your services for such a price, and not feel the blood-guilt upon your soul! And have never a pang for the wretched women who are pent up to-night in ten thousand brothels, and driven to sell their bodies for the wherewithal to keep alive! And never even dream that it is you, and your great newspaper, which has consigned them to that slavery! Your own daughters are virtuous and beautiful and serene—they have had every advantage that women can have. I saw the other day that one of them was married—to a rich man; I read out the wedding ceremony—you had dressed her in a beautiful bridal-robe—and you did not know that it was stained with the tears of those women whom you had sold into slavery—that it was red and horrible with the blood of little children whom you have pent up in sweatshops and factories to toil until they die!

MELVIL. Stop! Wretch!

JONES (*furiously*). You will go in there to the mansion of Gobble to-night, and devour the flesh of those sweatshop children! You will go to the homes of those rich, turtle-fed merchants who are your advertisers, and you will pick the bones of the starving girls who slave for them at a salary of three dollars a week and not a day of vacation the whole year round! You will sit in your clubs with the great bankers, the wreckers of public credit, the men who will plunge a whole nation into misery in their frantic struggles for gain! That is what you do—that is what you are—you eminent citizen—maker of public opinion—you apologist of knavery and greed!

MELVIL. Oh! Oh!

JONES. Yes; rage, fume, storm as you will—but it is true! And you know it, and you will never forget it! It will stay with you till the day you die!

MELVIL (*desperately*). Stop! Stop! I won't listen!——

JONES. Yes, you will! You will! Coward that you are!

MELVIL (*sinking back*). Go on! Go on! Say it out and have it over with!

JONES (*wildly*). Yes! Have it over with, and then let you go! Let you get ashore and go back to your office and take up the old rôle of Jupiter upon a pyramid! To punish me with new sneers and new jibes! To seek out new ways of hampering progress, of scoffing at justice! To pour out new venom—no! no! You shall not! A thousand times no—you shall not! Do you understand me? I say you shall not! (*Starts up.*)

MELVIL (*in terror*). No! Stop! I won't. I'll be good! Oh——

JONES (*overturns the boat*). Into the water with you!

MELVIL (*going under*). Blub—blub!

JONES (*emerging*). Ha! Ha!

MELVIL (*emerging*). Help! Murder!

JONES. Now, wade through the mud!

MELVIL (*seizing hold of the boat, which turns as he clutches it*). Help! Help!

JONES (*swimming off easily*). Ha! Ha! Ha!

(CURTAIN.)

Slush from the Atlantic

IT'S strange how a man can state his facts so intelligently as does a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and yet draw inferences so utterly impotent.

"John Dutton" is his "economic man," and of him the writer says:

He is chiefly concerned in the rearing of his family, the education of his children, and the attempt to make ends meet. To the casual observer, Dutton with his twelve hundred and eighty dollars per annum seems a fortunate individual, especially in view of the fact that the average income of other laborers in the United States is only about six hundred and forty dollars. Indeed, up to 1897, or a year or two thereafter, Dutton regarded himself as one of the successful minority in the struggle for a living; but since that time his difficulties have grown even more rapidly than the additional expense of rearing three growing children would seem to warrant. His family account books show that he now receives twenty per cent. more salary than in 1897; but against this, his annual supply of food now costs about $550, as compared with $385 then, his rent has advanced from $168 to $240; his expense for clothing from $150 to $180, and the cost of his fuel from $56 to $52.

It may be seen at a glance that his total expense for these four main necessities amounts to about $1,032 now, as compared with $759 then, while his income has increased only from $1,075 to $1,280. He therefore has a balance of about $248 with which to cover his entire expenditure for lighting, insurance, the fees due to his union, furniture and utensils for his house, books and papers, education, amusements, sickness, and other incidentals; and this compares unfavorably with a surplus of $316 twelve years ago. Hence it becomes constantly clearer to him that his ambition to educate his children and improve his home can result in nothing but disappointment; and as commodity prices rise from month to month, living for him must be reduced more and more to the basis of bare existence.

Now this is all good stuff and the natural inference would seem to be that Mr. Swift, the author, would wind up with some tangible explanation of causes and suggest a remedy equally tangible. But what do we find? This is his lame conclusion:

Capital, unlike wages and salaries, reproduces itself through the drawing of interest, and in consequence, capitalists tend to come more and more into the possession of all business property and all wealth-producing agencies. As the power of the capitalist thus expands, his control over salaries and wages increases correspondingly, and whenever business depressions or the varying fortunes of trade endanger either profits or wages, his human instinct impels him to protect profits. Thus wages tend to fall lower and lower, as compared with incomes; and the recipients of wages and salaries are dependent in a large degree upon legislative relief measures, such as the checking of immigration, the readjustment of taxes, and the revision of the tariff in favor of the consumer. Hence, while the natural evolution of our industrial and social life may solve the cost-problem of the income-receiving classes, the financial problem of John Dutton and his fellows requires something more—a greaer spirit of fairness and brother-more—a greater spirit of fairness and brother-

> Joy of activity, joy of fame, might play on the healthful, service—these are the joys that joy of achievement, and joy of eager, sensitive organism and draw it into a due share in the great labor of the world. And it is claimed that they will not be sufficient under Socialism; that the fear of starvation must be added, or men, undeterred by vacant days or the pitying scorn of their fellows, will yield themselves to luxurious indolence, because, forsooth, they know that society will treat them kindly, as it would treat a stray cat, and will give them shelter and food! Such a contention is false to all faith in our common humanity; more than this, it is false to the facts of human experience.
>
> Professor Vida Scudder (Wellesley College), Socialism and Spiritual Progress, p. 13.

It seems to me that if he sees that John Dutton is getting poorer and poorer under the present system, and that the capitalist is getting "more and more into the possession of all business enterprises," that Mr. Swift might have suggested that the only way Dutton could get richer was by introducing a system by which he himself, instead of the capitalist, could get into the possession of business enterprises. How about "Let The Nation Own The Trusts"?

Long-Distance Information

The old saying that "A rolling stone gathers no moss" may be applied to the brain as well as to the body. It may be advantageous to know the courses of the stars, but of what practical value is such information if the common things of one's individual region remain unstudied? Mark Twain says, "It is bad to get into a rut, but it is worse to wabble all over the road." Such truth is borne home to the reader of S. Baring-Gould's experience, told in "A Book of the West." The author was with an inspector who was examining the schools of Devonshire.

"What form is that?" asked the inspector.

"Dodecahedron, sir," replied the children.

"And that?"

"Isosceles triangle."

"What is the highest peak in Africa?"

"Kilimanjaro."

"What is its height?"

"Twenty thousand feet."

"What rivers drain Siberia?"

"Obi, Yenesei, Lena."

Here I asked permission to ask a few questions. On my way to the school I had plucked a little bunch of speedwell.

"Would you mind inquiring of the children its name?" I asked.

Not a child knew.

"What is the river which flows through the valley?"

Not a child knew.

"What is the name of the highest peak of Dartmoor which you see yonder?"

Not a child knew.

The children acquired many new words which they mispronounced and did not understand, but which they liked to use.

"Isn't it hot?" said one pupil. "The prepositions be running all over me."

"Aye," was the reply. "But you be no scollard. I be breaking out wi' presbyterians."—*Youth's Companion.*

Municipal gas, street railway and electric supply departments of the English city of Birmingham show an annual profit this year of $562,845, an increase of $23,242 over the previous year. At the same time the hours of street car employees have been considerably shortened and their wages increased by $38,932 during the year. The net profit of the street railroads of the city was over $160,000. While the price of gas has been reduced to 47 cents per thousand from 74½ cents in 1875, the department still showed a profit of $352.787, besides contributing about $75,000 for other city purposes.

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Those Disagreeable Socialists

HAVE you ever heard the phrase "pernicious activity" applied to the work of the Socialists? If you are a reader of any of the ordinary daily papers you can hardly have missed it.

Have you ever heard Socialists described as narrow-minded, bigoted and fanatical? It is a common statement and so frequent that it can hardly escape the notice of people of ordinary powers of observation.

Or, have you ever listened to the Socialist speaker on the street corner or the lecture hall? Have you noticed how positive he is, how confidently he makes his assertions? How aggressive his attitude, as if there were no answer possible when he lays down the law?

And the ordinary Socialist who is neither speaker nor writer, but who hustles in various other ways: Have you observed how tireless he is in pushing his leaflets and pamphlets on a usually unwilling or indifferent public? How on every possible occasion he turns the conversation in the direction of Socialism? How he urges all and sundry to subscribe to some Socialist paper? How he keeps this up year in and year out until in his neighborhood his peculiarities are everywhere recognized?

If you have observed these things, without thinking very much of the reasons why, it is the most natural conclusion in the world that the Socialist is fanatical, intolerant, aggressive, narrow-minded, and an insufferable and insuppressible nuisance.

Let us grant that this point of view is apparently justified by appearances. Yet before these men became Socialists they had no such characteristics. Now the real question is: What is there in Socialism to change in this manner the conduct of people who are affected by it.

You will find the answer in the article placed in the center of this page. Read it. You will find there all the confidence, positiveness, aggressiveness and assertiveness that characterize the typical Socialist.

And the reason for this attitude is simply that the Socialist intensely believes he has an unanswerable argument.

Most men who believe they hold an unassailable position on what they consider a vital subject will take a similar attitude in spreading abroad their views. In this matter Socialists are exactly like the majority of people.

Note the challenge contained in this extract. It doesn't call upon the reader to believe; it doesn't urge him or plead with him to accept Socialism; it doesn't speak of what the producers "should do" or "ought to do." It says "must" and "will" instead. It calls for an answer; challenges the reader to answer; and declares bluntly that no answer in rebuttal is possible.

And the most that has been done in the way of an alleged answer has been abuse of the Socialists, the calling of vile names and preferment of absurd charges, with predictions of the disaster that would ensue if their ideas were realized. That, and nothing more.

The fact is that these fundamental positions and the conclusions the Socialist draws from them are never denied by the opponents of Socialism, and it is this that explains the confidence and positiveness of the Socialist. His alleged fanaticism, harshness and general disagreeable qualities are due to the other fact that the ordinary anti-Socialist policy is to simply ignore their existence altogether as the base of an argument of any kind. The Socialist would be more than human if he were not irritated and exasperated by the deliberate dodging of what he considers a self-evident proposition. Such a policy, while it irritates him, at the same time increasingly confirms his belief in the correctness of his position. He feels like a person trying to convince a particularly tricky or obstinate individual that two and two make four and getting nothing but abuse as a substitute for either assent or dissent.

Next time you hear the personal characteristics of these people disparaged, just bear in mind how the outlook must appear to them, and try to place yourself in their position for that purpose. By understanding something of "human nature," as manifested in the personal characteristics of the Socialist agitator, you may come to comprehend in time the argument he advances.

Don't regard the Socialist as an intellectual bruiser, eager to entice you into combat so that he may publicly humiliate you and glory in your defeat. That is merely a deceptive appearance. His real object is far otherwise. Remember that in private conversation he will talk to you in much the same strain that he addresses the public. He will put up precisely the same argument. Far from desiring any victory over you, he wants you to help win a victory for you both and all the producing classes, whose poverty and wretchedness are clearly due to the fact that, as the article says, they have "no opportunity to produce, or because what they produce is taken from them."

And when you have absorbed that fact, and the logic inexorably derived from it gets into your brain and stimulates you to action, you will gradually appear—to the outside world and your non-Socialist friends—exactly what you now believe the Socialist to be—a disagreeable, harsh and persistent character with a horribly impudent cock-sureness and confidence in

THE ARGUMENT FOR SOCIALISM

NO ONE EVER ANSWERED THIS.

(From Chicago Daily Socialist.)

Here is the argument for Socialism. Read it. Study it. Tell it to the enemies of Socialism. The man who can answer it has awaiting him rewards greater than man has ever known before. He who answers this will save the wealth of the world to those who own most of it to-day, and all that they have will they give to retain the power by which they obtained and now retain their gains.

The machines of to-day make it possible to produce enough to satisfy every want. The only reason any one is in want is because he has no opportunity to produce or because what he produces is taken from him. There can be no other reason.

Men who are able to produce wealth are prevented from doing so to-day because the instruments of production are owned by non-producers. The owners will not permit their property to be used unless it produces a profit.

The number of those who own the things with which wealth is produced is growing fewer. The number of those who own nothing and produce all is growing greater. Already the producers are many times more numerous than the owners.

The producers will not forever stand and suffer and starve in the midst of plenty, while debarred from the gifts of nature and the powers of production only by the man-made laws of private property. Some day the workers will demand that they, instead of the idle owners, shall own the earth and enjoy the fruits which their toil creates.

The laborers cannot own the complex machines of modern industry individually. Each motorman cannot own a car. Each butcher cannot own a brick in a slaughter house.

They must own the instruments of production collectively.

To get that ownership they must capture the government and change the laws of property. When they capture the government they will use it as a means of procuring and operating the collectively owned means for the production of wealth.

That government, having been captured by labor, will be democratically managed in the interest of labor.

That will be Socialism.

Find a flaw in that logic if you can. If you cannot you are a Socialist, if you are honest with yourself.

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Andrew Carnegie, Optimist

"THE world generally is all right. I am happy and feel good. Pittsburg is all right too."

That's a good way to feel, gentle reader. Everybody should feel that way. It's the way Mr. Andrew Carnegie feels. That is what he told the reporters on May 4 last as he was stepping aboard the "Adriatic" bound Skibo-ward, and they in turn told it to "the world."

Of course the world is generally all right. As is its usual custom it still turns on its axis regularly every twenty-four hours, encircles the sun once every year, and the astronomers assure us that the tail of Halley's comet has not done it any particular harm.

But of course Mr. Carnegie didn't refer to the world in that sense. He really meant the people on it instead. And of course his mention of Pittsburg is somewhat superfluous, for if the people of the world are all right that includes the people of Pittsburg also.

Now it is a very important and desirable thing to know for certain that the world is generally all right. If we all knew that as well as Mr. Carnegie, it follows that we would all be happy as he is and feel as good as he does. And there is nothing more desirable than universal human happiness. However, in Mr. Carnegie's cheerful statement there is a doubtful element which he hasn't explained and which he leaves us to find out for ourselves.

He doesn't say whether he is happy and feels good because the world is generally all right, or whether the world is generally all right because he is happy and feels good. And—for the rest of us at least—there is a very important distinction between these two alternatives.

Fortunately it is not difficult to find out. If we can discover the particular things that make Mr. Carnegie feel good and happy, and if these things make all the rest of us feel good and happy we can share in his joyfulness and agree that we feel that way because the world is generally all right. If these things don't make all of us feel good and happy, on the other hand, we will have to disagree with Mr. Carnegie and conclude that he only thinks the world all right because he is happy and feels good.

Now it so happens, luckily for our purpose, that Mr. Carnegie did tell the reporters some of the things which made him feel that way.

First he said that he was in excellent health and all the reports about his sickness were fabrications. That is certainly one reason for Mr. Carnegie feeling good and happy, but not exactly an overpowering incentive to most of the rest of us to feel the same way. For instance—not to mention other places—the vast number of people, men, women and children who figure in the sickness and mortality lists of Pittsburg—which Mr. Carnegie says is all right—can hardly be expected to rejoice with exceeding great joy, just because Mr. Carnegie isn't sick. They are thinking more of themselves in that respect, just as Mr. Carnegie is thinking of himself. So we may conclude that the world isn't necessarily right because Andrew is enjoying good health, even though he may think so.

Another item in the Carnegie joy is his statement about Taft. That gentleman, according to Carnegie, is a "splendid" man and makes an "excellent" President. How about that? Does all the world generally agree?

How about the man who asked Taft what a workingman should do who was starving and couldn't find a job, and received the answer "God knows"? Was that calculated to make him feel good and happy? Did he think Taft was a splendid man and would make an excellent President because of that answer? Clearly not. How about the millions of labor union members who regard Taft as the "father of the Injunction"? And the growing number of citizens who look on him as the complacent tool of plutocratic interests? It is evident that a large number of people don't find happiness in contemplating Taft as President, though Mr. Carnegie does.

Governor Hughes is also an excellent man, and Mr. Carnegie holds that he is in the right place on the Supreme Court bench. This may make Andrew feel good and happy, but it has an opposite effect on a large number of other people, and they are already saying so.

Roosevelt is still another source of joy and satisfaction to Mr. Carnegie, but here again the world is by no means unanimous, even some of Mr. Carnegie's fellow capitalists regarding Theodore as a rather doubtful element in their happiness. However, this is easily explainable. Mr. Carnegie, though possessing great wealth, is not a "malefactor" in the Roosevelt vocabulary. He is a bondholder merely, and as he told the reporters humorously, he isn't "steeling" any more. He has left that to the others and so long as they pay his bonds and assure him an income, the "steeling" by which it is provided isn't his special business.

However, there is enough given to show that the Carnegie happiness isn't necessarily shared by the community, though Andrew evidently thinks that the community should be happy in making him happy. He isn't the only one, however, that holds that comfortable theory. He shares it in common with the majority of his fellow capitalists, who are firm in the belief that whatever is good for them must be good for all mankind.

Of course Mr. Carnegie isn't glad because the country is over-run with graft and corruption—Pittsburg (which is all right) being excepted of course. He doesn't feel joyful over the condition of the miserable wretches in Pittsburg, McKee's Rocks, Homestead, Bethlehem and other places where scores of thousands of poverty stricken slaves toil and sweat twelve hours a day, seven days a week for twelve cents an hour. He isn't happy because of the disclosures of the Pittsburg "Survey," the fearful disease breeding conditions, the sickening child mortality, and innumerable "accidents" which accompany the steel industry. His satisfaction is not increased by knowing that the ever rising cost of the necessaries of life is resulting in the starvation of millions, that for the vast majority of human beings, life is becoming an ever more desperate struggle for food and shelter, that murder, suicide and insanity are continually increasing, and that for the masses, social conditions are becoming ever more intolerable and unendurable. Not at all.

That is not the world Mr. Carnegie sees when he declares he is happy and feeling good. The world that contributes to his happiness is a totally different one.

It is comprised of great corporations, which, continually growing, extract ever more wealth, luxury and comfort from the labor of millions of human beings; of statesmen and politicians whose every act serves to maintain, perpetuate and increase the exploiting powers of these corporations; of judges whose decisions are given for the same purpose; of fawning sycophants of the press, the pulpit and the university who continually sing his praises as a philanthropist and benefactor of his kind. A world where private ownership of the means of life is the chief corner-stone of the social fabric, and in which this control and ownership is in the hands of men like himself.

Such a world is the best of all possible worlds—for Carnegie. But certainly not for the majority of his fellow creatures.

If we want to be happy and feel good, Carnegie's world must give place to a world where the means of life are the collective property of all the people.

Carnegie is happy because the Nation does not own the Trusts, and because individuals own them and he is one of the individuals.

And the rest of the world is unhappy, and will remain so until it sees that the Nation Must Own the Trusts and takes steps to realize that condition.

Carnegie voices the Capitalist or Individualist idea of happiness—the world is happy because I am happy.

WILSHIRE'S gives the Socialist conception—I am happy because the world is happy.

Which do you choose?

---

argument, and an insufferable and intolerable nuisance.

But you won't find this out all at once; you won't even suspect it until some friend whom you have tried in vain to convert tells you right to your face that you are like all other Socialists. You will believe that. But when he further informs you that he means you are disagreeable, dictative, domineering and fanatic, you will feel at first insulted and then pity him for a fool. But you won't entertain for one moment the idea that he has the slightest foundation for such an opinion of you.

The chances are ten to one you will be converted to Socialism some day. If so, remember this explanation. You will find that it will fit the case exactly. It is the history of practically every active Socialist, and you will not escape, either.

But that won't hurt you any. On the contrary, it will give you a firmer grip of the subject.

Might as well start now. You nor no other man alive can successfully answer the position taken in that article, not if you were to be given the wealth of the world for it.

Best investigate for yourself, and see the result.

Explanation of Omission

Owing to being unexpectedly called from the city, the editor of the Woman's Department has been compelled to omit that feature from the present issue. The department will, however, be continued regularly in succeeding issues, as usual.

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City Government By Commission

PERHAPS in no phase of public life have Americans so signally failed as in municipal government, as the innumerable exposures of civic rottenness and corruption clearly demonstrate. So intolerable are these conditions—and being due primarily to our system of production for private profit, they naturally tend to become worse—that it is not wonderful to find that the idea of "government by commission," or what is popularly known as "the Des Moines plan," has already been adopted by about seventy-five municipalities in their efforts to rid civic government from the apparent rule of the grafter.

It is significant that the plan in its first application was evolved to meet an emergency following a natural disaster. The city of Galveston, devastated many years ago by a tidal wave causing enormous loss of life and property, was forced to evolve this plan as the only means of conducting the affairs of the city in the first stages of its recovery from the effects of the deluge. The inhabitants clearly saw that a resumption of the old methods meant the completion of the destruction of the city and its extinction as an industrial center.

Des Moines, Iowa, followed the example of Galveston, and has been conducting its affairs on this system for the last two years, with, as the advocates of the plan claim, great success.

Briefly, the plan puts the entire control of the city into the hands of the Mayor and four Councilmen, who are held directly responsible for running its affairs during their term of office. The business of the city is conducted under five departments, Public Affairs, Accounts and Finances, Public Safety, Streets and Public Improvements, and Parks and Public Property. The Mayor is general supervisor of all departments and superintendent of the Public Affairs Department, each of the Councilmen acting as superintendent of one of the other departments. The elections are "non-partisan," and no party emblems appear on the ballots.

Initiative, referendum and right of recall are established. Legislation can be initiated by a petition of 25 per cent. of the voters, referendum by 10 per cent., and right of recall by 25 per cent.

If fuller particulars are desired by any of our readers, they can be found in a pamphlet on the subject issued by the City Council of Des Moines, which will be sent free on application.

The question of city government by commission was one of the subjects discussed by the Socialists at their recent National Convention in Chicago.

While several of the features of the Des Moines plan—notably the idea of the prohibition of party emblems in municipal elections—were found objectionable by the convention, the plan itself as a whole did not meet with general opposition, many of its features being recognized as elements in the Socialist program. Finally the committee entrusted with the report were instructed to make further investigations and report at the next convention of the party, under the circumstances a most sensible decision.

While the object of the plan is mainly the elimination of graft and corruption from city administration, its success has not as yet been indisputably proven. The best that can be said is that it *may* succeed, provided men of sterling honesty can always be selected; but this means, in turn, that such men, though capitalists themselves, must disregard capitalist interests, as it is well known that the graft and corruption in our civic centers spring ultimately from that source. The criminal forces in our civic life, which Judge Lindsey, of Denver, personifies as "The Beast" in his recent volume and which are nothing more or less than corporate interests, know perfectly well how to manipulate the "honest man," and there is no positive guarantee that government by commission may not be made to serve corporate interests and at less expense. While those interests are served, the elimination of the grafter is not a great matter of concern to the corporations, which really regard him as a necessary and expensive evil.

The plan is an endeavor to perform the difficult task of serving two masters. One or other is ultimately bound to receive the service, but there is no telling definitely which under present conditions.

A Socialist administration such as Milwaukee now possesses, composed of men who have definitely set their faces against capitalism and whose guiding principle and ultimate ideal is its eventual abolition, are much more likely to succeed in freeing a civic community from graft—so far as it can be done—than a group of officials, however honest, who identify capitalistic interests generally with the interests of the community. And, again, at most the question of graft is by no means of the highest importance to the Socialist who recognizes it as the effect of a cause—a result primarily of social rather than individual rottenness.

While the limitations of the plan are evident enough, and it contains much that Socialists object to as well as advocate, we are in full agreement with the action taken by the Socialist National Convention in making the matter a subject for further study and discussion, as the efforts of society to rid itself of capitalistic evils invariably display a more or less distinct recognition of the necessity of socialistic measures to deal with them.

CONVINCED AGAINST THEIR WILL

FOR years WILSHIRE'S has insisted that the Trusts could only be dealt with through Socialism, and no doubt the constant repetition of this statement may have become somewhat wearisome to many of our readers. We are glad, therefore, to have the *Saturday Evening Post* join the chorus. Here is the song its editor sings in the issue of June 18:

President Taft's latest statement of his purposes in a recent magazine makes it clear once more that when it comes to the Trusts, all political parties, except the Socialists, are at sea in the same boat. They see the same problem and propose to deal with it in the same way. This problem arises from the long-continued, steady drift toward monopolistic combinations. Regular Republicans, insurgent Republicans and Democrats propose to handle it by checking the drift, breaking up monopolistic combinations that now exist and preventing new ones. We think this program utterly futile, partly because the country has been following it for twenty years, during which time ever larger and more powerful combinations have been formed. It is only in respect to railroads that the country has made any progress whatever in coping with monopolistic combinations; and with regard to the country's progress in that particular, President Taft says: "I am utterly opposed to Socialism; but in the powers given the Government to fix rates it must be admitted that in our relation to railroad corporations we have gone a long way in the direction of Socialism."

In other words, then, it is only by being "socialistic" that we have had any success whatever in dealing with monopolistic combinations; and if the "socialistic" way is the successful way, why doesn't somebody propose to follow it farther. Is it because we are frightened at a word?

Factory inspection and child labor laws are socialistic also, but we do not hesitate to adopt them, nor does adopting them make us converts to the whole Socialist platform. We don't believe there will be an end of the Trust problem without an Interstate Commerce Commission having jurisdiction over industrial combinations, and whichever party first frankly adopted that "socialistic" expedient will probably score an advantage.

Very well put. Now it only remains for us to explain to the *Post* the reasons for the delay of the rest of mankind, and remind them that patience is a virtue.

"Why don't somebody propose further socialistic measures?" says the *Post*.

That is the very question every novice wants answered when he has discovered an important truth. He cannot understand why everybody doesn't see as he does.

Seeing is believing, of course, but it doesn't necessarily follow that those who see and believe will act in accordance therewith. There is scriptural authority for the statement that there are those who believe—and tremble. We don't claim, of course, that the *Post* trembles, but it isn't advocating further instalments of Socialism, so you can notice it. It is waiting for "somebody" else.

President Ripley, of the Santa Fé Railroad, also sees and believes. He is reported as stating that within ten years the railroads of the country will be owned and operated by the Government, but he isn't doing anything to accelerate the process. He agrees with Taft, but like him is opposed to Socialism.

To recognize or even accept the inevitable isn't the same thing as assisting to hasten its coming. There is always the alternative position of passively resigning one's self to it. Because we can't hinder, it doesn't follow that we must help. There is always the philosophy of "sufficient to the day is the evil thereof" to fall back upon.

The trouble with the *Post* is that, unlike the Socialists, it "doesn't understand human nature."

Russell; Idol Breaker

Charles Edward Russell is shattering many of our old-time American political idols. Get last June's *Hampton's* if you think that thirty years ago there were at least one or two United States Senators who were not upon the payroll of C. P. Huntington.

Russell has the facts that daub all these old-timers with the same brush, and he, significantly, does not hesitate to say in closing: "I have used the past tense in describing the political degradation of California, but I might have as well written it in the present. Forms have changed somewhat and methods; the essence remains the same."

Latest advices from Alaska report that the Guggenheim combination is giving considerable attention to "the conservation of our national resources" in that territory.

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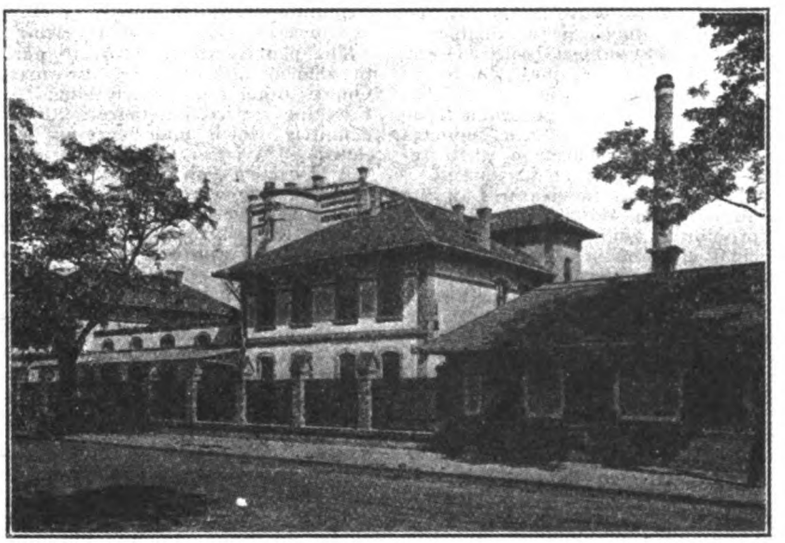
The Municipal Bakery in Budapest

By **ODON POR, Foreign Correspondent Wilshire's**

THE following reasons and circumstances have induced the city of Budapest, Hungary, to build and manage one of the most modern bakeries of the world: the daily bread, the mode of its making, the conditions of the bakery, the quality of the flour and other materials used in baking and the handling of the bread and so on, are of public importance, not merely because bread is the staple food of the whole population and the indispensable food of the poorer classes especially, but also because the individual consumer is unable to control and judge the above indicated numerous circumstances, moreover even the authorities can exercise only a periodical control over the bakeries and can inflict only posterior punishments upon the infringers of the law.



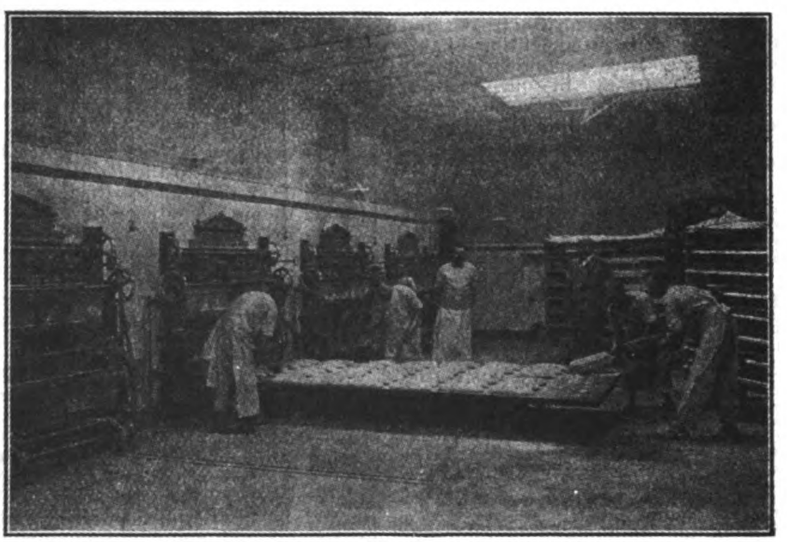
General View of Municipal Bakery, Budapest

The right of the authorities to interfere with the production of bread extends only over the grosser abuses and the graver unsanitary conditions menacing public health, while it cannot control the business methods of the bakers and certain changes in the quality of the bread. These latter things are left entirely at the mercy of individual greed, notwithstanding that bread can be easily adulterated and is the subject of much fraud. For instance, the Department of Chemistry of the City of Budapest has found at a trial baking that one pound of flour can be easily mixed with 200 per cent. water and potatoes without the lay consumer realizing at all the poor quality of the bread. Further, the shop conditions in most bakeries are entirely behind the present standards of culture and technical science and cannot be justified at all. And, last but not least, the price of bread is continually rising, not so much because wages and prices of raw material have increased, but on account of the limitless greed of the owners of the bakeries.

In an official publication of the city of Budapest we read that the most practical way to remedy the above abuses and to protect the public is to build a municipal bakery capable of such a great output that the market will be determined by it. The aim of the municipal bakery is, first of all, to create a healthy competition and to force the bakers thereby to bake as healthy and good a bread as the municipal bakery, and, second, to regulate with its competition the price of the bread, keeping it in balance with the prices of raw material and the other factors of production. Thirdly, that the city should be in position to provide the population with cheap bread or distribute it free of charge in cases of emergency, as in times of extraordinary high prices or famine.

The municipal bread factory is now in operation for just a year and was so successful on all lines that its enlargement is, at present, under discussion. The pictures here reproduced give a clear view of the factory and we need not go into details. Everything is done by machines, the bread is, from start to finish, never touched by the hands of the baker. Before going to work every baker is obliged to take a bath and put on the clean clothes provided by the factory. Adolphe Smith, the great public-health expert, in an article in *The Lancet*, the foremost medical journal of the world, has expressed his unconditioned approval of this factory.

The daily production of the factory is about 100,000 pounds. It introduced the selling of the bread by weight instead of by loaves, thus giving better values to the public. Besides that, it gives absolutely healthy bread to the public, it has succeeded in substantially reducing the price of the bread, making a difference of 15 hellers (3c.) per kilo. The baker bosses fought bitterly against this municipal bakery, but the determination of the authorities and the sympathies of the public for the municipal bakery defeated them along all lines, with the result that they have reduced the price of their bread to the level of the municipal price, and ultimately will have to build modern factories. Their resistance would result in their own destruction, for the municipality may enlarge its bakery to the extent of supplying the needs of the whole city and may introduce a municipal bread-monopoly.



Placing the Bread in the Ovens

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES *and* NEWS

At the end of 1908 there were 611,478 miles of railway in the entire world, of which 274,372 were in North America and 202,109 in Europe.

Iron and steel industries of Canada have been merged into one huge combination which will be known as the Canadian Steel Corporation. The concern starts off with a capitalization of $25,000,000.

Last year 15,407,527 net tons of steam shipping passed through the Suez Canal, an increase of 1,774,244 tons over the previous year.

The estimated cotton output of India for the present year is 4,502,000 bales, an increase of about 800,000 bales over the output of 1908-1909. India has 20,227,000 acres under cotton cultivation.

The Vacuum Oil Co., of Austria, owned by the Standard Oil Co. of the United States, went out of business recently in consequence of the Socialistic proposals accepted and carried out by the Austrian Government by which the entire industry is taken over and operated by the Government. Now the Austrian nation owns the Oil Trust and Rockefeller disappears as a menace.

Previous to his recent departure for Europe, Mr. Thomas F. Ryan was good enough to designate seven of the younger generation of financiers to whom "the interests of the country must look in time of peril." The first six are Henry P. Davidson, Otto H. Kahn, Mortimer L. Schiff, John B. Dennis, George F. Baker, Jr., and James Stillman, Jr. The seventh is the one and only J. Pierpont Morgan, and, says Mr. Ryan, "there cannot be a second." These gentry will act as shepherds to the flock of silly sheep, their ability as shearers being undisputed.

Savings bank deposits, which are supposed to be the property of the wage workers, show some curious statistical anomalies. Sixty per cent. of all the savings bank depositors and deposits in the United States are in the three States of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York. Ohio, which is a much greater industrial State than Connecticut, has but 40 per cent. of the "savings" of the latter. Evidently as an index to the wealth of the wage workers, the savings bank deposits are somewhat untrustworthy in view of these statistics.

A most striking illustration of the progress the negro is making is given in the fact that the Democrats of Oklahoma are trying their utmost to disfranchise him.

The Red Flag

By Bertha Wilkins Starkweather.

Though it challenge antagonism, we can fly no other banner.

The red flag is a legacy—inherited from the revolutionary working class of prehistoric times. Upon tablets of clay slave-workmen carved the story of ancient kings and nobles. They carved what was dictated to them by "historians"; but in their leisure hours these skilled workmen carved tablets of their own dictating, and from them we read that the slaves of that dim day were fighting under the red flag as are we.

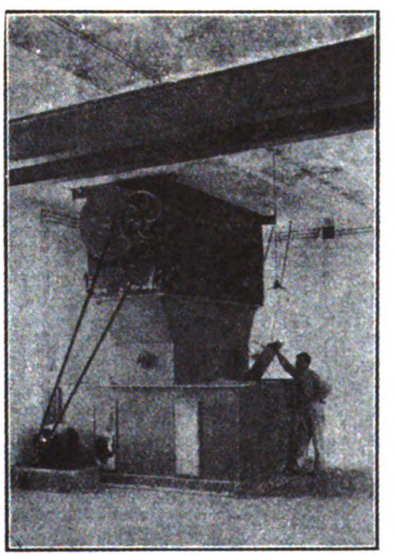
With the fall of the red flag in the hands of Spartacus, Rome fell. Though she floundered around in her blood-stained arena a few centuries longer, the Mistress of the World was dead—it was a harlot rioting in her place.

The Spartacus of our time is the great working class. It cannot fall, and the red flag must yet wave above the Parliament of Man, the Industrial Federation of the World!

Of the 76 Socialist Deputies in the French Chamber, 30 are workingmen and seven farmers. It contains also six doctors, three schoolmasters, five merchants and eight college professors. One of the workingmen delegates is described as a window cleaner, another is a sailor, and two more are described as shoemaker and postman, respectively.

The Flour Sieves
Municipal Bakery, Budapest.

Karl M. Liebknecht and Karl Legien, two prominent Socialist members of the German Reichstag, will make a speaking tour of this country for from six to eight weeks, beginning in October. Legien is one of the best equipped men in Germany dealing with matters pertaining to organized labor, while Liebknecht, the son of a still more famous Socialist, has given special attention to the political side of Socialism and the special question of militarism.



Sack Cleaning Machine
Municipal Bakery, Budapest.

It is officially estimated that for the year 1910 India will produce 9,557,000 tons of wheat, an increase of 26 per cent. over last year's crop. There is, however, no official estimate that native deaths from starvation will decrease by a corresponding percentage.

Some interesting data concerning the personnel of the recent Socialist Convention held in Chicago has been published by the National Secretary. Forty-six States were represented by 107 delegates. Of these, 83 were American born, 6 Germans, 5 English, 4 Finnish, 3 Canadian, 2 Russian, and 1 each from Sweden, Denmark, Austria and the Netherlands. Forty-two of the 107 were members of trade unions. There were four lawyers, seven lecturers, two professors, two merchants and one clergyman. All the others were wage workers of various kinds. Besides the above there were 18 delegates from foreign-speaking organizations affiliated with the party.

Though there are less than 5,000 miles of railroads in China, and the building of railroads is still in its infancy there, the Chinese Government is already alive to the necessity of government ownership of railroads. It has taken over the Pekin-Hankow road recently and is preparing to absorb another heretofore privately-owned line, and, in addition, is itself projecting the construction of still another important road. China is altogether too progressive to tolerate the step-by-step methods of this country by which we permit a succession of Vanderbilts, Goulds, Hills, Harrimans and Morgans to gradually consolidate the railroads until government ownership becomes inevitable and is finally thrust upon us.

Is it not somewhat unreasonable to expect the practical politician to assume a favorable attitude toward Socialism when he hears that it would make graft impossible?

Who will do the dirty work under Socialism? Why, the Socialists, of course, and the first and dirtiest job they will tackle will be the cleaning out of the old party politicians.

The Point of View

By Victor Gage Kimbert.

I stood on a plain serenely fair,
Where the bright sun shone, and grass grew green,
And little children played all around,
While happy mothers watched the scene.
And I said this is a joyous world,
And things are all as they ought to be,
These Agitators love muck and dirt,
For things are as fair as fair can be,
So we'll stand pat,
And let well enough alone.

But one had climbed an adjacent hill,
And his vision reached beyond my ken,
He told of suffering want and woe,
And fierce wild struggles 'twixt men and men.
He called "come up" but I shook my head,
I can see all things from here as well,
So I still sang on of love and hope,
And closed my ears to his talk of hell.
So we'll all stand pat,
And let well enough alone.

He called again, and with weary feet,
I struggled up till I reached his side,
And *then* I saw, but my tongue would fail,
To tell of the scene spread far and wide,
Where women fainted and children starved
Mid the flames and carnage riot there,
Where gaunt faced men were like beasts of prey,
A little way from my plain so fair.
Where all stood pat
And left well enough alone.

I climbed again, and I saw a stream
With an angry rush and maddening roar,
Come sweeping on with relentless force,
Its waves piled high from shore to shore,
And with vision cleared I saw the end,
And my soul grew sick with fear and dread,
The plain must vanish and naught remain,
But upturned faces of maimed and dead,
If we all stand pat
And let bad enough alone.

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"A MODERN CHRONICLE"

A Review of Winston Churchill's Latest Novel, by UPTON SINCLAIR

ONCE every two years Mr. Churchill produces a new novel, elaborate in its scope, carefully written and always entertaining material with which to pass away a day of rest. Mr. Churchill started far back in American history and has now reached as far as the period when automobiles and "bridge" were just becoming the fashion. I have read with interest everything that he has written, not only because I like to pass a day of rest now and then, but because Mr. Churchill is our most prominent popular novelist and sells several hundred thousand copies of each of his books, and is therefore an important sign of the times. The thing that strikes me about his work is its peculiar intellectual and spiritual immaturity. I feel this more and more as he goes to deal with modern themes and with the everyday life about us. His people are convincing as far as they go, but they never seem to me to go beyond the age of 17. All their morals and ideals are the morals and ideals which people cherish at that age.

In his previous two volumes Mr. Churchill had got far enough to make the discovery that graft is widespreading in our politics and is a very harmful influence. He rebuked it sternly, as it might be rebuked by Governor Hughes in Albany or by President Roosevelt in the Sorbonne. And now, in his last volume, Mr. Churchill grows even bolder, and attacks the dangerous problem of divorce. I was interested when I made this discovery, because I knew that I would find out in Mr. Churchill's novel just exactly how far the mind of the American people has progressed on the subject.

When you wish to write a novel dealing with divorce you have always one situation: A man or woman has in some way been led into an unworthy marriage, and later on in life the man or woman discovers the true soul-mate; and then what is to be done? The old solution was to have them renounced and suffer many agonies until the concluding chapter, when the novelist mercifully disposed of the superfluous member of the trio, leaving the hero and the heroine to live happy ever aftr. That is the solution of Jane Eyre; and I remember how it thrilled me when I was a boy as old as the American people are now. I rather took it for granted that this would be Mr. Churchill's solution. As I went on, however, greatly to my surprise I discovered that the hero and the heroine were apparently going ahead to get a divorce in spite of everything; and I put the book down and stared about me, wondering if it could possibly be that Mr. Churchill was going to write a book in defence of divorce. He had made his hero and heroine such very sensible people that it seemed to me that he was closing every other gate save that one. However, I realized that this could not be the case, because when the heroine went ahead to get the divorce Mr. Churchill gave such a repellent picture of Reno, Nevada. Of course, it is true that the people who go to Reno, Nevada, and get divorces are many of them unpleasant types; and doubtless the political Judges who grant the divorces are also unpleasant types. Apparently Mr. Churchill does not realize that neither the hero nor the heroine nor the demon divorce are to be blamed for this. There is no reason why, if we are going to grant divorces to New York people, we should not grant them in New York; and there is no reason why we should assign the duty of granting the divorces to vulgar political Judges.

I went on with the story and finally got to the solution which Mr. Churchill had worked out. His heroine gets her divorce, but against her conscience, so that she is properly and respectably miserable afterward, and marries the hero and, of course, makes them both miserable. They go to live in a narrow, little New England town, and the heroine insists on going to a respectable society church and having her feelings hurt because nobody speaks to her. She also makes the unfortunate husband angry by her attitude, and when one of the insufferable pillars of the respectable society church insults the hero, the heroine takes the side of the pillar of the church. She made her husband so unhappy that he filled up his house with a collection of disreputable Newport divorcees, and goes off riding on a half-crazy horse and is killed.

Apparently nobody is expected to perceive that all the unhappiness which grows out of this divorce is owing to the fact that the heroine gratuitously places herself at the mercy of the opinions of the respectable *bourgeoisie*. You feel this at the very moment where the divorce begins to be talked about. The hero and the heroine have previously been sensible American people, talking about things in sensible ways; but when they begin to talk about divorce neither of them points out to the other any of the obvious facts which make the divorce and remarriage between them not only a perfectly proper thing but even a social duty. Their conversation is confined to their blind craving for "happiness," and, of course, when we have met that word "happiness" a dozen or more times we understand that the blind craving is destined to lead them to destruction—since every 17-year-old moralist knows that the desire for happiness is a wicked thing which must under no circumstances be indulged. They never mention the fact that there are more intelligent people in other portions of the world among whom they could perform any work of social usefulness and importance. Instead of going abroad for a year or two as such a couple naturally would, they settle themselves in a town and proceed to let the town make them miserable. We are given to understand that among the Newport set with whom Mr. Churchill's novel deals there are only two classes of people—those who are horrified by the getting of the divorce and those who have got divorced more or less frequently and have nothing else to do save to get drunk.

Of course it would never do for Mr. Churchill to end the novel with the hero being brought home on a stretcher after having been for his insane horseback ride. So away back at the beginning of the story we are made acquainted with a man who has worshipped the heroine from boyhood, who has been her friend and consoler in distress, and who has sternly rebuked her for getting the divorce and remarrying. This second hero now comes forward and the heroine is made blissfully happy in his arms. The absurdity of which conclusion is apparently not realized by Mr. Churchill. The divorced ex-husband is still alive, so the heroine's third marriage is under the baleful cloud of divorce quite as much as was the second one. Is the 17-year-old moralist to understand from Mr. Churchill that a divorce and one remarriage constitute a social crime, while a divorce and two remarriages constitute a happy ending?

Capitalist Forecasts Physical Revolution

THOSE gentle souls who ask in horror-stricken accents if Socialists contemplate a revolution by physical force, should control their horror until they learn that even if Socialists speculate upon this outcome, there are others, non-Socialists—in fact, capitalists whose every interest lies in maintaining things as they are, who not only contemplate a physical revolt in the future, but actually expect it. Mr. Charles Edward Russell, who has been writing a series of articles in the *Success Magazine* on "The Power Behind the Republic," detailing the effect of modern business in these United States, concludes one of his papers with the following anecdote:

And now I want to record the words that were said to me on this subject not long ago by an American banker. If I could tell you his name you would give to this article an amount of attention I can never draw from you, because he is known in every corner of the country as a man of millions and an inheritor of millions. We were talking under conditions that make men frank and communicative: I mean we met abroad in a strange country, when compatriots usually feel freer to talk to one another than they would ever feel at home. Thus we were running on about capitalization, and the banker told me the story of a concern that, if you do not mind, I will disguise here under the name of the Hot Muffin Trust, because there is no need of unpleasantly distinguishing any one set of men. Of this organization the whole history had passed under his immediate notice, so that he told it very well. The organizers had come together and put into a pool all their property, worth less than $2,000,000. On this they had issued $10,000,000 of stock and $10,000,000 of bonds in their amalgamated new company. The bonds they had sold to the public with forty per cent. of the stock, these securities being in effect equally a lien upon the enterprise, with interest and dividends to be dug out of the public. Later they added another establishment worth $1,000,000 and put out $10,000,000 more of stock. They continued to acquire establishments and to issue stocks and bonds until they had a capitalization of $100,000,000 on property that previously had been capitalized at perhaps one-tenth of that sum; and on the increase they were taking profits from the public.

When he mad an end of his narrative I said: "You have told the story of the Hot Muffin Trust, which fell under your observation, but without thinking it you have told also the history of the Cruller Trust and the Tin Horn Trust, with which I happen to be equally familiar."

"As a matter of fact," he said, "I have told the history of a hundred. They are all alike."

"Now," said he after a time, "What do you think will be the outcome of all this?"

"I don't know," said I, "I suppose the process will go as far as it can, and then stop."

"Either one of two things," said he. "It will have to be stopped pretty soon, or we shall have a revolution."

"A physical revolution—violence?"

"Exactly. A physical revolution—violence and bloodshed, and barricades in the streets."

"Oh, come now," said I, "you are not serious. The American people are not that sort. They haven't any use for revolutions."

"Haven't they?" said he grimly. "Well, they will have when they wake up and find that all their resources have been seized by one little group of men. I guess they will have use enough for revolutions when they begin to get hungry. The result of all this capitalizing is to increase poverty on one side and superfluity on the other. You can't keep that up very long without raising tro ble."

"Well," I said, "You are a banker—about the last man in the world I shou expect to hear that from."

"So?" said he. "Let me tell you that for a long time I have not met a man of my own class who did not take practically the same view. He wouldn't publicly acknowledge it, and neither would I. But among themselves they don't hide their convictions. Only they think the thing is far off and another generation will have to deal with it, and I think it is close at hand. The process has been greatly accelerated of late. Every day there is more of it. The profits of these consolidations must be invested, and as they are invested they produce more profits, all going into the same hands and in turn demanding new investments. You can see where that will end."

And we will only add, that if physical revolution is to be avoided the only possible way is through Socialism to "Let The Nation Own The Trusts."

Isn't it about time that the so-called "reward of abstinence"—whatever that might be—should be brought forward as some consolation for the increased cost of living?

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How About It?

M. J. O'B., Boston, Mass.—I have been told that there is a Socialist paper published in Ireland, and that there is a Socialist movement there. If this is so, can you give me the name of the paper and some idea of the size of the Socialist movement there?

There is a Socialist paper published in Dublin and named *The Harp*. Its editor is James Conolly, and its address is Temple Lane, Dublin. *The Harp* was formerly published in New York, but was transferred to Ireland by its editor, who is well known in this country as a speaker. As to the size of the movement in Ireland, we have no very definite idea beyond the fact that it is still small but growing. It is, however, large enough to attract the attention of the Church in Dublin and has been opposed and denounced by the ecclesiastical authorities. Probably Dublin and Belfast contain the majority of Irish Socialists, those cities being far in the front of all others in the island, as regards industrial development. It is said that Socialistic ideas are pervading the country people to some extent, but are naturally mixed up with Nationalism and opposition to British rule. You can get more detailed information no doubt by applying to the Irish Socialist Federation here in New York City. Their address is 436 East 155th Street, New York.

F. D. M., Louisville, Ky.—In a recent issue of your paper you say that Rockefeller and Morgan are regarded by Socialists as the agents of Socialism. Do these men and others of their kind so regard themselves, or are they ignorant of the Socialist view of their activity?

Not knowing any of them personally, we cannot definitely say. Some years ago a story went the rounds of the papers to the effect that Morgan understood and agreed with this view, but we have no means of knowing if the story is true or false. It seems hardly possible that they have not heard at some time or other the statement that the trusts are bringing Socialism, for this statement is made almost as often by small business interests as by Socialists. The probability is, however, that even so, they pay no attention to it. The great business magnate is usually too much engrossed by his financial and industrial affairs, and too confident of his own assumed knowledge of almost every subject, to give much consideration to anything Socialists may say. In his view, if he takes any notice whatever of them, they are merely a lot of discontented and foolish people, envious of his wealth and success, and therefore unworthy of serious attention. This is simply the usual blindness which every class in history displayed, even when its rule was on the point of destruction. It is a natural attitude, however, for the successful business man, who usually has thousands of flatterers to confirm his own estimate of himself. The effect of this is seen in the general assumption of the word "practical," which quality is presumed to belong especially to the successful business man and its opposite ascribed to all those who see beyond the present limits of capitalistic business.

C. H. H., Omaha, Neb.—Will a republican form of government be essential under Socialism?

Yes. But it is as well to remember that at present a capitalistic republic like the United States is no more favorable to the growth and development of Socialism than is a limited monarchy, say like Great Britain. Indeed, it might be contended that the British form of government gives more scope for the development of Socialism in many respects than the American Republic. The object of Socialism being the abolition of classes and class rule, it follows that a republic is the natural form of government that will be established under Socialism, as no other form so well fits Socialist theory.

Government Wireless In Alaska

(*Hampton's Magazine.*)

The important matter is to secure government ownership and operation of railroads in Alaska. We have reason to believe that a bill to obtain this result will be introduced in Congress. Let us urge you to do your share: *write now to your Senator and your Representative* and tell him that you favor government ownership and operation of railroads in Alaska, and the leasing upon a royalty system of the mineral lands of the territory.

There can be no objection to these plans, except from the looters. Our attention has been called to the success of the government in operating the wireless telegraph in Alaska. The government, for purposes of military communication, established a wireless service in Alaska. As a convenience to the inhabitants this wireless took commercial messages also. What happened? The government found that the wireless was making money! But there was no provision for the disposal of these unforeseen revenues. They could not be turned into the treasury without a special enactment. What could the government do? It cut the telegraph rate in half, hoping thus to make no more of these bothersome profits. What then happened? The business doubled in volume! Now the government is contemplating another cut. It is hardly necessary to point out that a government-owned railroad in Alaska would exhibit the same phenomena.

Books Received

REPORT OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (NEW YORK STATE) ON THE MILK QUESTION. Legislative document printed at Albany, N. Y. Cloth, 327 pp.

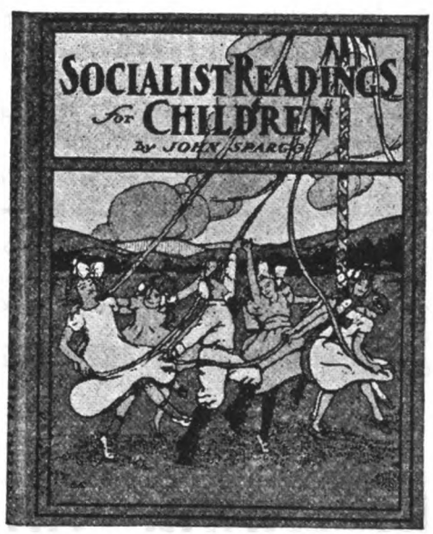
THE SOCIAL EVIL, ITS CAUSE AND CURE. By J. H. Greer, M.D. Paper, 64 pp. Published by the Author at 52 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

SOCIALISM: THE ...AIN POINTS. By Wilbur C. Benton. Paper, 40 pp., 10 cents. Published by the Author at 163 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

NOW ONLY 70 CENTS

SPARGO'S "SOCIALIST READINGS FOR CHILDREN"

BEST book ever written for children on Socialism. Entertaining and instructive. Worth many times its cost to a family where there are little ones to be taught the truth. Hundreds of copies have been sold, but many who wanted to have it have felt that they could not pay the previous price of $1.00.



WE want to get the book well distributed among the boys and girls of Socialist parents, and have decided to put the price down to the lowest possible figure, 70 cents postpaid, 60 cents in lots of five or more. The edition is limited, so get in your order as early as possible.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE

200 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK

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KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK

347 LOCALS HAVE ARRANGED FOR A SYSTEMATIC DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIALIST LITERATURE

IF YOURS IS NOT IN LINE, GET BUSY

Last month, 347 Locals sent for Literature advertised in the July Wilshire's, for systematic distribution. This means that in at least 347 sections, a Literature Distributing Brigade has been organized. We can already see a greatly increased vote for our party in November, and when the returns come in these 347 Locals will be very much in evidence.

Quantity prices quoted last month continue during the month of August. If your Local has not already taken this up, bring it to their attention at the next meeting. Remember, our QUANTITY PRICES ARE CUT RIGHT IN HALF, and you will not for a long time have the opportunity to secure good Socialist Literature at such prices.

Look over the list and send in your order for what you need

"WHY A WORKINGMAN SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST," by Gaylord Wilshire. Regular price, 75 cents per 100. Special price, July and August, 40 cents per 100.

"THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRUST," by Gaylord Wilshire. Best pamphlet on the Trust Question that has ever been written. The regular price is $2.00 per 100 copies; during July and August the price will be $1.00 per 100.

"THE A. B. C. OF SOCIALISM," by Harvey P. Moyer. Regular price, $1.00 per 100. Special July and August price, 50 cents per 100.

"EASY LESSONS IN SOCIALISM," by W. H. Leffingwell. Unexcelled for the beginner. Hundreds of thousands have been sold, and the demand for it still continues. Price, $2.00 per 100 copies. During July and August, $1.00 per 100.

"AMERICAN PANICS," by Howard H. Caldwell. This was written by Comrade Caldwell in 1907, at the outset of the present panic. Comrade Caldwell explained why the panic would continue. The events have justified his prediction. Regular price, $2.00 per 100. Special, July and August, $1.00 per 100.

"THAT BLESSED WORD 'REGULATION,'" by Charles Edwin Russell. Especially applicable just now, when there is so much talk of "rate regulation." Regular price, $1.00 per 100; during July and August, 50 cents.

VERY SPECIAL

We will send 100 each of the above for the special price of $4.00. Get your Brigade organized, and take up this offer.

The above prices include postage. In fact, they just about cover the cost of production and mailing, hence we must make the terms cash with order.

GET BUSY! DO IT NOW!

WILSHIRE BOOK COMPANY

200 William Street, New York

"THE CLEARING-HOUSE FOR ALL SOCIALIST LITERATURE"

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SEPTEMBER, 1910 FIVE CENTS

WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

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Berger's Organ and Its Policy

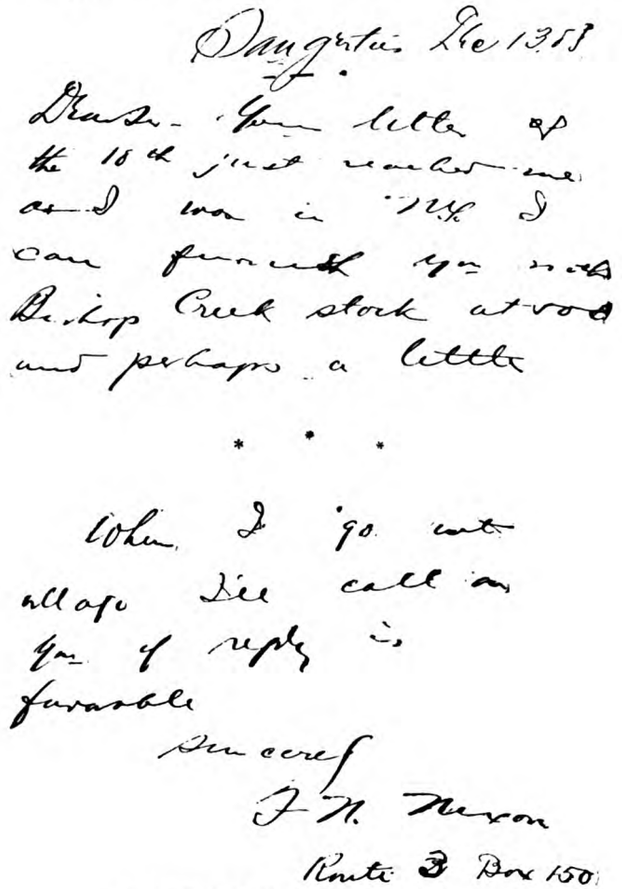
A SOCIALIST paper should be the last to publish untrue matter about a Socialist, first because it knows that the man attacked is practically debarred by Socialist ethics from recourse to the courts, and second because it ought to be a general practice among Socialists to refrain from speaking ill of each other, unless there are very positive reasons for doing so.

For several years I have been made the subject of attack in the columns of the *Social Democratic Herald* of Milwaukee, in a series of letters over the signature "H. T. Jones." I put the name in quotations because I am not sure of that being the man's real name, inasmuch as he is in the habit of masquerading under many aliases. The attacks have been answered by me most conclusively, although not always in the columns of the *S. D. Herald*, for strange as it may seem, from a Socialist point of view, the Berger paper has often refused me space in its columns, and compelled me to reply through the *Chicago Daily Socialist*. The exposure of the methods of "Jones," which appears elsewhere in this issue, has been well known to Berger for over a year, and yet he continues to allow such a man to malign without proof one of the oldest members of the Socialist Party. "Jones'" statements are repeated again and again in the columns of the *S. D. Herald* after being proven untrue.

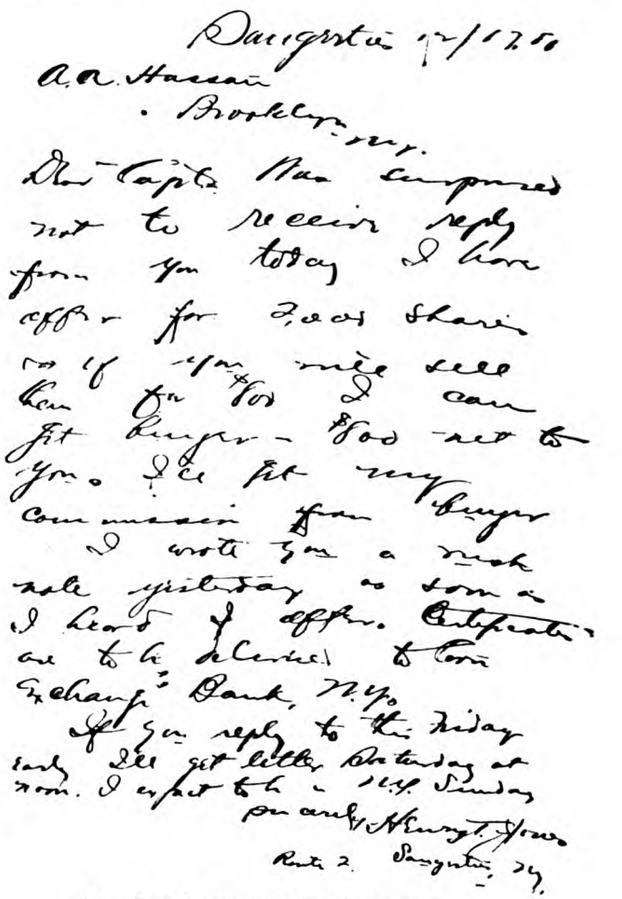
"Jones" bought some promotion stock in the Bishop Creek Company, from Hassan, one of the original holders. Not knowing at the time that the stock he held was promotion stock, and that the money he paid for it had been received neither by myself nor the company, I agreed to repurchase the stock from him and in fact did so at $1.00 per share. Then "Jones," thinking me an easy mark to unload such stock upon, tried to make me buy more of such stock, and ever since my refusal has been trying to force me to do so by threats of various kinds. It is easy enough to see that I could not finance a mine if I had at the same time to purchase all the promotion stock that was put on the market.

When "Jones" talks about Bishop stock being offered now at sacrifice prices and infers that such stock was bought from me, he knows he is not telling the truth. He knows perfectly well that there is no stock which I sold at $2.50 per share begging a market at 20 cents a share. If he knows of such stock, why does he not give the name of the owner? I will agree to find a purchaser. Whether Berger knows that "Jones" misrepresents or not, I don't know, but anyhow Berger is protected from suspicion by his density. I know that Berger does know that "Jones" writes under an assumed name to his paper attacking me, and that he should have known that the article from the *Financial World*, which "Jones" quotes, was written by "Jones" himself, unless all ear-marks are wrong.

I have been criticized for selling stock through this paper by Berger, and then when I advertise stock in the *New York Herald* I am criticized for going to the general public for my market. It looks as if Berger was satisfied with nothing. In his columns he allows "Jones" to call upon the District Attorney of New York to indict me for an advertisement of the Aremu Mine in the *New York Herald*. Now it seems to me even if it were true that I did misrepresent in that advertisement that it is hardly the province of the Socialist Press to act as a guardian for the general public against the activities of the whole of the membership of the



"Jones" as seller of Bishop Creek Stock.



"Jones" as buyer of Bishop Creek Stock.

(See "Jones" article, next page.)

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Socialist Party. Is there not enough for it to do instead of going into such detective work?

But I would have no cause to complain if the "Jones" letter contained any quotations from my advertisement of the Aremu Mine with a refutation of the statements. Substantially the same advertisement appeared in the last number of this Magazine. If Jones has any criticism to make as to either advertisement, these columns are open to him for that specific purpose.

I am astonished that the Socialist Party organization in Wisconsin stands for the conduct of the *S. D. Herald* in this matter. Not that I would or could object to the *S. D. Herald* criticizing the general principle involved in my selling stock, but I do as to its publishing false statements from a man well known to them to have an ax to grind.

I have tried to give every man a run for his money who invested with me, and I know that the mines which I am developing are most valuable properties, and that every one with me will reap a handsome profit when we get Bishop and Aremu well on their feet.

The promoters who called my attention to these mines have already been rewarded far more both in cash and stock than was agreed, and yet two of them, namely Hassan and Vinton (who writes in the *S. D. Herald* as Lindley Viston) are still crying for more.

Neither of them had a dollar when they came to me and both have had over $10,000 in cash and stock, and both of them have not only sold their promotion stock for their personal benefit against all agreements, but have unsuccessfully tried to use the courts to compel me to allow them to get the names of the stockholders with the evident intent of circularizing to sell more of their promotion stock.

I felt that until the mines were in a complete state of development that I was responsible for the safety of the stockholders, and it was up to me to see that the promoters did not sell their stock and let me bear the responsibility without having received the money.

Vinton and Hassan were both found, in my estimation at least, to be useless to the company from a salary point of view, and both were discharged. I could say more.

Finally Berger attacks the good faith of Ernest Untermann and Upton Sinclair when they make a report of what they found at the Bishop Creek Mine and attacks in a most insulting manner.

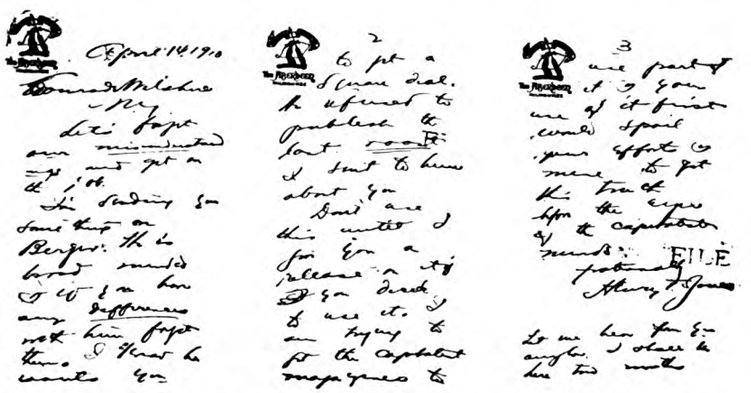
It seems to me that if Berger thinks those two men are liars as well as all other Socialists who have been up to see the Bishop Mine, then he certainly gives me credit for a degree of hypnotic influence that I would be alarmed to possess, such would be my uncanny power.

Now the ore at Bishop is there for any one to see and have assayed. I have done what I could do to convince my readers that it is as claimed. I have had professional engineers examine the Mine, I have had well known Socialists examine it, and I had a delegation of the principal citizens of Bishop examine it, everyone has confirmed my statements. I would like to ask Berger what more can I do to convince him that we have a valuable mine at Bishop?

I have offered to pay a salary and expenses to any man the editor of the organ of the Western Federation of Miners would send out, and I have offered to pay the expenses of a committee from the Socialist Party to report.

Berger is reported to have said that when Wilshire offers mining stock, that he cannot sell stock in his publishing building which is being so vigorously exploited in his columns. There's a reason.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.



Facsimile of "Jones's" letter to WILSHIRE'S, submitting eulogistic article on Berger and requesting that "misunderstandings" be forgotten.

"Jones, He Pays the Freight"

THE Jones who "pays the freight" is not the Jones who has been burdening the correspondence columns of the *Social Democratic Herald,* of Milwaukee, with free animadversions upon the Bishop Creek Mine, while at one and the same time, under an assumed name, he has been paying cash to burden the columns of the *Inyo Register,* of Bishop, Cal., and the New York *Call* advertising Bishop Creek stock for sale.

These antics of Jones have long been known to me, but for the sake of a quiet life I decided not to give them publicity, beyond informing the editor of the *Social Democratic Herald,* something over a year ago, as to the double life his correspondent was living, because I saw no reason for him running Jones' articles free when Jones was ready to pay cash to others.

Like most erratic authors, Jones likes to see his writings in print, under whatever alias they may appear. Naturally he will not pay cash for the honor if he can get space free. Sometimes, when presumably short of cash, he will offer a trade with editors to get into their columns.

For instance, a few months ago he wrote me the letter, an exact copy of which I quote you here:

Milwaukee, April 14, 1910.

COMRADE WILSHIRE, N. Y.

Let's forget our misunderstandings and get on the job. I'm sending you something on Berger. He is broad-minded, and if you have any differences with him, forget them. I know he wants you to get a square deal. He refused to publish the last roast I sent him about you.

Don't use this until I give you a release on it, if you decide to use it. I am trying to get the capitalist magazines to use part of it, and your use of it first would spoil your efforts and mine to get the truth before the eyes of the capitalist minds

Fraternally,

HENRY T. JONES.

Let me hear from you anyhow. I shall be here two months.

The article submitted consisted mainly of a biographical sketch of Berger and Seidel, the latter having just been elected Mayor of Milwaukee.

I was in South America at the time the letter was received, but the following reply, sent by Joshua Wanhope, who attends to our would-be contributors, is about what I would have said myself had I been privileged to have had a personal correspondence with this illustrious member of the Jones family:

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New York, April 18, 1910.

HENRY T. JONES, ESQ.,

Milwaukee, Wis.

Dear Comrade:—Yours of the 14th inst. to hand and contents noted. Mr. Wilshire is at present in South America, and your communication will be duly forwarded to him.

The article on Berger cannot be used in the May issue for the reason that it is already on the press.

We have no differences with Mr. Berger that in any way are connected with the cause of Socialism, nor do I know of any reason why we should not in common with all other Socialists rejoice in the results of the Milwaukee election and give it full recognition in our columns as a matter of great interest to the Socialist world.

Our May issue contains three pages devoted to this matter, a front page cartoon, the leading editorial, portraits of Berger and Seidel and a short summary of the figures shown by the election. Besides, there are several other short allusions to the matter, scattered among other pages.

The fact that you have, from time to time, "roasted" Wilshire, or that Berger provided the griddle on which the "roasting" was done, has absolutely no connection with the policy and conduct of this magazine. That Berger, as you say, has refused the use of his columns for the latest "roast" is also a matter of indifference to us. Whatever he has done in that respect, or may or may not do in the future, has no bearing of any kind on the contents of the journal we are publishing here.

This is my view, and I take upon myself the liberty of saying that it is also Mr. Wilshire's.

Fraternally,
JOS. WANHOPE,
Associate Editor."

There is no intention to slight the name "Jones" *per se,* for I am sure that a Jones can be as great and good a man as a Lincoln or a Washington, but somehow or other the particular Jones I am referring to is himself sometimes ashamed of his name. He writes letters to the *Social Democratic Herald* and other publications under various aliases, such, for instance, as "Silas Hood," when there is no apparent reason for refusing the honor of his name to grace the *Herald*'s columns, except perhaps to make its readers fancy that Jones is merely a *Hood* covering many other men who are burning to express themselves about Bishop Creek.

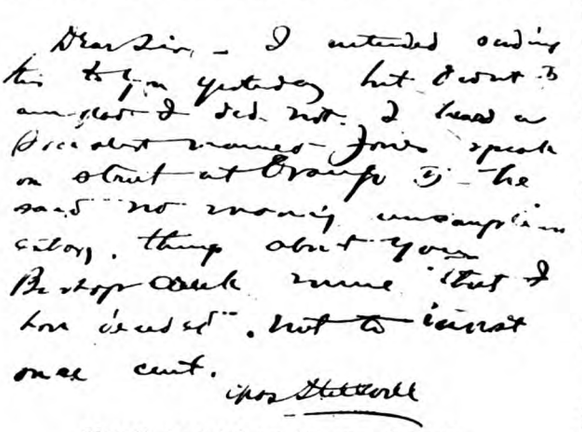
Other aliases under which Jones attempts to conceal his identity are "F. N. Nixon" and "Chas. Stillwell." We assume also that the names "F. S. Carrigan" and "W. G. Henry" are likewise aliases of Jones, as, although they complain of the rough manner in which I treated them, their names do not appear on the stock list of any of the companies I am interested in.

After the return of the first article, Jones sent us another of a somewhat similar character, highly eulogistic of Mr. Berger. This article was sent to us on May 8th and returned by us on May 25th, with the following letter:

"After consultation with Mr. Leffingwell, we have both concluded that the copy you sent is hardly the copy we want for WILSHIRE'S, and we decided to return it to you with thanks.

"We will give considerable attention to affairs in Milwaukee from now on, when space can be found, and will possibly use matter from the Mayor or Berger.

"At present, however, we simply cannot use articles of such length as those you have sent in. If you will look at the size of our magazine and calculate the amount of space required to run such articles, you will see at once the difficulty of accepting such copy and promising publication."



"Jones" dissuaded by his own eloquence.

I am sure that Victor Berger did not know of the means by which his eulogist Jones tried to burglariously enter the columns of WILSHIRE'S by force of a bribe, and yet it is certainly somewhat a matter of coincidence that our refusal of the eulogy upon Berger was promptly followed by another Jones outbreak in the *Social Democratic Herald.*

It is said that madness is akin to genius, and certainly the method of Jones' madness challenges our admiration.

He damns Bishop Creek, and hopes to frighten stockholders into selling, and then advertises for buyers for Bishop Creek stock, the game being to buy cheap and sell dear.

Below we show a *facsimile* of his ad in the *Inyo Register,* of Bishop, Cal., and we quote also a letter from him about the purchase of stock and another trying to buy the stock, in order to meet the business developed by his advertisements:

Black Canyon and Bishop Creek Stock for Sale

ANY part of 2000 shares BLACK CANYON STOCK at 30 cents a share. F. N. NIXON, Route 3, Box 120, Saugerties, N. Y. BISHOP CREEK stock for 50 cents a share

COUNTRY BOYS WANTED FOR BUSINESS POSITI

A "Jones" ad in the Inyo Register of Bishop, Cal.

"Saugerties, Dec. 13, 1908.

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 10th just reached me as I was in N. Y. I can furnish you with Bishop Creek stock at 50c. and perhaps a little less if you are in the market for large block.

It is the Bishop Creek Company of which Gaylord Wilshire is president.

I'll give you the first refusal of the stock if you reply promptly.

When I go into village I'll call on you if reply is favorable.

Sincerely,
F. N. NIXON,
R. 3, Box 150."

"Saugerties, Dec. 17, '08.

A. A. Hassan,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Capt.:—Was surprised not to receive reply from you to-day. I have offer for two thousand shares, and if you will sell them for $800 I can get buyer—$800 net to you, I'll get my commission from buyer.

I wrote you a rush note yesterday as soon as I heard of offer. Sincerely,
HENRY T. JONES."

The name of the advertiser is not Jones, but the handwriting is so like that of Jones that I doubt if any one has any question of who the advertiser really is. (See page 2.)

Not only does Jones use a false name in his advertisements, but he goes to the trouble of writing to me under a false name to the effect that the writer has been persuaded by the eloquence of Jones on the street corner not to buy stock from me. Here is the letter (*facsimile* above), and if it be compared with one of Jones' signed letters the likeness is at once apparent.

Dear Sir:—I intended sending this to you yesterday, but I didn't and am glad I did not. I heard a Socialist named Jones speak on street at Orange, and he said so many uncomplimentary things about your Bishop Creek mine that I have decided not to invest one cent.

CHAS. STILLWELL.

Now, I don't wish to put a straw in the way of Jones making a living, either by selling his intellectual outpourings to those who desire them, whether signed in his own name or those of "Silas Hood," "F. N. Nixon," "Chas. Stillwell," "F. S. Carrigan," "W. G. Henry," or the more obscure and anonymous "Victim Comrade," but I do wish the readers of WILSHIRE'S to understand that if he ever does get into WILSHIRE'S it will be solely because of the striking originality of his material, and not because I have been either bribed or bullied. It is only fair to Jones to say this, for otherwise I am sure anything we might publish from his pen would be viewed with some suspicion.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

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"LET·THE·NATION·OWN·THE TRUSTS"

WILSHIRE'S

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XIV No. 9 NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER, 1910 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

Can Capitalism "Come Back"?

IT IS now two years since the panic of 1907 and the industrial depression of which it was the necessary prelude. At the time WILSHIRE'S was alone in declaring the improbability of our industrial system ever completely recovering; that "prosperity" — the state of affairs in which practically all capitalists are making money and all workingmen employed—had departed never to return; that, in short, the crisis of 1907 was mortal.

After two years we are still of this opinion. Partial recovery there has been, of course, but a recurrence of the "boom" times of 1906, though confidently looked for and expected, has decidedly not materialized, nor are there any indications that it will in the near future.

We replaced the turbulent and disquieting Roosevelt with the safe and sane Taft, and the order went forth from that placid gentleman that business could go right ahead, now that the political conditions were favorable. No further running amuck against the trusts and corporations, no trust busting, nothing that would impair public confidence, was expected from the new administration, and the expectation was realized. Business was resumed, and the full tide of prosperity was confidently looked for.

It is not yet here. On the contrary, the tide, after rising slowly to a certain height, now seems to show unmistakable indications of permanent ebb.

The prevailing note in the financial and commercial journals is distinctly pessimistic. Capitalists, we are told, are declining new enterprises and are seeking the safest forms of investment, thus swelling the numbers of the so-called "idle rich." Capital cannot be readily had for new railroads, though gold is accumulating everywhere and its production increasing enormously. Securities have steadily fallen, and a thousand different reasons are given for the "stock slump." Merchants are cancelling orders, supply exceeds demand everywhere, though the output of the great staples is being everywhere reduced. The Steel Trust is working to but 75 per cent. of its capacity, the Copper Trust suggests the cessation of Sunday work in the mines to reduce the output, the production of cotton is from 30 to 50 per cent. greater than the demand, and while thousands of operatives are laid off, a $20,000,000 merger of cotton mills appears. The railroads are not buying supplies, the farmers are shy on the purchase of agricultural machinery and binding twine, manufacturing plants of all descriptions are slowing up, and from all quarters come reports of the approach of slow decline and the tendency to stagnation.

In the meantime the trusts are active in gathering in the odds and ends of industries, and are invading the retail field everywhere. Dry goods, drugs, groceries and other distributive fields are being occupied by monster combinations in which the ominous names of Rockefeller, Morgan and other well-known organizers of great industry appear.

Foreign trade, on the whole, remains at most stationary, thus giving evidence of international as well as national overproduction, and that the world markets have about reached their limit of absorption.

And in sinister contrast to all these indications of slow paralysis is the portentous activity in the production of war equipment. Great Britain launches her sixteenth "dreadnought" and borrows $500,000,000 for additional war expenses, appropriating $350,000,000 for the military budget of the coming year. The United States, second now on the expenditure list of military nations, follows with $300,000,000, while Germany, France and the other great European powers tag along close behind.

On the other side of the situation may be noticed the growing discontent and unrest of the working and middle classes. Strikes multiply among the former, while the latter drift toward an "insurgent" movement that threatens the safe and sane administration of the placid Taft. From all quarters rises the outcry against the increasing cost of living and the spectre of hunger anticipated. Europe shows similar phenomena. Monster strikes impend in Germany, France and England. Socialism grows apace, wins victory after victory, and appears so menacing that kings, presidents, statesmen and ecclesiastics publicly warn society against the danger.

Having no general idea of the evolutionary forces underlying industrial progress, our business men and their advisers and spokesmen seem to have no conception of the nature of the creeping paralysis that is now spreading over the system. A thousand different and contradictory suggestions are made. Prosperity will return when the muckraker is silenced; when the Standard Oil decision is announced; when the administration ceases to attack capital; when the public are educated out of the idea that all wealthy people are criminals; when the tariff question is settled; when the Sherman law is repealed; when the currency is regulated; when the "Labor Trust" is destroyed; when freight rates are adjusted; when the crops are harvested, etc., etc.

The simple fact that the world's equipment of machinery of production cannot be fully operated because of the impossibility of distributing the product under our competitive wage system is a mystery that the business mind cannot in the least comprehend. None the less, it is the fundamental cause underlying the growing symptoms of paralysis which our industrial system now exhibits.

Our economic system cannot recover. What we are watching is not a temporary indisposition, but the steady decline that presages its ultimate passing away.

Capitalism "can't come back"—therefore, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts."

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On the Road to Copenhagen

By THOMAS J. MOONEY

HAVING been fortunate enough to win the second place in the Wilshire 'Round the World Contest, which gives me a trip to the Copenhagen Congress, I have arrived to-day in New York after crossing the continent from San Francisco, and to-morrow (August 10) will sail on the "President Lincoln" for Hamburg, and from thence continue my journey to Copenhagen. Comrades Berger, Hillquit, Spargo and Hunter are fellow passengers bound for the same place.

I need hardly say that I was much disappointed in not gaining the first prize, as I worked very hard for it for the last year. However, the second prize is some consolation, and I have also acquired a very valuable amount of information about the Socialist movement in general through my efforts, as during the year past I have covered most of the western and northwestern States and have had excellent opportunity for observation.

About four years ago I first came in contact with Socialism and became a convert. Previous to that time I had practically never heard of the movement, though I had travelled all over the United States and through many of the countries of Europe. Indeed it was in Europe that I first heard of Socialism in America, through an American Socialist, Nicholas Klein, whom I met in Austria, where he was making an investigation of social and industrial conditions. Klein put me in touch with American Socialism and the Socialist press, and on my return to my native country I at once joined the Socialist Party and have since worked steadily in the movement.

My own experience in this matter convinces me that there are yet millions of my countrymen who are in the same state of blissful ignorance regarding Socialism as I was four years ago. Though the field to be covered is still enormous, there is, however, no doubt but that the movement is growing rapidly and Socialism becoming a far more frequent topic of conversation everywhere.

Thos. J. Mooney,
Winner Second Prize in WILSHIRE'S 'Round the World Contest.

On the train from San Francisco here among one group of the passengers it was discussed for the entire trip. There were farmers, lumbermen, miners, factory workers, drummers, and even soldiers among them, and several of the train crew took part in the discussion. As soon as one of the group dropped off the train at his destination, his place was taken by some new passenger, and the subject was never dropped until we reached New York City. One of the conductors expressed much astonishment over the persistency with which the topic was continued, and remarked to me that ten years ago people who talked that way would have been shot, and that nobody ever talked about Socialism then, though it seemed that now they could talk of nothing else in the last two or three years. There was almost as much Socialism talked on that train as on the famous "Red Special," on which I had travelled two years before with our Socialist Presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs, and on which I was employed as literature hustler at the meetings along the road.

At New York I was met by the Wilshire people and everything is being done by them for my comfort and convenience during my short stay here. Gaylord Wilshire, I am informed, is now in Europe and will meet me at the Socialist Congress in Copenhagen. I wish to express my thanks to the Wilshire management for their kindness and courtesy, and the promptness with which they have made good all they promised.

And here I also wish to thank all those comrades who in any way helped me in my efforts in the contest. Should I ever be in a position to do any of them a favor in the future, I will gladly do so.

I expect to learn much at Copenhagen, as it is the first congress I ever attended, and I will no doubt become acquainted with aspects of Socialism which I have not had opportunity to observe. If space can be found in these columns, I will try to give some of my impressions to the readers of WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE in some future number.

Social and Economic Items

Two new Socialist weekly papers have appeared during the last month—the *Social-Democrat*, of Rochester, Pa., and the Kansas City *Socialist*, of Kansas City, Mo. Both are ably edited, stand for straight Socialism and appear to be permanent institutions in their respective localities.

In the June *Atlantic Monthly*, Professor Vida D. Scudder, of Wellesley College, hands out the following advice to sentimentalists and reformers generally: "Tolstoi, Ruskin and the others are on the wrong tack, except in so far as, being men of their own times, they have half unconsciously been forced to think in terms of reality. Close the books of these gentlemen! Open your Engels, your Jaurès, your Bebel; and realize with refreshment and repose that here at last we are in the presence of minds free from sentimentality and at grip with the actual facts of social progress.'"

Throughout the western and southwestern States, the idea of the Chautauqua is being rapidly utilized by the local Socialists, and enormous meetings for the discussion of Socialism are being everywhere carried on under the name of "encampments." The idea was first utilized in Texas a year or two ago, but has since spread with great celerity. One of the most notable of these "encampments" has been held jointly by the Socialists of California and Oregon, at Klamath Falls, in the latter State. Many thousands attended and were addressed by the most able speakers of the coast region, with splendid results.

Comrade John Yingst, of Harrisburg, Pa., an old subscriber of WILSHIRE'S, is getting in much valuable work in the form of Socialist contributions to the local labor organ of that city, the *United Labor Journal*, and the Harrisburg *Star-Independent*, one of the large dailies of the Pennsylvania capital. Socialist activity in this direction is perhaps one of the best methods of local propaganda, and we hope to see it more extensively used in the future.

A sinister portent of the coming industrial depression may be found in the increasing number of idle railroad cars throughout the country. The present year began with about 38,000 cars idle. The number decreased steadily until Feb. 17, when it was at its lowest, about 14,000. Since then a continuous increase has taken place. On April 27 it had reached 96,000; by the end of May, 110,000; at the end of June, 123,000, and the figures of July 6 show a net surplus of 142,865. The figures are taken from the bulletin of the American Railway Association.

The real struggle is not between the two old parties, as now constituted. It is between the people and privilege; and that contest is really between these contending forces within each of the old parties. . . . . We are on the eve of the fiercest struggle since the Civil War—the new struggle between human rights and property rights, privilege and the people—and in such a struggle it is a part of the conspiracy of confusion by the special interests to use the slogan of party advantage against the man who rings true. To follow such a false trail is not only the height of folly, but it is the height of treason.—*Judge Ben B. Lindsey, in La Follette's.*

The butchers—not military, but cattle butchers—of Germany, who have heretofore been accounted among the most loyal of the Kaiser's subjects, have demanded the free importation of live stock from neighboring countries, and threaten, in case the government declines to pass such a measure, that they will join the Social Democratic Party in a body. The situation well illustrates the dominance of economic determinism, though butchers as a rule neither know nor care much about the theory.

Last year the British Post Office forwarded 4,342,093 packages by parcels post, the entire value of which was $32,193,270. The transportation was effected at about one-fourth the cost charged by American express companies, and yet while our post office shows a large deficit, the British institution records a large surplus.

Within ten years the export of foodstuffs from the United States show a decrease of 32 per cent., the figures being for 1900, $545,000,000, and for 1910, $369,000,000. At the same time the export of manufacturers' materials has risen from $485,000,000 to $768,000,000, and the imports from $410,000,000 to $856,000,000. The figures strikingly show our evolution from an agricultural to a manufacturing community.

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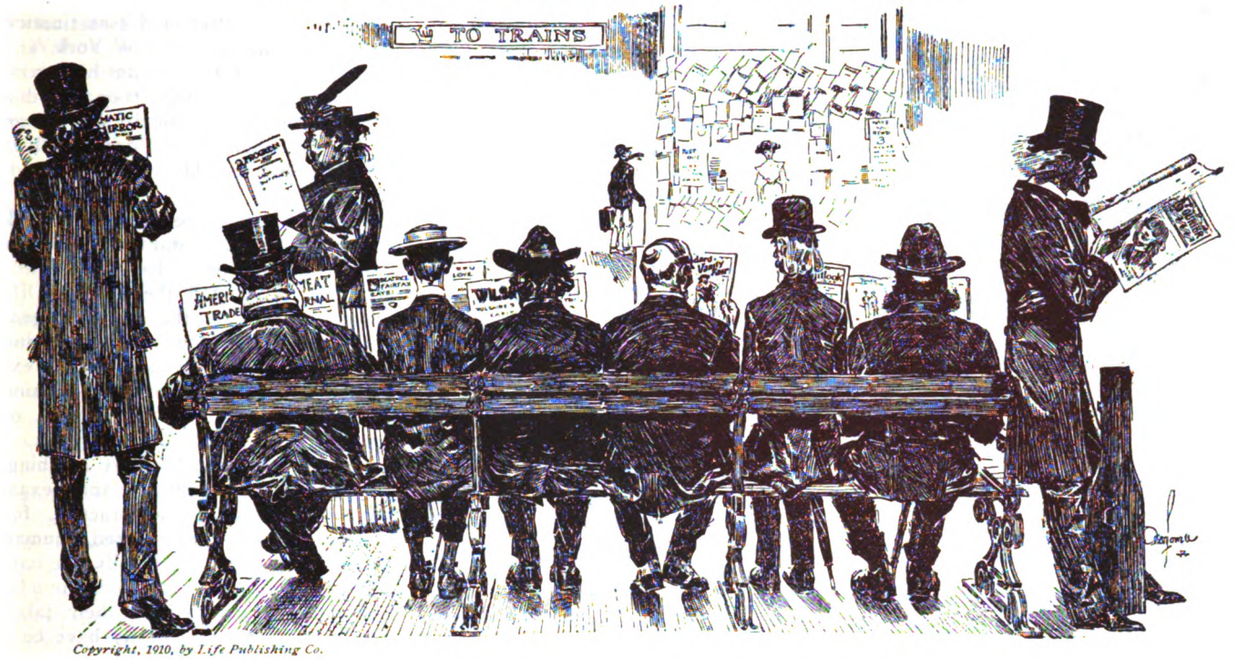
HAIR IN ITS RELATION TO LITERATURE



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Through the courtesy of *Life* we are permitted to reproduce the above illustration in which the assumed connection between hair and reading matter is humorously depicted. Naturally we feel much flattered to discover the central figure represented as reading WILSHIRE'S.

We have no doubt also that there is something more than a mere coincidence in the fact that the back view of this person is strikingly suggestive of the familiar figure of our old friend Mr. William Jennings Bryan. Probably the artist, with a correct perception of the intellectual needs of the Peerless One, by furnishing him with WILSHIRE'S, meant to indicate as much. Be that as it may, however, no public figure in these United States needs WILSHIRE'S more than W. J. B.

The attenuated gentleman with the copy of Dr. Lyman Abbott's *Outlook*, the publication in which Mr. Roosevelt thundered against the sexual immorality of Socialism, slyly glances at the suggestive illustration on his neighbor's paper, which, strange to say, is *not* a Socialist journal, as it logically should be according to Theodore.

In these and other details the artist is to be congratulated on his general sense of the appropriate as much as for the excellent and humorous character of his drawing.

Wilshire's European Critics

AMONG the Wilshire publications which have attracted the attention of European Socialist thinkers and writers, the collection of editorials issued under the title of "Socialism Inevitable," and the Wilshire edition of Professor Punnett's "Mendelism" take first place. Of the latter volume, Enrico Leone, one of the foremost Italian economists and editor of L'Avvenire Social," says among other things:

> Gaylord Wilshire, in his preface to the book, advances the just conception that neither Darwinism nor any other theory of organic evolution can be used as a model for the form of evolution which must generate the passage from Capitalism to Socialism. He repudiates the view that this passage must realize itself by gradual mutation, and supports the view that it will take place *per saltum*.
>
> Punnett falls into the general error of attempting to find the proofs of social "laws" in the literature of biology. But the social laws cannot be digged out from the naturalistic studies, just as the chemical laws cannot be found in the laws of physics.
>
> The book shows that all the laws of transformation are not found in Darwinism.

Another writer, M. Harnik, in the *Huszadik Század*, the official organ of the Hungarian Sociological Society, in an essay on the mutation theory, refers to the same volume by quoting Wilshire's introduction. "Wilshire," he says, "in opposition to De Vries, advances the view that it is not feasible to declare that what is right in biology is by all means wrong in sociology. On the contrary he holds that 'the transition from Capitalism to Socialism must come *per saltum*, as all evolution proceeds *per saltum*.' The theory of mutation has its mathematical basis, like sociology, which is a real mathematical science. "You can count up the number of machines," says Wilshire in his introduction, "and count up the number of men, and can prophesy almost exactly when Socialism must come in order to make a balance between production by machines and consumption by men."

Kautsky's view is different, concludes M. Harnik. He, as a professional sociologist, holds that we have no warrant for deducing the social processes directly from the processes of nature.

In the same publication the reviewer writes thus of Wilshire's "Socialism Inevitable":

> WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is the most widespread Socialist magazine in the world. It is interesting to observe the form that Socialism takes in the mind of its editor and publisher. Wilshire probably knows little of Marxism, and perhaps never read Marx nor the productions of the Marxian school. However, the features of American Socialism which we find in his book give such lines as if they were taken from Kautsky's armory.
>
> The book is a collection of editorials, which makes the reading somewhat difficult, *but the person who wants to know American Socialism can learn much from it.*

Both of the volumes alluded to in these reviews can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. "Mendelism," cloth-bound, at 50 cents a copy. "Socialism Inevitable," cloth-bound, 337 pages, costs $1.00. Paper, 25 cents.

The report of the Socialist Party of America to the Copenhagen Congress places the party membership at 53,375, the local organizations numbering about 3,200. In Jan., 1907, there were 1900 locals and a membership of 26,784. In three years, therefore, the membership has doubled and the number of organizations increased 80 per cent. In the same time the number of publications in the English language has increased from 50 to 70, while 29 publications appear in foreign languages.

In their reports to the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen, the two British Socialist parties, the Independent Labor Party and the Social Democratic Federation, gave their membership as 60,000 and 17,000 respectively. The I. L. P. further reported that it holds from 2,000 to 2,500 propaganda meetings per week.

The export trade of the United States for 1909-10 shows that our trade with Asiatic countries has declined one per cent., the European market showing a similar decline. The increase has been mainly in the trade with Canada and South America. Commenting on another phase of the export trade, *Bradstreet's* says: "The changing character of the exports of the United States from natural products to manufactures is illustrated by the figures of exports to the grand divisions. The chief growth in exports occurs in the trade with North, Central and South America, the West Indies and Africa, in which manufactures naturally form a large part of the imports; while the chief decline in exports occurs in the trade with European countries, in which foodstuffs and manufacturers' materials form a large proportion of the imports."

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I have taken an office in London at Caxton House, Westminster, London, for the convenience of English stockholders in my mining enterprises. My editorial address will remain at 200 William Street, New York.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

AMONG the many readers of WILSHIRE'S, railroad employees are fairly numerous, and we specially recommend to them a careful reading of the article which appears in this issue from our European correspondent, Odon Por, dealing with the railroad situation in Italy.

Our railroad operatives are fully as capable as those of any other nation, and without doubt could handle the public transportation of the country quite as successfully as the Italian railroad employees, who are on the point of being placed in charge of the entire system, both private ownership and the bureaucratic State management having dismally failed.

They will notice, however, that the form of railroad organization which has made this result possible differs completely from that prevalent in this country, where division of organization by different occupations has resulted in continuous defeat for the employees. Long ago the Italian railroad men saw the weakness of this form of union, and abandoned it in favor of an industrial organization covering the entire body of employees. And only recently the French railroad workers have merged their different trade organizations into one great industrial union, comprehending that the general strike they are contemplating would be an impossibility and a failure under sectional organization.

Now that there is talk of our Government taking over the railroads of the country, the railroad employees should look to it, for in case of its realization their fate is to be "slaves of the State"—the capitalist State—surely a condition in no way preferable to their present situation. The Italian workers have found the way, however, to the real "emancipation of labor" by their methods and activities, and their experiences as recounted by our European correspondent form a lesson by which American railroad workers may well profit.

THAT Mr. Bryan should be permanently relegated to what the comic supplement writers call the "Down-and-Out Club" on such a trifling matter as "county option" in Nebraska, and that his failure to impose this measure upon the Democrats of that State should be generally regarded as marking the close of his political career, creates no surprise in those familiar with the mental characteristics and caliber of Mr. Bryan.

Having for years essayed tasks which he could never see were in their very nature impossible—the destruction of trusts, the restoration of competition, and a general "back-to-Jefferson" policy—the Bryan pendulum naturally swung to the other extreme. "County option" and similar bagatelles became "paramount" and "great moral issues," and upon one of these petty shoals Bryan's political craft has to all appearances finally stranded.

A very small modicum of knowledge regarding social and industrial evolution might have averted this fate. But Mr. Bryan would have none of evolution in any shape, form or application, and even went so far as to devote part of his lecture work to a public denial of its existence.

Such an attitude brings the same fate to the politician as to the philosopher, biologist, geologist, historian and theologian. They are left behind inevitably in the march of modern progress, and ultimately forgotten as completely as if they had never existed.

There is, however, something tragic in the stranding of Mr. Bryan. With the possible exception of Roosevelt, no man in America had a larger audience. When he spoke, millions listened. But that was years ago. They finally neglected him when they found that, after all, he had really nothing to say of vital importance. He gathered his audiences with the enunciation of platitudes presented in oratorical garb, and lost them because he had nothing else to present.

Mr. Bryan was never a leader. He was essentially a follower instead, and as a follower he has been left so hopelessly behind in the procession as to practically preclude all possibility of his ever catching up.

SOCIALISTS, in common with other decent human beings, deeply regret the recent attempted assassination of Mayor Gaynor, of New York, and at the same time rejoice that his recovery is assured. Though they may disagree with him politically, he is an official for whom New York Socialists entertain considerable respect and admiration.

When, however, several New York papers insinuated, as did the *World* and *Times*, that the petty Tammany politician who attempted the Mayor's life was a Socialist, and that Socialists generally approve of the deed by keeping silent, it is not exactly calculated to extract from us a too profuse expression of sympathy, lest we be accused of "protesting too much."

Though used to this sort of thing, we, nevertheless, confess to some exasperation regarding the practice, for which we may be excused, human nature being as it is. Happily, the liars this time had but a very slight foundation upon which to base their falsehoods. But it might easily have been otherwise.

For instance, the person who innocently pointed out the Mayor to his would-be murderer was a Roman Catholic priest, who was permitted to disappear without giving his name. Had it chanced to have been a Socialist from whom Gallagher made his inquiry —and this might easily have happened —what an opportunity would have been afforded the local press! We can hardly imagine that Socialist being allowed to disappear unquestioned, but without unduly straining our imagination we can readily conceive the resulting consequences.

When, therefore, Democratic liars attempt to foist their Democratic murderers upon us, naturally enough resentment takes precedence over sympathy. A man wrongfully accused of murder, or even sympathy with murder, though he may feel sincere sorrow for the victim, will naturally feel more concerned about the charge brought against himself. And if the New York press insists on placing us in such a position, as it has in this case, it cannot be reasonably expected that we should completely ignore that disagreeable fact and confine our remarks wholly to the stereotyped utterances of sympathy and condolence which such an event is popularly supposed to demand.

THAT under Socialism the inventor would lose his incentive and, consequently, cease to invent is probably one of the most commonplace objections brought against its advocates. Of course, the contention that the inventor would find sufficient incentive in the work itself is not likely to have much weight with those who see in profit the

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only incentive. It is therefore of some importance to hear from the inventor himself on this matter.

Wilbur Wright, one of the famous Wright brothers, whose invention of the aeroplane has made for them a world-wide reputation, is thus reported in the press:

"All we want is a competence, so that we may go into our laboratory, lock the doors, and develop the heavier-than-air machine to the point suggested by our original work, which opened the door to all other aeronauts. All we want is to be let alone long enough to do the things that are necessary to help bring heavier-than-air machine flying to its proper degree of respect and safety."

And that is exactly what Socialism would provide for the inventor, and which he cannot be assured of under the present system. Mr. Wright understands perfectly that, instead of protecting him in this way, society leaves him exposed to the machinations of shrewd capitalists and other thieves, who have not the slightest scruple in appropriating the entire result of his work and stripping him bare of even the means of improving and perfecting his invention. Consequently, he is compelled to frustrate their designs by becoming a capitalist himself and using capitalist methods of defense. It is at present the only method by which he can secure the "competence" which, though secondary to the work, is indispensable to it.

This episode is but a repetition of Edison's experience. Edison was robbed so continuously and persistently that finally he was forced into the same position to get means to carry on his work.

Our competitive system positively discourages the inventor by compelling him to devote a large part of the time and ability which might be given to increasing and perfecting his inventions to protect himself against thieves, and to that extent it limits his working power and hampers his best efforts.

The condition is analogous to that said to prevail in Eastern countries, where the plowman and sower go afield carrying spear and musket to hold robbers at bay while they cultivate the land. And just as under such difficulties it would be folly to expect the highest development of agriculture, so under analogous conditions the inventor cannot give society his best possible work.

So accurately has Mr. Wright stated the Socialist solution of the matter, that it leads one to suspect he may be a Socialist himself.

AFTER a four years war with the labor unions, the Buck Stove and Range Company, of St. Louis, has weakened under the persistent boycott carried on against them and has made terms of surrender with the hated unionists. Hereafter the establishment will be conducted as a union shop.

It will be remembered that this concern, of which the late Mr. Van Cleave was president, was the one which succeeded in having Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison sentenced to imprisonment for contempt of court in neglecting to withdraw the boycott notice from the columns of the *American Federationist*.

On Mr. Van Cleave's death the new management, seeing the steady decline of the business and profits, speedily shifted ground and called a truce with the labor unions for a settlement on the following basis:

The position of the new management in reference to organized labor is that it is an institution which has come to stay for all time, and that it has to be treated with wisely and conservatively, and upon a friendly basis, and that the feeling and action of everyone connected with the Buck Stove and Range Company will henceforth be in that direction.

How far this gratifying result goes to prove the efficacy of the boycott as a general weapon in the labor struggle may be a matter of opinion, but some other indisputable conclusions may be drawn from it.

It seems to confirm the general Socialist view, that just as the workingman's stomach is his weakest point, so the vulnerable part of the capitalist's anatomy is to be found in his pocket.

Also it would indicate that both capitalist and workingman only become "good" when one has pounded the other into submission.

And, finally, that in the labor struggle, as in every other under the present system, Might makes Right.

AS THE Moyer-Haywood case plainly showed, the legal rights of an "undesirable citizen" can be unmistakably violated without a word of protest on the part of the press. It is different in monarchical Great Britain, where a mighty protest is going up from the press in the case of a political prisoner, a Hindu, who was being extradited from England to India and managed to temporarily escape his guards and land on French soil, where he was promptly returned to their custody by a French policeman. The following editorial, which is but one of many similar, is from the *Daily News*, perhaps the most powerful and influential journal in London, and which, though it supports the present Liberal government, does not hesitate to express its condemnation of the proceeding, and in no uncertain tone:

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM.

Parliament adjourns to-day, but members should not separate without putting to Ministers the grave issue raised by the Savarkar case. Into the guilt or innocence of Savarkar we have as little desire as right to inquire, and we have no doubt of the full legal propriety of his extradition. What concerns us is the episode of his escape at Marseilles while on his way to India, and the handing of him back to the British authorities by a policeman. There can be no question that the French policeman who handed the fugitive Savarkar over without authority was breaking the law. Once Savarkar had landed on the French shore he came within the protection of the extradition treaty between this country and France, and could not be properly recovered except by the procedure laid down in that treaty and under the restrictions imposed by that treaty. In point of fact, Savarkar would probably not have been surrendered at all, for, just as we do not surrender for political offences, so we cannot enforce the surrender of political offenders. The illegality of Savarkar's surrender is so plain that the only defence so far attempted has been to suggest that the British Government cannot be responsible for the errors of a French policeman. That argument is utterly fallacious, because the error and the offence were committed by the French policemen in conjunction with British officials, and would have been impossible without the co-operation of British officials. We need not dwell upon the fatal consequences if we persist in not returning Savarkar to French custody and taking our chances under the Extradition Treaty. Having ourselves maintained the legitimacy of our own action, we should be unable to protest if a British policeman were in the future to hand over a fugitive Garibaldi or Kossuth to a foreign government. The right of asylum, instead of being under the protection of the law, would be at the mercy of the arbitrary caprice or the corruptibility of the meanest police constable.

Contrast this forceful and specific utterance with the silence of our great American organs in the Moyer-Haywood case. Just imagine an Idaho editor demanding that the men should be returned to Colorado to await legal extradition. Little as we may like to admit it, it is beyond question that the British people are much more sensitive to the right of asylum and the preservation of individual rights and liberty than we are. Compare the universal and admittedly illegal practice of the "third degree" here with the formal and obligatory warning of the British official in arresting Dr. Crippen "that anything he might say would be used in evidence against him." And, at that, British justice rarely misses, while ours too often degenerates into a farce.

What is seemingly a second step in the formation of an enormous bread trust has been taken by from seventy-five to one hundred of the largest bakeries in the United States, hitherto independent of the National Biscuit Company, a concern which is popularly alluded to as the "Trust" when the bread-making industry is referred to, and which is at any rate the nucleus of the future Trust in the baking business. The heretofore "Independents" have just merged into a concern to be known as the Federal Biscuit Company, and the combine starts out with a capitalization of $30,000,000. The new combine is stated to be "friendly" toward the National Biscuit Company, its assumed competitor, and there is no doubt but that the next move will be a combine of the two concerns, and a complete elimination of competition.

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The Railroads for the Railroad Men

By ODON POR, *Special European Correspondent Wilshire's*

EUGENE V. DEBS was the first man in the United States, if not in the whole world, to undertake "a unification of ALL railroad employees for their mutual benefit and protection." All basic principles of the at present much discussed Industrial Unionism can be found embodied in the American Railway Union, organized by Debs with the assistance of a few others at Chicago, in June, 1893. Everybody knows about the victorious Great Northern strike called by the A. R. U. and the Pullman strike of the same organization in sympathy with the suffering workers at Pullman. Everybody knows that on the occasion of the Pullman strike the government and the capitalists definitely allied against organized labor and inaugurated the "Government by Injunction." Leaving Woodstock jail, Debs tried to keep alive the fighting spirit of the A. R. U., but the sleuths of the capitalists at his heels undermined all his efforts, with the result that the railroad men of America are inefficiently organized even today. But the spirit of the A. R. U. is not entirely killed out, Debs and others are keeping continually before the minds of the American railroad men the necessity of organizing into one body all skilled and unskilled workers in the employ of the railroads.

Their propaganda is being substantiated by the economic and political effects of industrial concentration and the impending technical revolution that will transform the locomotive engineers and firemen into motormen. Further the jurisdictional fights between the various craft organizations, the competition between overlapping unions leading to reciprocal scabbing, the growing number of accidents, due chiefly to overwork, the determination of the railroad corporations to save expenses on safety appliances, the increased cost of living left unbalanced by the small wage-increase benevolently granted, and the more and more evident fact, that the Grand Chiefs of the various Brotherhoods are working rather in the interest of the corporations than for the railroad men—all tend to create a certain unrest in the rank and file of the railroaders and prepare a state of mind receptive to the call for reorganization on the lines of the American Railway Union.

In view of this situation it is perhaps useful to study that form of organization which all European railroad unions are about to take. The last international congress of the railroad workers, held in Vienna, has pronounced itself in favor of the organization of great central federations and against craft unions. Even Bell, the representative of 80,000 English railroaders, has supported this resolution.

By far the most revolutionary organization of European railroad men is the Union of Italian Railroaders. I had been lately in Milan at the headquarters of this union for the purpose of studying its history, organization and tendencies, and will try to give here the rough outlines of my investigation.

After many sterile struggles for improving their material conditions, the various craft unions of the Italian railroaders came to the conclusion that only a strong and unified movement could be victorious. So they called a joint congress, in 1904, where, burying the petty craft jealousies, they laid down the lines of future united action. Soon after this the Italian Government announced its intention to take over the railroads from the private companies, and amongst the new laws before Parliament was one proposing to deprive the railroad workers of their right to

Odon Por,
Special European Correspondent WILSHIRE'S.

strike. As soon as this law came to the knowledge of the various organizations their joint agitation committee called a passive resistance strike, which consisted in obedience to the letter of all the rules of service, with the effect that the dispatching of passenger trains and their arrival was greatly retarded and freight trains were everywhere entirely tied up. Neither the railroad companies nor the Government was able to suppress this new, formidable, but legal method of action. Finally the Government yielded and the "obstruction" was called off. The next cabinet introduced the same laws in an attenuated form, whereupon a general strike was called on the 16th of April, 1905. During this strike the Italian Parliament voted the State ownership of the railroads and the law which made "public officials" of all railroad men, i. e., practically deprived them of their right to strike. There was nothing left but to call off the general strike and face the new situation. The railroad men were defeated, but the experiences gathered in these two great movements gave them courage to continue the struggle.

In 1906 the various craft unions of the railroad men merged into one industrial union. This new organization went out in 1907 on a general strike in sympathy with some strikers who were shot down by the soldiers. The State punished the strikers most severely, and public opinion was decidedly against them. More than 20,000 strikers were punished, some were discharged, some put in jail, and the rest fined and degraded. This terrible defeat naturally caused much dissatisfaction and friction within the young organization. Two factions faced each other, the revolutionists, who proposed direct economic action for the revindication of the rights of the railroad men and the realization of better wages and the reformists, who wanted to realize the same with the aid of the various radical parliamentary groups. After the complete defeat of the latter method the organization has become since 1908 thoroughly revolutionary and has worked out a revolutionary method of action which distinguishes it from all similar organizations.

This union, embracing practically the entire 60,000 Italian railroad men, has the following inner structure.

All skilled or unskilled male and female railroad workers, belonging to any category, may become members of the union. The functions of the union are divided amongst the following bodies: the Congress of the delegates, the General Committee, the Central Executive Committee (C. E. C.), the Sections, the Groups, the Commissions of Categories, the Auditors, the Arbitrators and the members voting by referendum.

Decisions of the congress are obligatory on all members. The congress discusses the questions on the order of the day and passes judgment upon the yearly reports of the officials. Its delegates are elected by referendum vote of the membership. The General Committee is the deliberative body of the union; it is composed of five members from the C. E. C. and the secretaries of the Commissions of Categories. Its chief duty is to examine national, accepted or proposed laws that refer to railroads or railroadmen; it studies the rules of the service and the conditions of the workers and publishes the results of its investigations in the official paper of the union. It further decides upon the reports of the commissions of the Categories and of the C. E. C.

The C. E. C. is composed of fifteen members, elected by referendum. It reports the desires of the individual members and of the sections and prepares the annual financial report and the report on the activity of the union; it edits and publishes the official paper of the union, organizes the propaganda and the movements for the defense of the acquired rights and for the conquering of other rights. It executes the decisions of the Congress and the General Committee and those passed by referendum vote of the rank and file. It coordinates the functions of the Sections and Groups and transmits all special technical and craft questions to the Commission of Categories; it keeps in touch with the national and international labor organizations and, finally, attends to all work necessary for the advancement of the union.

Every locality, with at least 150 members, constitutes a Section. The Sections handle internal affairs affecting their members and the propositions which they desire to submit to the C. E. C. or other bodies of the union. They execute the orders of the C. E. C. and attend to the local propaganda. Their functions are regulated by internal rules. Their expenses of administration and propaganda are paid by the union. The members of each Section divide into Trade-Groups. Each group elects its chief, who receives the requests for ad-

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mission to the union, collects the dues and distributes the official paper of the union amongst the members free of charge. The trade-groups communicate on craft questions with the Commission of Categories. These latter are consultative technical bodies. They study all the problems that concern their members in their professional faculty and pass their reports for approval or rejection, through the C. E. C., to the General Committee. There are eight Commissions of Categories within the union, each representing a group of the various crafts. Every such commission is composed of six members and has a secretary; its expenses are covered by the union and it regulates its functions by inner rules. Controversies between these commissions and the C. E. C. are settled by the General Committee.

A referendum is ordered in case of important and immediate action to be taken by the organization and for the election of the various officers. The five auditors examine the books of the union and control the work of the C. E. C. They have the right to call a congress. The three arbitrators settle the conflicts between the various bodies and their members.

Through this organic and comprehensive system of organization, with its subdivisions determined by the necessities of propaganda and the technical nature of the various crafts, all members are forced to co-operate for the good of the whole organization as well as for the good of the single categories or the single sections. Within its fold the scabbing of one craft upon another or the using by the State of one craft against the other is impossible. The various subdivisions are so organized and the statutory duties of the members so formulated that the problems of the whole organization are not merely kept before the mind of each member, but he has to continually give his personal view and vote on every occasion. Further, every railroadman by force of the statutes has to affiliate with the local labor exchanges, which latter are the central organizations of all workers in a given district. This abolishing of all craft distinctions, this uniting into one class-organization, has co-ordinated the relations between the various categories of the railroad men, educated them to solidarity, and excited and intensified their interest in the problems of their own organization and of the whole working class. We can set it down as a law of all labor organizations that as soon as craft unionism is replaced by genuine industrial unionism larger revolutionary issues will inevitably come into play.

That the problem of industrially organizing the railroad man was successfully solved in Italy is attested by the fact, that this organization, conscious of its collective efficiency and power, has set for itself a revolutionary scope: "The Railroads for the Railroad Men."

This revolutionary object was inspired not only by the Socialist ideal predominant amongst the Italian workers, but also by the actual conditions of the railroad system. The State which took over the railroads from the private corporations in 1905, at a tremendous cost (graft), in order to give better and cheaper service, has proved its utter incapacity for managing the railroads. The technical incompetency and deficiency of the bureaucratic administration called to run the enterprise has demoralized the whole passenger and freight traffic and caused a growing deficit in the treasury of the State. While the State has created thousands of new sinecures and highly paid offices, it has utterly neglected the technical part of the system. For instance, it failed to increase the number of trackmen and has increased instead, to an unbearable degree, the work of all the railroad men. The politicians in charge of technical duties have bought useless and antiquated material, causing besides a great financial loss and even greater confusion of the service, so that, at present, experts declare the State railroad system quite impossible to continue.

On the other hand, the industrially organized railroad men have learned, through continuous discussion of the details of the system, the principles of organizing, managing and combining its factors. Their constructive and analytic criticism disclosed all the flaws of the railroad administration, proved that the State is an uneconomic institution, and demonstrated all the details necessary to a successful reorganization of the railroads.

They indicated that they must get back, above all, their whole liberty, and that in order to secure from the railroads greater benefits for the public, they must become personally interested in the enterprise. They demonstrated that this can be attained only by leasing the State railroads to the union of the Italian railroad men. This measure would allow them to organize the administration with more liberty and with economic instead of bureaucratic criterions. They would be free of all political obligation and could, therefore, suppress the thousands of useless clerical jobs and increase the number of productive employees, securing thus a prompter, safer and cheaper service, while their dut would be to pay a certain rent for the railroads to the State and to guarantee a regular service. The State would retain for itself, in some simple form, the right of supervising the administration of the railroad, without, however, directly interfering with the administration itself. The workers would draw a certain minimum wage, would participate in the net profits of the enterprise and subscribe the necessary cash for its running ex penses.

By this system every employee would realize that the more conscientiously he applied his energies, the better would the system work and the larger would be his personal income. This state of things would awake in the employees the liveliest sense of responsibility and would, at the same time, give them liberty of initiative, which is the most important psychological factor of production.

While a few years ago the Italian railroad men met from all sides with opposition, and their enslavement to the State was greeted by the majority of the nation with great rejoicing, today, in view of the fact that the State has not made good and especially because the railroad men have proved their technical efficiency, moral seriousness and social consciousness, in short, because they proved responsible enough to be entrusted with the most important industry of a nation,—to-day public opinion is largely on their side. And even conservative economists of great fame, and experts in the matter like Vilfredo Pareto, have publicly declared that the only possible practical solution of the situation is—inasmuch as private ownership of the railroads is a public nuisance and the State enterprise a veritable disaster —the giving up of the State railroads to the co-operative enterprise of the organized railroad men, and that with some sense and prudence this could be realized at a small risk and surely with no such financial loss as that menacing the country at present. And Mr. Ferraris, ex-Minister of Commerce, a universally recognized authority in the matter, went even so far as stating that not only the railroads, but all State services included the postal and telegraph service, could be safely entrusted to the organized workers and employees of these services.

Through concentrated technical experience and discussion and reciprocal moral education, possible only within a great industrial organization that eliminates all secondary problems, the Italian railroad men have created within the organization itself a force that logically drove them upon the road of practical, essentially economic, revolutionary action. Thus the proletarian organization, arriving at the summit of its perfection, demonstrates its profound economic nature and social usefulness and proves itself capable to succeed the bourgeois private and statal institutions of production and exchange. "The Railroads for the Railroad Men," this utopia of yesterday, has become a practical, realizable demand.

"The social revolution is about to become a practical problem."

Corporation Commandments

By W. E. P. French.

I.

I'm the God of Graft and Gammon,
I'm the Dollar-God of Pelf,
Lust of Gold, Greed, Get and Mammon:
Thou shalt worship ME, MYSELF.

II.

Thou shalt make a minted image,
Bird of prey and woman's bust,
And emboss thereon the legend,
In our God of Gold we trust.

III.

Thou shalt use my name to swear by,
For I make the she-horse go,
And I'm hot-stuff at conversing—
Only "Money talks," you know.

IV.

Please remember to keep wholly
Ev'rything that thou canst get;
Squeeze the stuffing from the Eagle;
Take thy pound of flesh for debt.

V.

Honor Profit, Rent and Int'rest;
Twist the public's tail on freight;
And be sure to put the letter
S in front of peculate.

VI.

"Thou shalt do no murder" (*retail*),
Doesn't mean thou must not slay;
Thou canst poison half a nation
In a lawful, wholesale way.

VII.

"Tut! this 'don't' is not for Magnates,
But for poor and humble folk;
Mere polygamy 's not sinful,
Under Alimony's cloak.

VIII.

If thou 'rt rich, just grab more millions,
Fleece and skin the public lamb;
Grind the poor, men, women, children;
Jail the wretch that steals a ham.

IX.

When you lie about your plunder,
With apologetic cough,
It is not to bear false witness,
But to swear your taxes off.

X.

Do not covet or desire
Things nailed down or things red hot;
Simply seize weak neighbors' fortunes,
Be content with all they've got.

XI.

Thou canst break the laws wide open,
And the people calmly flout;
But this plan is cheaper, Plutie,—
Do, but do not be found out.

* * * * * *

Now, the first and great commandment
Is to "salt" the bird Success;
And the second, "without ceasing"
Prey, and then avoid duress.
Call thy piracy plain "business,"
Hide behind thy legal gang:
On these hints and these commandments
All the Law of Profits hang.

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OUR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

Conducted by MRS. GAYLORD WILSHIRE

WE TAKE great pleasure in announcing that, thanks to the kindness of our comrade, Mary Oppenheimer, we will be able to give the outline of a course of study on a subject which the majority of us have generally neglected: WOMAN. All of us know that there is something wrong in the position woman occupies at the present day; some of us blame the fact that we are women; others express a vague, instinctive grudge against MAN, whom they consider as woman's hereditary enemy. But what is the origin of the evils from which we suffer? Are they to endure for ever? Is it not in our power to free ourselves from the artificial fetters which centuries have laid upon us? What about prostitution, sex slavery, divorce, etc.? We must look into those things in a spirit of scientific research, not with the biased eye of the capitalist bent on perpetuating what we know to be illogical and unhealthy. Therefore, no better basis could have been chosen for such a course of study than the book on woman written by Bebel, the great Socialist leader of Germany. He has treated the subject as only a big-hearted man could treat it, with sympathy and love. He does not mince words, the brutal expression does not frighten him, but his brutality merely betrays the tenderness with which he admonishes woman, makes her share his belief in her future, in her unavoidable emancipation, when we at last bring about the economic revolution that will mean equality of opportunities for all, for women as well as for men. Lessons 1 and 2 appear in the present issue; the others will appear in subsequent issues.

Woman Under Socialism

By August Bebel

Compiled by MRS. MARY OPPENHEIMER.

"The mass of the female sex suffers in two respects: On the one side woman suffers from economic and social dependence upon man. True enough, this dependence may be alleviated by formally placing her upon an equality before the law and in point of rights; but the dependence is not removed. On the other side, woman suffers from the economic dependence that woman in general, the working woman in particular, finds herself in, along with the workingman."—Introduction.

Mrs. Georgia Kotsch,
Corresponding Secretary of the Woman's Socialist Union of California.

Lesson I.—Woman in the Past. Before Christianity. Chap. 1, pages 1—46.

Woman and the workingman have this in common—oppression. The forms of oppression have suffered changes in the course of time and in various countries. But the oppression always remained. All social dependence and oppression has its roots in the economic dependence of the oppressed upon the oppressor. In this condition woman finds herself from an early day down to our own. The history of the development of human society proves the fact everywhere. But the knowledge of the development is comparatively new. Brief historic review of the relations between the sexes since primitive society. The reign of the mother-right implied communism, equality for all; the reign of the father-right implied the reign of private property and with it the oppression and enslavement of woman. Rise of prostitution. Class distinctions and class contrasts came into existence. Thus rose the State, the product accordingly of the conflicting interests that sprang up in the new social order.

Lesson II.—Woman in the Past (Continued). Under Christianity. Chap. 2, pages 49—78.

Christianity embodied the opposition to the bestial materialism that reigned among the great and rich of the Roman Empire; it represented the revolt against the contempt for and oppression of the masses. But, originating in Judaism, which knew woman only as a being bereft of rights, and, biased by the Biblical conception which saw in her the source of all evil, Christianity preached contempt for woman. It orders her to be the obedient servant of her husband, and the vow of obedience she must to this day make to him at the altar. The doctrines of Christianity found fertile ground at the submerged bottom of the Roman Empire. Woman, hoping along with all the miserable for freedom and deliverance from her condition, joined readily and zealously. Down to our own days never yet was a great and important movement achieved in the world without women having been conspicuously active as combatants and martyrs. Woman in the Middle Ages and later. Prostitution as a trade or guild. The struggle of vigorous nature against the asceticism of Christianity. Old system of handicraft revolutionized and rise of manufacture.

Woman's Socialist Union of Cal.

By ETHEL WHITEHEAD.

While the W. S. U. has not added many to its list of unions, the outlook on the whole is most encouraging. Those unions which have been organized and stayed are all doing good work, and adding to their membership, so that the membership as a whole has not decreased, but rather increased. The organizer made one trip during the past year, four unions were the result. The efficiency of the workers has markedly increased, and several of the members have become members of the Socialist Party. The women in various localities have contributed generously toward the campaign fund, and the W. S. U. is now a recognized factor. The second State Conference since the organization Convention will be held Sept. 14-15, at Jefferson Square Hall, Golden Gate avenue, San Francisco, when plans will be laid for future work.

W. N. P. L. Notes

COMRADE JULIA McKEOWN, of the South Sharon branch of the League, writes us that she met several women at the Socialist picnic at Oil City whom she thinks will combine to organize a branch of the League in Titusville, Pennsylvania. Mrs. McKeown's husband, John R. McKeown, has been very successfully lecturing on Socialism throughout the State, and has made many converts to the Cause.

Comrade Cora J. Hawkins, of Robertson, Wyoming, has been asked to make a Social-

Mrs. Jennie Isenor, of Wiscasset, Maine,
A Charter Member of the W. N. P. L.

ist banner for her county convention, which takes place next month.

Mrs. Kate A. Mitchell, of Gardena, Cal., writes that she is anxious to form a branch of the League in her town, and asks for literature. Gardena is distinctly a Socialist town, but the women are as yet unorganized. She thinks much better work could be done for the cause if the women had some specific plan of action.

Comrade Dorothea Rehwalt, of Sherwood, Oregon, thinks that the time has come to form a branch in her town. Many Socialist speakers have visited the place lately, interesting especially the women.

Comrade Jennie Isenor, of Wiscasset, Maine, whose photograph we run in this issue, writes that she would be very glad to receive a visit from any member of the League who happens to be in her vicinity.

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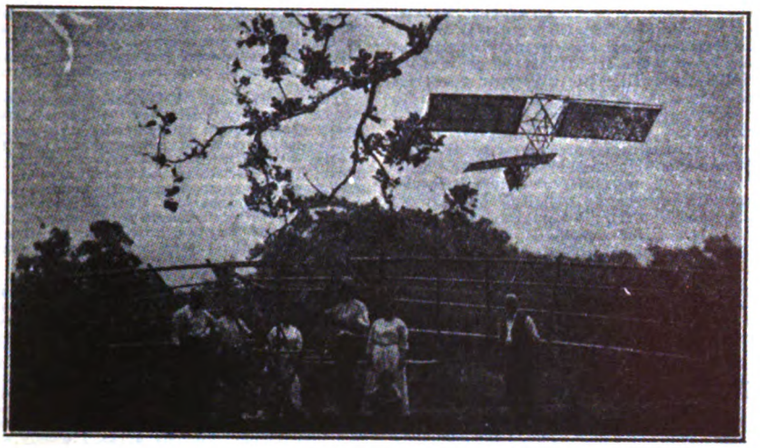
A Farmer's Aeroplane



WANDERING through a somewhat out-of-the-way farming section in the neighboring State of New Jersey, the attention of a member of the WILSHIRE editorial staff was attracted by the unusual sight reproduced above—the construction of an aeroplane in the front yard of a farmhouse. Though the farmer and his brother were busily engaged assembling the machine, they were not averse to giving information regarding their somewhat unusual occupation, and finally consented to stand for a photograph including the entire household, all of whom seemed particularly interested in the work.

The farmer, Mr. Thomas M. Walling, declared that he had invented a perfect automatic balancing device for his aeroplane, and had thus solved the principal difficulty which aviators now contend with. With his assistant he made several demonstrations with the model seen in the photograph—which is there shown suspended from the overhanging bough of a tree—and while our editorial associate does not pose as an expert in such matters, he declares that the model worked perfectly, showing not the slightest tendency to tilt during its flight.

Mr. Walling lives at Tinton Falls, about four miles from Redbank, in Monmouth County. He has patented his invention and is absolutely confident of its success. Mr. Walling seemed perfectly familiar with the physics and mechanics of aeroplane construction, and had read considerably on the theory of flight and the general history of aviation. His machine is a monoplane, a form which he considers much superior to the biplane, and destined to become the general future type of flying machine.

On the visitor remarking that in the near future Socialism would come along to destroy inventions and discourage inventors, Mr. Walling merely laughed and said he was willing to take chances on it—in fact that he was a Socialist himself and had been one for several years.

J. Stitt Wilson, Socialist candidate for Governor of California, is making his campaign tour in a special train like the famous "Red Special" which carried Debs through the country in 1908. Wilson's tour has been remarkably successful so far, and he has visited practically all the large cities of the State, holding meetings of unusual size at every stopping place.

A. M. Simons, the well-known Socialist writer and editor of the *Chicago Daily Socialist*, has resigned his position to take the editorship of a new weekly called the *Coming Nation*, which will be published at Girard, Kansas. Simons will be associated on the new venture with Charles Edward Russell, the celebrated magazine writer, and the first number is scheduled to appear this month.

Charles H Moyer, noted as one of the principals in the famous Moyer-Haywood case, has again been elected President of the Western Federation of Miners, at the recent convention of that body in Denver, Col. Negotiations are proceeding between the Miners' Federation and the American Federation of Labor, looking to a closer alliance between the two organizations.

Ex-Senator Clark, the copper king of Montana, is again a candidate for the U. S. Senate. His chances are—well, figure them out for yourself. He has more experience and more money than ever before.

One of the most potent arguments for Socialism which is never discussed by the press, is its tremendous growth everywhere in the last few years.

A report from the State Board of Agriculture in Oklahoma shows that the number of rented farms has increased in a much greater proportion than freehold farms from 1908 to 1909. The latter increased in these two years from 78,216 to 80,821, while the number of rented farms rose from 56,292 to 72,479.

Messrs. Jeffries and Johnson, remarks the *Ohio State Journal*, made almost enough money out of it to get into the United States Senate. Prize-fighting must have sunk low indeed when such a suggestion can be made without protest.

We are glad to note that our veteran comrade and Socialist standard-bearer, Eugene V. Debs, is rapidly recovering from his recent illness after having undergone a rather serious operation. The wound left thereby will, however, take some time to heal, and as a consequence all his dates for public speaking in the immediate future have been cancelled.

An applicant for naturalization in San Francisco having answered that the governor of California was elected by the Southern Pacific Railroad, was refused papers by the judge. It is grossly unjust that our prospective citizens should thus be made victims of judicial ignorance.

A large New York dry-goods concern has just celebrated its sixty-fourth anniversary by disappearing into the maw of the Dry-Goods Trust.

Perhaps the best method of avoiding the stifling heat of the cities during the summer months is to become a millionaire.

Notes and Comments

The *Catholic Universe*, an official organ of the Roman Catholic Church in Cleveland, expresses disapproval of airships generally and calls for legal restraints on their use. It says, "We do not think that the Creator intended that man should inhabit the air or fly like the birds, else He would have furnished him with wings. The numerous deaths that have occurred from the attempts to fly should warn man that his habitation and home is on the earth." To which we may add that we do not think the Creator intended that man should inhabit the water or swim like the fish, else He would have furnished him with fins. The numerous deaths that have occurred from the attempts to swim should warn man that his home and habitation is on the earth.

The Rockefeller Grand Jury, detailed to investigate the alleged "White Slave Traffic," reported that they found the industry in a disorganized condition. There was no central organization, but the traffic was generally conducted by individuals more or less in touch with each other. With his knowledge and experience of the smooth working of the Standard Oil combine, Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., as foreman of the Grand Jury, should be well qualified to give an authoritative opinion on what constitutes organization in any business.

Hereafter the graft pertaining to the contract system will disappear in Milwaukee, the Socialist administration of that city having decided to abolish the evil by abolishing its cause—the contract system. Incidentally it also abolishes profit in this department, which may be said to be a form of graft also. For the future, the city proposes to do all the work itself that it can possibly do, and is purchasing plants for that purpose. An asphalt plant, with a capacity of 800 square yards per day, is being negotiated for, and henceforth the street paving will be done wholly by the administration.

A movement is on foot among several Women's Leagues to request Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth to refrain from smoking cigarettes. Here is a chance for Mr. Bryan to "come back" after his disastrous experience with "county option." Another "great moral issue" lying ready to hand, so to speak.

That story of Mr. Rockefeller taking whisky baths is in all probability a newspaper canard. Possibly the idea was suggested by John D.'s well-known sociable propensity for surrounding himself with choice spirits.

After a lapse of a year, Spain is just beginning to be "shocked" over the murder of schoolmaster Ferrer. And though Spain in this matter is a year behind Europe, her "shock" is the real thing, while Europe's was largely a pretence.

There is a general complaint that farmers are not purchasing agricultural machinery to any extent this year. Of course not. They have been buying automobiles instead, as everybody knows who reads the capitalist papers.

In submitting its terms of surrender to the boycott, the Buck Stove and Range Company neglected to profess its belief in trades unions when properly conducted.

In regard to city employees, the Milwaukee administration is giving a practical answer to the question of what will be done with the man who won't work under Socialism, as the loafers under previous capitalist municipal régimes are discovering.

During their four months' administration the Socialists of Milwaukee have closed no less than 104 "dives," despite their previous assurances that no attack on capital was intended.

Having proven himself "the best man" by shooting or jailing the rival candidates, Mr. Diaz has again been elected president of Mexico.

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How About It?

J. H. S., Pocasset, Okla.—I would like to know how Socialist editors can be imprisoned if they tell the truth when they expose some local corruption.

Merely because the corruptionists have power to do so. To send a man to jail, it is not necessary that right and justice demand it, though it is necessary to pretend that they do. The basic necessity is power. Far more people have been jailed for telling the truth than for telling lies. The truths which Socialist editors tell are dangerous to the existing order of things, an order which is based largely on lies, and which is therefore under the necessity of suppressing the truth by injustice. But to repeat, power is the essential thing in such matters, and, for this reason, Socialists themselves seek to control the powers of government, well knowing that, until this is done, the imprisonment of those who publicly disseminate truths dangerous to the present order will continue. German Socialists are now gaining power rapidly, and as a result the prosecutions of Socialist editors for lese-majesty and exposure of corruption are being abandoned in that country. It will be so in this country as well when Socialists are as numerous, powerful and influential as they are in Germany. The only way to stop such practices is to acquire the power to stop them.

A. H. P., Chicago, Ill.—Are Postal Savings Banks an initial step in preventing exploitation of labor by compelling investment in industry by government for labor and the unemployed?

There is no particular reason for supposing so. Nor can we see how exploitation is minimized in any way by Postal Savings Banks under a capitalistic government which exists for the purpose of maintaining exploitation. In those countries where Postal Savings Banks are established, the funds are not used by the government for the purpose of starting industries. The money is really borrowed by the government at a low (in fact always the lowest) rate of interest, and applied to defraying the expenses of government, being of course refunded through the general taxation. The advantage to the government lies in borrowing the money on the cheapest terms, and the advantage to the depositor consists altogether in the fact that his money is secured by the strongest possible guarantee—the faith of the established government. No private capitalist or bank can offer such strong security, and of course for this reason the interest is low. But it must be remembered that this safety makes Postal Savings banks a most desirable institution from the point of view of the working class, in that it protects their savings from the grasp of the private capitalist—no mean advantage under this uncertain system. While capitalists exercise a predominant control in the government, they, of course, will never permit it to establish non-exploitative industries for the relief of labor or the unemployed. It may be that at some future time this may be done, but only when Socialists have grown sufficiently powerful to compel the government to do it.

Socialist locals and comrades can secure the anti-labor records of their Congressmen and Senators for propaganda purposes in the coming Congressional campaign by addressing Louis Kopelin, 814 New Jersey avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

A Tour of Investigation

WALTER THOMAS MILLS, the well-known Socialist speaker and writer, has been appointed "Special Commissioner in Industrial Municipal Enterprises" for the City of Milwaukee, by the new Socialist Mayor, Emil Seidel. Mr. Mills will visit the principal countries of the world, making special inquiries into matters of city government and municipal enterprise in the various cities en route, and will furnish regular reports to the City of Milwaukee. He sailed from New York on August 23, and, after visiting Copenhagen, will return to America by way of Egypt, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, the time expended being over a year. He will also furnish a weekly letter discussing the matters studied in the various cities, which can be obtained by any editor desiring to print them in his paper. From December 1 to 10, Mr. Mills' address will be General Delivery, Cairo, Egypt; Dec. 10 to Jan. 15, General Delivery, Cape Town, South Africa; Jan. 15 to March 1, General Delivery, Melbourne, Australia; March 31 to May 1, General Delivery, Wellington, New Zealand. After May 1, General Delivery, San Francisco, Cal. All letters should be marked "to be held till called for."

When Everybody Rests

Harrisburg, Pa., *Star-Independent.*

Often it is easy and delightful to agree with President Taft thoroughly, unaffectedly and enthusiastically, without the least regard to politics or condition of servitude. He is a mighty good fellow when he is taking one of his very infrequent outing trips somewhere. The President is up in Maine with part of the United States Navy, and says that everybody ought to go and do likewise. Take a vacation, we mean, not the navy. "The American people have found out," says he, "that two or three months' vacation after the hard and nervous strain to which one is subject during the autumn and spring are necessary to enable one to continue his work the next year."

True, most true. Wherefore "the American people" annually, during two of the months of every year, rush to the mountains, the seashore or Europe for rest and recuperation. The farm laborer drops his tools, and hastens to the seashore. The mill worker boards his private yacht and steams away to where mills cannot be seen nor mill whistles heard. The seamstress and the sweat-shop woman make their maids work overtime in order that they may reach the country resorts when the season opens, there to gather nervous energy for the next year's work. The laborer takes some of his hoarded millions and his automobile and his chauffeur and hies away to the mountains and the pine woods. The store clerk and all other clerks take a vacation as soon as they discover that their nervous energy is running down, and they scatter.

For two solid, glorious months there is nothing doing. "The American people," having discovered that they must have two months' vacation every year to enable them to continue their work the following year, drop everything when vacation time comes. Nobody works. Nobody wants to work. "The American people" are for the rest cure every time. That is why they are the greatest people on earth. But in the midst of their resting, when they are especially happy and contented and comfortable, they almost feel sorry for the people of other countries who are obliged to work every day.

While capitalist government exists, robbery of the people shall not, must not and will not perish from the earth.

FERRER'S SOUL IS MARCHING ON

(*Chicago Daily Socialist.*)

From a European Postal Card

A Remembrance of Ferrer

When Ferrer's body fell, riddled with bullets in Montjuich prison, reaction gave a ghoulish laugh and rejoiced that an advocate of progress was dead.

The result is a story that has been repeated many, many times. It is the story that is celebrated in the expression, "'The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." It is the story that Lowell sings when he tells us:

"For Humanity sweeps onward; where to-day the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands;
Far in front the cross stands ready, and the crackling fagots burn,
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn."

But yesterday they killed the body of Ferrer. All that has been worth noticing since then in Spain has been the working out of the things for which they killed him.

He died with the cry: "Long live the Modern Schools," upon his lips. Already the first long steps have been taken toward secular education.

He stood for the separation of Church and State, and was hurried to his death by those who saw an injury to their financial interests on earth if this partnership with Heaven were disturbed. Since then the first steps have been taken toward freedom in religion.

Ferrer, by his death, turned the eyes of the world upon backward, ignorant, corrupt, cruel Spain. He aroused an international indignation that strengthened the resistance of Spanish workers and compelled concessions from Spanish rulers.

Ferrer is dead. His soul is marching on.

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TWO NOTABLE BOOKS

Reviewed by **UPTON SINCLAIR**

I HAVE just finished reading two extremely interesting Socialist books, which are significant of the development of the movement in this country.

The first of them is "Twentieth Century Socialism," by the late Edmond Kelly. It was five or six years ago that I first became acquainted with Kelly's books. (They were recommended to me by Ray Stannard Baker, who said they had made a great impression upon him.) I first read "Evolution and Effort," written at the time that Kelly was actively engaged in reform politics in New York City (he was one of the founders of the City Club). I then read his two large volumes, "Government or Human Evolution," which impressed me as being the most satisfactory refutation of the reactionary sociology of Herbert Spencer that I had ever come upon. I felt over the discovery the relief which a man feels over a difficult job which somebody else has kindly done for him. The volumes are not light reading by any means, but to students of science, economics and philosophy, who are under the sway of Herbert Spencer, they will prove a revelation.

Shortly afterwards I met Edmond Kelly, owing to the great interest which he took in the Helicon Hall enterprise. He had been perhaps the best known and most successful American lawyer in Paris, the counsel for the American Legation, and a member of the Legion of Honor; and he had come home with the idea of founding a sort of Fabian Socialist society in this country. Being an aristocrat born and bred, he was naturally looked upon with suspicion by Socialists here, and it was an interesting thing to me to see how, with his keen mind and fine enthusiasm, he came step by step into full sympathy with the political Socialist movement. Before his death he had joined the party and was actively helping in the establishment of the New York *Call*.

When I first met Kelly he told me that his doctors had given him only a couple of years to live, and that the one task upon which his hopes were centered was that of leaving behind him a work which should embody his final convictions as to Socialism. This is the book, "Twentieth Century Socialism," which has just been published, with a little editing by Mrs. Florence Kelley, and with prefaces by Prof. Franklin Giddings, of Columbia University, and Mr. Rufus Weeks. I have read the book with the greatest interest, and I have no hesitation in saying that it is the best presentation of Socialism from the American point of view that has yet appeared. It is especially to be recommended for circulation among the intellectual classes—I cannot conceive how any fair-minded clergyman or college professor or student of social science can read it and not be delivered from the misrepresentations with which prejudice has beclouded our propaganda. I cannot do better in conclusion than quote the two final paragraphs of Prof. Gidding's statement concerning the book:

"How clearly he saw what sort of a book was needed is best indicated in his own account of what he desired to do. It should be first of all, he thought, comprehensive. Socialism has been presented from the economic standpoint, from the scientific, from the ethical, and from the idealistic. As Mr. Kelly saw it, Socialism is not merely an economic system, nor merely an idealistic vision. It is a consequence and product of evolution. 'Science has made it constructive,' he says, 'and the trusts have made it practical.' It is ethical because 'the competitive system must ultimately break upon the solidarity of mankind,' because the survival of the fit is not the whole result of evolution. The result still to be attained is 'the improvement of all.' And Socialism is idealistic because it not only contemplates, but gives reasonable promise of 'a community from which exploitation, unemployment, poverty and prostitution shall be eliminated.'

"But besides making an exposition of Socialism as a whole and in all its parts, Mr. Kelly aimed to make a book for 'non-socialists.' With this purpose in view, he has kept closely to concrete statement, and, above all, has tried to avoid vagueness and loose generalization. He has described possibilities in terms that all know and understand. With the precision of the trained legal mind he seizes the essential point when he says: 'It is not enough to be told that there are a thousand ways through which Social-

Upton Sinclair

ism can be attained. We want to see clearly one way.' With the last strength that he had to spend Mr. Kelly showed one way; and no bewildered wayfarer through our baffling civilization, however he may hesitate to set his feet upon it, will venture to say that it is not clear."

* * * * * * *

The other book is John Spargo's "Life of Karl Marx." It is a curious fact that now, nearly a generation after Marx's death, the first adequate biography of him should be published, and published in America. It is a most interesting sign of the progress of the movement here that there should be a public sufficiently large to make possible the appearance of such an elaborate and comparatively expensive book. Previous to reading it, Marx had been to me largely a name, and I presume that this is the case with most American Socialists.

Spargo has sought out the details of his life with patient care, and has told the story well. He has been led, unfortunately, to a misquotation of one of Marx's letters, page 277, but his error has been promptly pointed out, and will presumably be corrected in later editions. If I had any fault to find with the book, it would be that it is devoted somewhat too exclusively to the personal side of Marx's life; that one is not given a sufficiently adequate account of the development of the vast movement which he did so much to create and to direct. This, however, is perhaps inevitable at the present time. Spargo, being a Socialist, would perhaps be led to take the movement for granted, and to be afraid to encumber his book with too elaborate an account of events which are still matters of controversy. As it is, he has produced a book which will be read with interest by many non-Socialists. I have been interested to observe that all the reviews which I have so far seen in non-Socialist publications have been extremely favorable, and indicated that the writers had been surprised to find that Marx was not any of the disagreeable things which they had expected to find him.

TWENTIETH CENTURY SOCIALISM. By Edmond Kelly. Cloth, $1.75 net.
KARL MARX: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By John Spargo. Cloth, $2.50 net.

Any book mentioned in these columns can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. Unless otherwise stated, prices do not include postage.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 15 TO 21, 1910. Paper, 324 pp., 50 cents. Published by the Socialist Party, J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, at National Headquarters, 180 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

No Socialist party member who desires to keep in close touch with the progress of American Socialism can afford to overlook this volume. The matter which it contains, besides the mere recital of the policies and proposals, discussed, accepted or rejected, serves as an excellent criterion of the intellectual progress made by the party membership in recent years, and used for this purpose, the result is extremely gratifying. In previous reports of a similar kind much space was wasted in the recounting of inconsequential speeches bristling with redundant verbiage and misplaced oratory and tedious parliamentary wrangling. This report, though like the previous ones, printed verbatim, makes a most satisfactory contrast in this respect. The speeches, besides being terse, concise and to the point, indicate much improvement in knowledge and a much more comprehensive grasp of the subjects discussed, the "soap-boxing" and "point-of-order" features being reduced to a most desirable minimum. Typographically, also, the volume stands far ahead of its predecessors, and the indexing leaves nothing to be desired. Clear printing, good paper, a neat exterior appearance, and the low price of 50 cents are other features which tend to suggest the statement that it is the most creditable piece of work as yet issued by the national Socialist party.

Books Received

THE SOUL OF A SERF. By J. Breckenridge Ellis. Cloth, $1.00. Library edition, $1.50. 328 pp. Laird & Lee, Publishers, Chicago, Ill.

NOTABLE MEN OF CHICAGO AND THEIR CITY. Compiled and published by the Chicago *Daily Journal*, Chicago, Ill. Cloth. 414 pp. Issued specially for the use of newspapers and publications outside Chicago, and presented with compliments of the publishers. Engravings by the Reincke-Kreiker and Barnes-Crosby Companies, Chicago. Photographs by the Wallenger, Matzene, and Moffett Studios, Chicago.

ROBERT BLATCHFORD: THE SKETCH OF A PERSONALITY. By A. Neil Lyons. Cloth, 189 pp., 75 cents net; 10 cents postage. The Clarion Press, London, England. Imported by the John Lane Co., The Bodley Head, New York.

TO-DAY'S PROBLEMS: ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MESSAGES OF HOPE AND CHEER BY ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY ABLE WRITERS. Compiled by Henry E. Allen. Paper, 48 pp., 10 cents. The Trade Union Book Concern, Chicago, Ill.

ANCIENT MYSTERY AND MODERN REVELATION. By W. J. Colville. Cloth, 366 pages, $1.00 net. R. F. Fenno & Co., 18 East 17th Street, New York.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. By Rev. G. W. Woodbey. Paper, 68 pp., 10 cents. Published by the author at 3780 N Street, San Diego, Cal.

GUIDA DEGLI STATI UNITI PER L'IMMIGRANTE ITALIANO. By John Foster Carr. Paper. 85 pp. Published under the auspices of the Connecticut Daughters of the American Revolution. Printed by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

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"AMERICAN PANICS," by H. H. Caldwell. Regular price, $2 per 100. Special price, $1 per 100.

"THAT BLESSED WORD 'REGULATION,'" by Charles Edward Russell. Regular price, $1 per 100. Special price, 50c. per 100.

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"MY MASTER THE MACHINE," by Roy O. Ackley. Shows how under the present system the machine is the master, instead of the servant of humanity. Regular price, $1 per 100. Special price, 50c. per 100.

"SOCIALISM, THE HOPE OF THE WORLD," by Eugene Wood. Excellent for propaganda among all classes of thinkers. Regular price, $2 per 100. Special price, $1 per 100.

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TAFT AND SOCIALISM - - - - - - - Reginald Fenton

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DON'T OVERLOOK

The matter of your own education while trying to convert your neighbors to Socialism. Join the Literature Brigade of your Local, and do all you can in other ways to gain recruits for the Socialist Cause. At the same time, remember that the best Socialist is the one who is informed on his subject. Have in your Library the standard works on political economy, and read them carefully.

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"CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS." By Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch (of Rochester Theological Seminary). Published at $1.50. Special price, **$1** postpaid.

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"LET·THE·NATION·OWN·THE TRUSTS"

WILSHIRE'S

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
·Editor·

Vol. XIV No. 10 NEW YORK, OCTOBER, 1910 Price. 5 Cents per Copy

Mr. Roosevelt's Popularity

GAYLORD WILSHIRE *in London Daily News, Sept. 14th*

AMERICAN adulation of Roosevelt is, I find, often a puzzle to people on this side of the Atlantic. The real interest of it is, I venture to say, not to be found in the personality of that strenuous individual, but rather in the present economic condition of America, which is responsible for this extraordinary Roosevelt fever. Roosevelt is obviously a man of no particular intellectual acuteness, he has no lofty ideals, he achieved no great political results in his seven years of the Presidency, and yet he has a greater political following to-day in America than any man has ever had before. Why?

It is because the American people are beset with economic problems, which they have been vainly trying to solve, and now discouraged and bewildered they are turning to the prophet with the loudest trumpet, who so confidently promises them salvation if they follow him. For years the Americans have been wrestling with the trust problem, yet to-day they are no nearer finding a solution than they were twenty years ago. The great difference is that twenty years ago the trust problem was more or less academic to the general public, the only people vitally interested then were the small competitors of the trusts, who were being exterminated and whose dying calls for help were responded to by Congress passing the futile Sherman Anti-Trust Bill. Twenty years have passed, and the competitors have long been dead and buried. The cries to heaven and Roosevelt that are now being heard throughout America are now from the people who buy goods from the trusts, and not from the people who would like to compete with the trusts. What the afflicted to-day have lost in the financial quality they have made up in the human quantity. It used to be a cry of "I can't make money on account of the trusts"; it is now a cry of "I can't afford to buy food on account of the trusts."

It is interesting here to remark that this same cry of the people of the impossibility of buying food on account of the prevailing world-wide high prices is heard from every land, with the single difference that in the high tariff countries they attribute the evil to the high tariff, and in the low tariff countries to the low tariff, and in America, where, after all, the tariff bears but little relation to food prices, the evil of high prices is found to be in the trusts, although there is, of course, there some talk about the high tariff.

Now, I know that here in England there is a deep-seated conviction that the trusts in America are creatures of the high tariff, and that the solution of the trust problem is just as simple as would be the institution of Free Trade. However, I would call attention to the fact that the greatest trust of all, and the one which just now is considered most responsible for the current high prices, is the Railway Trust, and even the most ardent Free Trader would hardly insist that the high tariff is responsible for that trust. The Oil Trust, the Beef Trust, and the Steel Trust are undoubtedly enabled to charge higher prices owing to the protective tariff. Free Trade might reduce their swollen profits, but it would not disturb their monopoly, for their natural advantages of position would enable them always to control the market as against the foreigner.

Twenty years ago the Americans were sure that the destruction of trusts was merely a question of passing a law making trade combinations illegal, but experience has now taught them that so vital is the right to make trade combinations that if it is taken away then the business itself is killed. The laws they hastily passed against combinations they have not dared enforce, except as against the labor unions, which quite unexpectedly were caught in the wide-reaching Sherman Anti-Monopoly Bill, which has been construed by the Courts to apply to combinations of labor quite as well as to combinations of capital. When the Sherman Anti-Trust Bill was passed twenty years ago, nobody thought of a labor union being involved, but as things have turned out, the labor unions have been the only combinations that have suffered any real penalties from the law.

However, the fact that the American people have come to the opinion that the trusts cannot be touched by legislation of the order of the Sherman Bill has not by any means reconciled them to a policy of doing nothing. The cry now is not for destruction of the trusts, but for regulation of the trusts, but then comes up the question, "How can we trust our legislators to regulate the trusts when we know that our legislators are themselves creatures of the trusts?" The answer that would come naturally to an Englishman would be, "Why not elect men who are not creatures of the Trust?"

The Americans would reply, "We have been trying to elect such men for twenty years—in fact, ever since the Civil War—but we have found that we don't seem to be able to do it. We have practically given up the struggle. It's no use; the Trusts are too strong for us. But we do believe in Mr. Roosevelt. He is a man who is incorruptible. He is strong. He is our only salvation. We stake all on him."

This, then, in my opinion, is the basis of the Roosevelt mania. It is the turning of the American people to a man, an autocrat, if you please, to save them from the industrial barons; it is the recrudescence of the old turning of the people in the days of feudalism to the King for protection against the nobility.

That Roosevelt has no programme that will solve the problem I admit, but that the people don't know this is quite another question.

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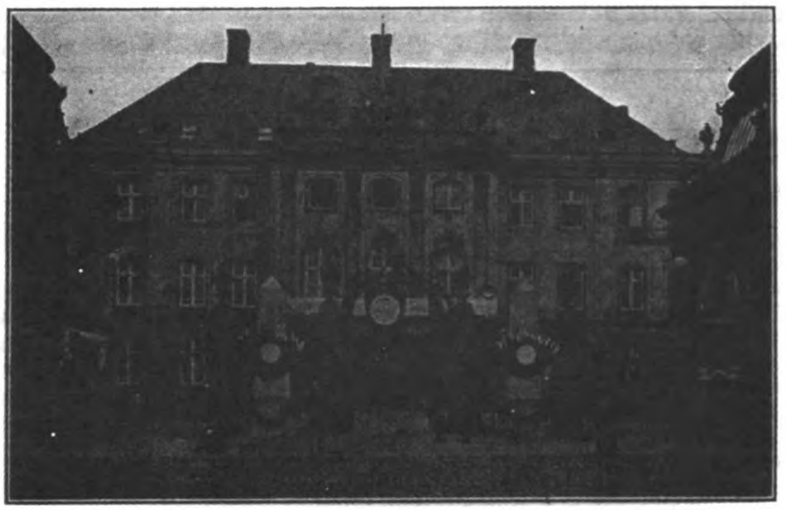
The Eighth International Socialist Congress

By **THOMAS J. MOONEY,** ***Winner of Second Prize in the Wilshire 'Round the World Contest***

ON Sunday, August 28, the Eighth International Socialist Congress met in the beautiful city of Copenhagen at the great Concert Palace, the finest of its kind in the city, and only two blocks distant from the palace of the Danish king.



The Great Concert Palace of Copenhagen, in which the International Socialist Congress Held Its Sessions.

It seemed to me that though in some respects this Congress marked an epoch in the International Socialist movement, in others it was somewhat disappointing.

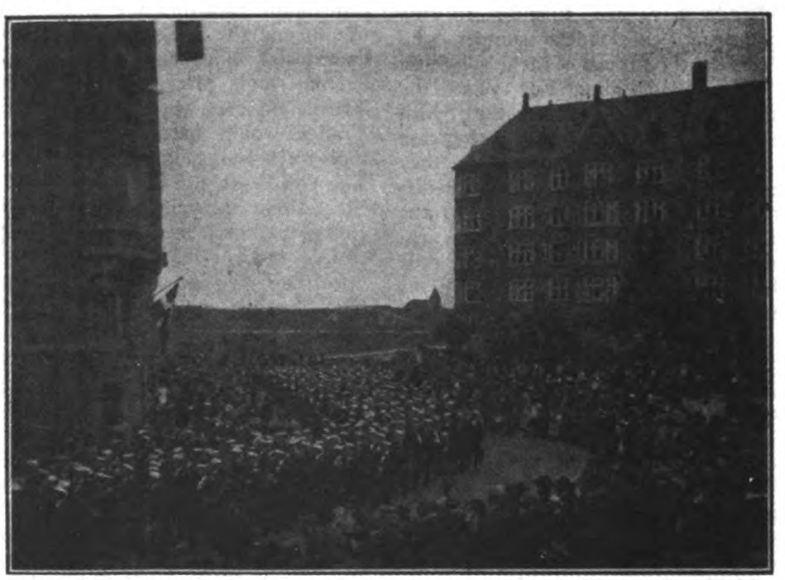
The manner in which the work of the Congress was conducted left nothing to be desired, the organization was almost perfect, the proceedings being carried out deliberately, systematically and thoroughly.

However, no new policies were inaugurated, nor was there any change of methods or tactics suggested for the emancipation of the proletariat. It seemed to be the general opinion that those now in use were sufficient, at least for the present.

The proceedings at the Concert Palace opened at 10 A. M. with almost nine hundred delegates, representing practically every civilized country on earth. An orchestra of sixty pieces—the best of its kind in Copenhagen—furnished the music for the occasion. Five hundred Danish workingmen sang in chorus the cantata composed by A. C. Myers, a member of the *Social Demokraten* staff—the greatest Socialist paper in the kingdom—finishing their part by the singing of the "Internationale," the Marseillaise of the modern proletariat. The music and singing was tremendously inspiring, and was, judging by the applause it received, thoroughly appreciated by the delegates and visitors.

Two members of the Danish Riksdag, as the parliament of that country is called, welcomed the delegates and visitors to Copenhagen. These were Gustav Bang and Theo. Staunning, both well-known and prominent figures in the Danish movement. These comrades dealt mainly with the progress of Socialism in Denmark, pointing out that the class struggle there grows more bitter every day. In 1871 there was neither propaganda nor movement in Denmark, and no working class organization of any kind. Now they have twenty-eight Socialist members in the Riksdag out of a total of 114, and at the last election polled over 100,000 Socialist votes, while the total population of the country is only about two and a half millions. Their daily paper, *Social Demokraten,* had a circulation of 60,000, which was much larger than that of any other paper in the country, while the subscriptions to all Danish Socialist papers exceeded 120,000. Denmark also could show 100,000 organized trade unionists.

The speakers in concluding their welcome, hoped that the proletariat of the world represented at this Congress would continue the methods and tactics that had brought such great results to the Socialist movement, and ever try to improve and strengthen them for the solidification of the confederated workers of all lands.



A monster procession of 60,000 people, headed by a chorus of 500 Danish Socialist Singers at the Opening of the Congress.

The opening address was then made by Emile Vandervelde of Belgium, one of the most eloquent European Socialists. The Congress adjourned for the day, and a monster procession which had been organized, and which contained not less than 60,000 people, started from the center of the city to an outlying park, where speeches were delivered by many of the most eloquent delegates from different countries, interspersed with music and song.

Next day the Congress devoted its time to the testing of the mandates and constitutions of the Commission, each section appointing delegates for the different commissions. On the day following, the commission met and selected reporters for presenting their reports. On Monday and Tuesday, August 29 and 30, there were inter-parliamentary meetings, and every morning at 9 A. M. the International Bureau met. On the day following the delegates were the guests of the Danish comrades on an excursion to Skodsberg, about two hours by steamer. The "Tivoli," Copenhagen's finest amusement garden, was thrown open free of charge to the delegates during the Congress sessions, and all public institutions were also open for their inspection. On the three following days the Congress received the reports and resolutions of the various commissions, many of them being rather lengthy. The report on the unemployed question received the greatest attention and criticism, while anti-militarism came a close second. A resolution presented by Keir Hardie, an English delegate, in favor of the general strike in time of war, was laid over to be taken up at the next Congress. There was a spirited passage between the German delegate Ledebour and Ramsay McDonald, a British delegate of the Independent Labor Party. Ledebour scored the Labor Party for their action in supporting the recent Budget which called for increased war expenditure and declared that all Socialists in the various Parliaments should universally vote against such appropriations.

The Congress closed on September 3 amid scenes of great enthusiasm. Delegate Adler of Austria made an appropriate expression of thanks when the Congress decided that its next meeting should be held in Vienna in 1913.

Molkenbuhr of Germany, Hillquit of the

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United States, Jaurès of France, and Vandervelde, the Belgian delegate, made the closing speeches, all paying grateful tribute to the efforts of the International Secretary, Huysmanns, and the hospitality of the Danish comrades to the visiting delegates.

That evening the City Hall, one of the finest modern buildings in Europe, was a scene of unparalleled festivity. A standing supper was served, beautiful music and singing from the best artists in Copenhagen and short addresses from most of the noted delegates. The evening closed with dancing and general merriment, and many were heard to declare that the occasion was the greatest of its kind that had ever been held.

Every one present was inspired with greater hope and energy to work harder for the cause of Industrial Freedom which all Socialists hold dear, and in this respect perhaps the Congress can be regarded as thoroughly successful.

Diverse Views of Congress

IN our August issue we stated editorially that "as a matter of fact Socialist Congresses of to-day in the matured state that Socialism finds itself, are more important as forming a meeting place where Socialists may become personally acquainted than for anything else. The resolutions are bound to be formal and for novelty of little account. There is little or nothing that can be developed along Socialism that is new or original that will not be already known to the attendants at the Congress, but, nevertheless, the opportunity afforded for the advancement of the solidarity which come when men who wish to work together become better acquainted is of great importance."

The proceedings of the Congress have fully substantiated this opinion. Many Socialists, however, seemingly believe that unless new policies and tactics are adopted no progress has been made. For instance, Mr. Irving, a British delegate, is thus quoted in the London *Daily News:*

"Don't say another single word. We haven't moved a step since the Congress of 20 years ago. The only poeple to whom the proceedings of this Congress will be pleasant reading are the capitalists, and they will laugh at us and make fun of our labors. The whole Congress has been a sort of Sunday afternoon's entertainment, and it hasn't been worth the money that the delegates paid for their railway tickets."

In direct opposition to this pessimistic view is that of a fellow delegate, Mr. Ramsay McDonald, who is thus quoted:

The real value of the International Socialist Congress is not what are called its "plenary sessions," but the dinners and lunches, the coffees and cigars over which the national leaders discuss their policies. No one can estimate the enormous effect of these consultations. They mean that every national leader of the working classes is personally known to every other national leader, and that national policy receives an international setting. It may be that the consultations held by the German, French, and English leaders about war and armaments will have more significance than Royal visits or the exchange of Foreign Office notes.

The business of the congress itself does not appear to the outsider to have been important. It was marked by none of the rowdyism of London in 1896, none of the dramatic importance of Amsterdam six years ago, when the Jaurès-Guesde quarrel was fought out to a peace. But that is just where the importance of Copenhagen lies. The chief business at Copenhagen related to the problems of a normal advance of Socialist opinion—the chief of which was the attitude of organized labor in the event of war. It is only just beginning to dawn upon those who take superficial views of things that a complete understanding between the workers of Germany and England could prevent war even after it had been declared by the governing authorities of the two countries. Undoubtedly the first great achievement of the international working-class movement will be to secure for the working classes the last word in foreign policy. Copenhagen has advanced that very substantially and, by referring the more important details of the problem to the bureau which conducts our international business between congress and congress, the congress has led us to expect some development of great moment.

A group of Delegates being entertained by Danish comrades at Skodsberg, Copenhagen's famous summer resort.

The majority of the delegates share the opinion of Mr. McDonald, which has certainly more reason and probability behind it than that of Mr. Irving. Evidently it has not occurred to the latter that the steady and rapid progress of the Socialist movement throughout the world may explain why the Congress cannot get ahead of it. The road to power is now sufficiently charted for all immediate advance. Nor have we noticed any particular satisfaction on the part of the capitalists regarding the proceedings of the Congress, and are inclined to think they would have been much better pleased had that body attempted to direct the movement into unknown and uncertain paths. As it is, the Congress merely recognized the truth of the adage that "experience teaches."

Why China is Arming

A member of the American Board of Missions, Dr. Arthur H. Smith, of Pekin, who has lived in China since 1872, declares that few people have any conception of the vast changes that are taking place in that country. The old order is passing away and China is rapidly taking her place among the so-called civilized modern nations. Speaking of the growth of militarism under the influence of Japan he is quoted as saying:

China sees in Japan an efficiency in which she is absolutely lacking herself, and which not a single Western nation can equal. Japan as a military power is far ahead of England or America. See how the Boer and Cuban wars were muddled. China sees this at her door and it has made her think and act.

Military service in China has been raised to the level of the Civil Service. Till recently it stood far below it. The first thing China sees, when she looks at foreign nations, is a furious contest as to who shall have the deadliest guns and the biggest fleet, and she feels that her existence depends on taking the same course. So she is arming as she sees every other nation in the world doing.

Though not generally recognized, it is none the less true that this reason also originated the modern industrial development of Japan. About the time Dr. Smith went to China, Japan was just recognizing that her national existence also depended first on arming herself with the modern weapons of that day. In this matter China is but repeating the history of Japan. That country detested intercourse of any kind with European nations, commercial or otherwise, just as China did, but was forced to arm herself to maintain national independence. Thirteen-inch cannon are excellent means for opening the markets of the world, provided the other fellow hasn't got any. When he does secure them, however, the proposed exploitation takes on a somewhat different character, as Japan has clearly demonstrated.

A Post Mortem Opinion

A typical sample of the callousness and density of British officialdom is exhibited in the following item clipped at random from a London exchange:

The East London coroner held an inquiry yesterday at Whitechapel Infirmary with reference to the death of William Campbell, aged 90 years, an inmate of the institution. The evidence showed that deceased had been in the infirmary fourteen years, and for some time past had acted as messenger in the building. He was feeble and his eyesight was failing. On the 8th inst. he slipped in the dormitory and died from old age accelerated by the fall.

A Juryman—I think it is a great shame and inhuman that this poor old man should have been allowed to act as a messenger.

The Coroner—People who know anything about the aged say that it is beneficial and conducive to continued existence that elderly persons should have some light occupation.

The jury brought in a verdict of accidental death.

As an exhibition of official stupidity, hypocrisy and inhumanity, this comment of the East London Coroner cannot be surpassed. The pen of a George Bernard Shaw would be required to do it adequate justice.

Since the elections of 1907 in Germany, the Socialists have won eight seats in the Reichstag, their representatives now numbering 51, instead of 43 returned two years ago. In every election held since, the Socialist vote has increased to a tremendous extent, to the consternation of the Kaiser and all reactionary parties.

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A BELIEF sincerely held, no matter how antiquated or ridiculous it may appear to the majority, always makes for progress when publicly asserted by an important personage. Extreme reactionary views when thus expressed generally act as the boomerang which returns and wounds the thrower.

The German Kaiser's recent claim to rule by divine right is a case in point. It is generally agreed that its chief effect will be to give to the Socialists in the coming election from ten to twenty parliamentary seats more than they would have had if the Kaiser had kept his belief strictly for private use.

It is, seriously speaking, a very considerable advantage to the German Socialists to have a Kaiser sufficiently impolitic to insist on making his reactionary views public.

In America we receive very little aid of this kind. Our politicians are too prudent. When they do make a bad break in public, it is impossible to make them repeat it. Mr. Baer, for instance, has never publicly reiterated his views on the divine right of property, nor has Mr. Taft repeated that the unemployed question can be properly met by replying "God Knows." With them, it is a case of "Never Again."

However, with his sincere belief in his divine right, the Kaiser has no need for caution, and he is perfectly correct in refusing to allow his advisers to muzzle him. Possibly after all there may be some kind of divinity pertaining to him—perhaps the divinity that shapes his end.

THOUGH certainly one of the most noteworthy of recent events, the annexation of Corea by Japan, has curiously enough received little mention in the press, and apparently has not disturbed the balance of power to any noticeable extent. That the annexation was fully expected years ago and no power willing or able to interfere, is probably the reason for this silent acquiescence.

It marks the first acquisition of Japan on the Asiatic mainland. A territory of ninety thousand square miles and a population of twelve million people represent the first instalment of direct Japanese power in Asia, which is an encouraging start in the world grabbing game, especially for a newcomer like Japan.

Thirty years ago this territory was known as the "Hermit Kingdom," and foreigners were hardly permitted to set foot upon it. Its people dwelt in walled cities and had no communication with the outside world. Then came modern capitalist production and forced trade upon the reluctant inhabitants. Finally the region became the arena of battle between two hostile capitalistic groups, each seeking its commercial exploitation and in the triumph of one of the combatants the eight hundred year kingdom disappears. The walled cities go down with the dynasty, railroads penetrate the interior, new sea-ports spring up on the coasts, and the isolation of the natives is forever gone with the advent of the new conditions of life.

Through the development of modern capitalist production Japan has quickly learned the inexorable necessity of commercial and territorial expansion, and has been equally quick to act upon it. This annexation puts her in a position of advantage toward the general Asiatic market at the expense of her commercial competitors, which will tell heavily in her favor when the final struggle for the vast trade of Eastern Asia takes place.

ON the day preceding Labor Day (Sunday) a large number of clergymen by request preached sermons appropriate to the occasion, most of which took the form of eulogy of and insistence on the dignity of Labor, some being flattering to the point of nausea.

After reading some of these effusions—not without considerable suspicion of their sincerity—we happened upon a contribution by a reverend gentleman who is quoted in *The Literary Digest* of September 9, as complaining in a religious publication, *The Baptist Commonwealth* of Philadelphia, of the growing lack of respect and reverence for the cloth, which prevails at present. After stating that the church, the religious service and the ministry are being rapidly stripped of the sanctity and mystery that once enshrouded them, the lament continues in this strain:

"How often do we hear of members of churches—let us hope only in the spiritual backwoods—talk of 'hiring' a pastor; as if he were a mere day laborer, or clerk in their employ! They are hired by Jesus Christ and by him alone; and are, or should be, the hired servants of no man. How often, too, do we hear the disrespectful expression 'to get rid of' a pastor, as if he were some sort of a noxious insect. I once heard a young person saying of a certain church that 'they were trying to get rid of their pastor as they thought he was getting too old.' By the way, the usual plan of disposing of aged ministers, who have survived their usefulness, is much the same as that employed with decrepit horses, viz., turn them out to grass, to browse on the green sides of the stones. And a favorite plan of securing a pastor is scarcely more reverent or respectful. It is to 'trot out' a succession of ministers in the pulpit as 'candidates,' note their paces, their action under the saddle, and examine their teeth. Seriously there seems to be no notion of the real disrespect to a sacred office in the use of these terms, or of these methods."

And we may remark in the words of the clergyman that seriously there seems to be no notion of the real reason for this state of affairs among the clergy themselves, though they fully understand the inferior social status of "mere day laborers, clerks" and people who are "hired," despite the fulsome eulogies of Labor Day sermons.

But they have yet to realize the indisputable fact that under our competitive wage system, they are themselves on much the same plane as the hired wage worker as to the services they render—those services being regarded as a commodity just like any other. The treatment complained of—the "trotting out," the "hiring" and finally the relegation to the scrap-heap when age impairs their efficiency, is indentically that meted out to the wage laborer. And while capitalism and wage labor remain as the base of society it cannot be otherwise. The inevitable tendency is to regard the propertiless elements of society as occupying the status of wage laborers, and the clergy have no reason to expect that they shall escape the common lot. The traditional respect and reverence accorded them is necessarily bound to decrease as capitalistic development proceeds.

The church members who treat the minister as a hired man are, of course, unconscious of any disrespect on their part, simply because they are unconscious of the social results of industrial development. And while the minister remains equally ignorant of the cause, his complaints will necessarily fall on deaf ears. His congregation, saturated with the prevalent ideas of the "cash nexus" between man and man will naturally regard him as a servant to be taken on trial, hired or discharged in the manner of all other employees, without any recognition that they are lacking in respect to him by so doing.

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If a revival of the old respect and reverence in which the clergy were once held is at all possible, it can only be under a system of economic independence such as Socialism will provide. Then and then only will the clergyman secure whatever respect is really due to his office and function in society. Capitalism, on the other hand, will strip him of the last vestige of respect and reverence, and the clergyman who supports it as against Socialism, is merely assisting in the increasing social degradation of himself and his profession.

IT IS now about four years since naval warfare was last "revolutionized" by the appearance of the British war-ship "Dreadnought," a type of vessel which at once rendered all previous types obsolete. In those four years nearly one hundred of these monster vessels are either "built, building, or projected" at a cost of approximately one billion dollars. And now comes the news of another "revolution" in naval construction that consigns them to the junk-heap. A destroyer of Dreadnoughts has been evolved both in Great Britain and Germany, and a few months will see the new type under construction in the dockyards of both countries.

According to the German Socialist daily, *Vorwärts,* the destroyer is to be a much smaller vessel than the Dreadnought type. About 350 feet in length and 60 feet in breadth, it is designed to carry two enormously powerful guns of 17-inch calibre, each of which will throw with tremendous velocity a shell of nearly 3,000 pounds weight, and capable of crushing with ease the armour belt of the heaviest Dreadnought in existence, while the vessel herself will be so heavily armoured as to be absolutely impervious to the fire of the enemy. A speed of 27 knots will enable the destroyer to run down and smash to pieces any Dreadnought now afloat. Having a low freeboard she will be an inconspicuous target, and the absence of funnels—the vessel being driven by internal combustion motors—will permit the training of the two monster guns around an entire circle.

The news comes from the Kiel dockyards in Germany, where thousands of Socialist workmen are employed, many of them in the most important positions in the departments of design and construction, and it is almost certain that the information imparted to *Vorwärts* is substantially correct. On numberless previous occasions this journal has, through its peculiar facilities for obtaining inside information, made public the secrets of the ruling class, and rarely has the "scoop" proven unfounded.

Thus the hundreds of millions expended on Dreadnoughts have been literally thrown away, and hundreds of millions more will be wasted on developing and improving the new type, until the next "revolution" in naval warfare evolves the destroyer of Dreadnought destroyers.

In the meantime the capitalistic classes of all lands will be forced to part with an ever-increasing portion of the surplus extracted from the workers, to keep pace with the evolution of the modern war-ship, until Socialism arrives to call a halt on the process, and consign forever to the junkheap not only all types of murder machines, but also the system which made of them a necessity.

THREE years since, when the German elections resulted in a reduction of Socialist representation in the Reichstag from 79 to 43 members, the American press gave columns to the subject of the alleged defeat, carefully concealing the fact that the Socialist vote had increased by a quarter of a million. Newspapers and magazines teemed with articles and editorials on the "decline of Socialism" in Germany.

By the end of next year another general election is due in Germany, but there is no speculation on the probable results in the American press, and no predictions of the decline of Socialism. And, as Mr. Post says, "there's a reason."

And the reason is that German capitalist society is even now in a state of dissolution—crumbling to pieces before the steady and relentless march of German Socialism.

Practically every by-election since 1907 has resulted in a Socialist victory. Even as we write comes the news of two such triumphs. The 43 members have already grown to more than fifty. The vote of the Socialist party is now reckoned at four million, and the shrewdest politicians of the empire are predicting five or six millions and 120 to 130 members for the elections of 1913.

Socialist opposition and aggression has forced the Government to retreat time and again. The trials for lese-majesty are being abandoned, the right of free public meeting and speaking has been almost gained, and a Chancellor of the empire has been deposed by the ever-growing power and pressure of the German Social Democracy.

And, more serious than all, the army, the last hope of the iron-fisted Kaiser, is day by day becoming more unreliable for his purposes. No longer can the conscripts be trusted to shoot down their fathers and brothers at the imperial command. Anti-militarism is rampant, the iron discipline is relaxing, Socialism has invaded the ranks, and the mighty war machine that was depended on as a last refuge behind which autocracy and capitalism might maintain themselves now seems to incline to the side of the revolution and against its former masters.

And all the while the military expenditure becomes heavier, a $300,000,000 budget for the present year being appropriated, with the assistance of $125,000,000 of new taxation, and all the while the cost of living rises, the rise of the Socialist tide keeping pace with the ruinous expenditure, every effort to stem it being in vain.

Germany is on the very brink of the social revolution, and her capitalists and statesmen know it only too well. On this side of the water our ruling classes are also fully alive to the gravity of the situation, but not daring to publicly "view with alarm" are reduced to the usual policy of suppressing the facts. German Socialist victories are now passed over in silence, but the time is near at hand when the policy of concealment will be no longer possible.

CONFRONTED with the threat and possibility of a general strike of all organized industry, British capitalism may well regard its last success against the unions as a Pyrrhic victory. The note of exultation with which it hailed the decision of the Lords in the Osborne case, in which trade unions were forbidden to assess their members for the expenses of and maintenance of their Parliamentary candidates, has been suddenly transformed into a cry of alarm, by the action of the annual Trades Congress at Sheffield.

That body, intellectually dominated by Socialists, by a vote of 1,717,000 to 13,000, decided that the answer to the Osborne decision would take the form of a general strike, and that the various unions should take measures for closer confederation to make it effective.

This is the British trades unionism that a few years ago was regarded as the bulwark of conservatism and a permanent barrier against Socialist invasion of the British labor world.

Already the class war is intensifying throughout the kingdom. In the shipbuilding and cotton industries and on the railroads, strikes and lock-outs and a condition of ominous unrest prevails. Numerous strikes and conflicts in minor industries add to the friction, and certainly warrant the alarm now pervading the propertied classes.

The Osborne decision was hailed as assuring the destruction of the Labor Party, but the victory was short-lived. The class struggle will not down. If its manifestation in Parliamentary form is made difficult or impossible, it is bound to assume other forms even more immediately threatening and it is this situation that now confronts the ruling class of Great Britain.

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A Clergyman on Religion and Life

Extracts from Resignation Notice of REV. W. THURSTON BROWN

IN severing his connection with the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City, of which he had been for three years the pastor, Rev. William Thurston Brown explains his reasons to the congregation in a document which throws much light on the present causes of dissatisfaction and unrest that pervade the pulpit and the very noticeable drift toward Socialism therefrom. We regret that space will not permit the reproduction of the entire text, but some extracts may be given here.

After recounting his experiences as a minister of one of the evangelical bodies, and his growing dissatisfaction therewith, he declares that he was attracted to the Unitarian connection from the fact that it seemed to him that it stood firmly for the recognition of the fundamental law of life—the law of growth and change—and that intellectual progress was therefore possible therein. He found, however, that in regard to social and industrial progress, the Unitarian body differed little from the most conservative and unprogressive religious organizations.

The church has always bowed before authority without examining the basis of it, been content to believe rather than to know, placed faith far above knowledge, and found the source of its inspiration in the past. The men in Unitarian pulpits who furnish exceptions to this rule have always been heretics in the eyes of their own alleged brethren. The Unitarian body has as little use for a heretic—a live one—as any other. And this in spite of the fact that Unitarianism began as a heresy.

Our churches are uniformly the defenders and bulwarks of tradition, of old and outgrown ideas. *They are so because they are made up of and supported by those classes in society whose material interests are served by maintaining the moral and political status quo.* They are made up of and supported by those classes from which no real moral advance can be expected. The people of our churches do not know the rudiments of that knowledge which is indispensable to intelligent and fruitful action on the problems of the present.

* * * * * * *

The people of our churches do not study the facts of real life. They do not think about them. And they will not listen to any one who would try to tell them the facts. So they are maintaining the same attitude toward Marx and his associates as their fathers did toward Darwin. The energies of our churches are exhausted in futile things, in things totally unrelated to the real evolution of life toward higher things. No wonder this is an age in which the most transparent frauds and charlatans can become rich from the fees paid them by people who have not the faintest glimmer of intelligence as to the real meaning and purpose of this life of ours. This is exactly what is taking place right now and in our midst.

* * * * * * *

The thing which the churches fail to see—and which I think they will fail to see to the end of their chapter—is that this movement of the human spirit which marks our own time, this uprising of the proletariat the world over, this advance of Socialism to the conquest of the world, is the divinest, sacredest, most spiritual thing our eyes can see or our souls put forth their powers in. The men whom our churches regard as safe and sane and spiritual, as the preachers of religion, are blind men—blind to the most wonderful exhibitions of spirituality the world has ever known; are deaf men—deaf to the holiest voices that have ever been heard among men. The hope and faith and psychology of the modern working class cannot be matched for moral majesty or spiritual power in all history. But these favored teachers of the churches are merely modern scholastics, the inevitable product of this age of capitalistic materialism, because they have made the mistake of adjusting themselves to the demands and customs and moral standards of an age of decadence, *instead of functioning in the new age of democracy and freedom already coming to its dawn.* The men whom the church will not tolerate are the men who are finding right now and here, in the human struggle that is on, in the facts and forces of the world to-day, in its most significant movement, the one thing that must be for them the supreme manifestation of a Divine Life, the one *thing* that commands their loyalty and their devotion, and which crowns their lives with a sense of immortal worth. They are the men whom no church will or can support, simply because all churches are made up of men and women, in large measure, whose minds are fossilized and petrified by the customs and creeds of capitalism, and because the minister can be maintained as a member of a privileged class only by the money of men and women who belong to that class whose economic doom is sealed, a class which possesses no moral dynamic adequate to the tremendous tasks of a higher civilization.

* * * * * * *

For four years I have been field secretary of the American Unitarian Association for the Rocky Mountain States. The churches of these States know me well. They know I am sincere, in earnest, reverent, loyal to my convictions. From several of them I have received urgent requests to come and take charge as their minister. And yet some of the members and ministers of these churches have protested against my remaining as field secretary, on the ground that my social teaching is injurious to these churches. *Were these protests made by men who had studied Socialism and from that study were convinced that it is untrue and harmful?* Not in a single case. Not a single person in the whole lot has ever studied Socialism or knows anything more about it than what he or she has derived from the misrepresentations of those whose interests are served by wholesale lying. Did they protest against me because they believed me to be a bad man, insincere, a charlatan, lacking in moral courage, ignorant, untruthful? Not at all. They protested against my appointment *because the fact that I am a Socialist prevents these churches from getting the support of people who have money and whose use of that money is determined by their prejudices and not by any sense whatever of a sacred cause by which alone it would be consecrated.* A denomination which calls itself liberal or claims to be made up of free churches in which such thing can happen is an organized hypocrisy, and it is idle for any one to think that it can or does serve the cause of real religion.

* * * * * * *

Mr. Brown sums up and concludes his statement in the following trenchant and decisive language:

I do not forget that I have many good friends in this city, and I am grateful for their friendship. But I know well that the conditions do not yet exist here which will permit anything that may justly be called a free church. This society is not a religious body, in my judgment. It has never fulfilled the conditions that make a body of people religious. A religious body would be a body of people held together solely by the sense of such a purpose to be served as subordinates all other things to it alone. There isn't a Unitarian church anywhere that answers that description. Our churches prate of freedom and talk of individuality, but they are false alarms. Their boasted freedom is an illusion, and the only individuality they care about is a counterfeit, false and misleading. Their members cannot honestly make their own those noble words of Lowell:

> He's true to God who's true to Man. Wherever wrong is done
> To the weakest, to the humblest, 'neath the all-beholding sun,
> That wrong is done to us, and they are slaves most base
> Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all the race."

These churches are made up of a lot of insulated atoms, disconnected with the beating life of the struggling world, and with no reason for being. We are insane if we think that such an organization can accomplish anything vital for or in the world. It can do nothing but advertise its own hypocrisy and sterility, and that is exactly what it is effectively doing everywhere.

My friends, I can't waste what years of my life I may have left by staying in that kind of an organization. I must find a way of making a better use of my life. Do you say that this step means privation, tragedy, loss, perhaps the breaking of old ties, even the wrecking of my life? Let me answer:

The man who is deterred from doing his duty by fear of any of these things has absolutely nothing to give the world—his life is worthless, a mere piece of rotten wood. *The world has been pretending for over eighteen centuries to worship a man who faced and experienced all these things, and you tell me I will wreck my life if I go out of the church.* Do you know what I would do to my life if, accepting the conditions which this organized hypocrisy and cowardice which we call a church imposes, I should stay in it? By so trying to save my life I would lose it. I think too much of my life for that. I cannot permit the artificial and false standards which a dead church and a decadent state would impose on me to determine my conduct. Life is too sacred for that. I owe something to the future—every awakened soul does. I owe a debt to the souls that your capitalism is now wrecking. I owe a sacred obligation, because of what I know, to innumerable souls in prison—in the prisons of blighted lives, in the prisons of ignorance and falsehood and superstition. My own integrity depends upon it. I cannot look any one I love in the face unless I prove myself true to the best that is in me. I cannot again accept the limitations these churches impose. Only in freedom can the soul grow. Only in fidelity to itself can it be a blessing to another.

* * * * * * *

Religion for me is not in the church—never will be in the church. I am leaving the church in obedience to the summons of religion and life. I shall do what in me lies to serve the cause of enlightenment, of industrial and social and spiritual emancipation.

"Let The Nation Own The Trusts," Says Hearst

HERE is something that reads very much like a WILSHIRE editorial. It is an answer given to the question of whether the power of the trusts will increase or diminish in the immediate future.

The influence of the "interests," which means the power of the trusts, of organized industry and commerce, will go forward steadily without interruption.

Just as steadily as early military feudalism advanced and grew until the people at last controlled it and owned it, just so steadily will to-day's industrial feudalism advance and grow without interruption until the people can control and own it.

The trusts are destined to be infinitely more powerful than now, infinitely more ably organized.

And that will be a very good thing in the long run for the people. The trusts are the people's great teachers, proving that destructive, selfish, unbrotherly competition is unnecessary.

They are proving that the genius of man, free from competition, can deal with the entire industry of a nation or of a world. They are saying to the people, "You can work under our orders. One power can own and manage all industry."

It is a little hard for individual ambition just now. But in time the people will learn the lesson, and will say to the trust owners:

"Thank you very much. We have learned the lesson. We see that it is possible for one power to own and control all industry, all manufactures, all commerce, and we the people will be that one power."

Just as the individual feudal lords organized their little armies in France, and just as the French people themselves now have all these armies in one—under the people's power—so the industries organized now by the barons of industrial feudalism, one by one, will be taken and put together by the people under the people's ownership.

That, by the way, will be the beginning of civilization on earth. But only the beginning.

It is because this editorial is well nigh useless in Mr. Hearst's *New York American*, where it originally appeared, that we reproduce it in WILSHIRE'S.

It lacks the label—Socialism. Hearst dare not tell his readers that it is the Socialist view of the Trust question. He wants to be known as the original discoverer of this view of the trusts, and regards the Socialists as undesirable competitors invading his political market. For this reason the word Socialism is tabooed in the Hearst editorial sanctum.

Hearst hates and despises the Socialists, but is himself sufficiently mean to steal their ideas, and cowardly enough to conceal the source of the plunder.

However, one commendable feature is that the goods, though stolen, are not spoiled in the stealing.

On the same day that the German Kaiser acquired his fifty-first palace, those "fatherlandless rascals" the German Socialists secured their fifty-first seat in the Reichstag.

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The Menace of Roosevelt

THOSE who predicted that the political career of Mr. Roosevelt was only at its beginning, have had considerable confirmation of their views in the events of the last two months. Evolution is by no means particular as to the instruments it employs, and it would seem that Mr. Roosevelt has been cast for a spectacular and possibly important part in the process that is inexorably carrying the present economic system toward ultimate Socialism.

The so-called "New Nationalism" of which he has constituted himself the mouth-piece, and which is now popularly regarded as a "Roosevelt policy," foreshadows more or less distinctly the outlines of that autocratic "state socialism," which Herbert Spencer many years ago denounced as the coming slavery, and which after all, is not so very different from the slavery that now exists, so far as the working people are concerned.

It is, however, much more important to the ruling classes, the capitalists, who instinctively see the dangerous tendency behind it, as a prelude to and preparation for greater and more far-reaching changes, of which Mr. Roosevelt himself is in all probability unconscious. As a consequence, the note of alarm is sounded far and wide in the columns of the capitalistic journals.

As a sample of the comment which the "New Nationalism" has evoked in the financial organs, the following taken from the New York *Journal of Commerce* of September 14th, may here be quoted:

From the most responsible sources it was learned yesterday that very serious thinking is being done in the highest financial circles. Not crops, not the monetary outlook, not the lack of investment, not the high cost of doing business—not these things, but the trend, or rather the rush, towards radicalism, led so spectacularly by ex-President Roosevelt, it was confided, is causing more deep-rooted uneasiness than the financial world has known in years. Beneath the stoicism displayed on the surface, beneath the jaunty declarations that things will right themselves, beneath the lip-ridicule of Mr. Roosevelt's revolutionary doctrines, lies the apprehension that the United States is on the eve of a new political order.

The older countries of Europe have passed through and are still passing through an era of quasi-socialism, of revolt against autocratic domination by crowns or other hereditary authorities, and now radicalism is fermenting in America. Theodore Roosevelt, with his almost supernatural divination of popular tendencies, has constituted himself the leader of this new movement, the end of which our financiers cannot foresee and scarcely dare contemplate.

The East has endeavored to belittle the triumphal march of Mr. Roosevelt throughout the West, but those who personally witnessed his reception at various points have reported back to headquarters that the numerous demonstrations were neither artificial nor superficial, but manifestly were the expression of sincere acclaim, the ex-President being hailed as the people's deliverer from the overlordship of capital and of political bosses allied with corporations rather than with the common people. These reports have not come from Mr. Roosevelt's worshippers, but from unbiased representatives capable of accurately gauging the significance of events, and whose mission it was to inform the financial powers that be concerning the inner meaning of things.

"Mr. Roosevelt has ambitions far transcending that of becoming merely President of the United States. He aspires to acquiring unlimited power." This serious statement comes not from a detractor of the ex-President, but from one whose association with him has been most intimate and who enjoys his confidence. According to this authority, Mr. Roosevelt is ambitious of recasting the whole system of government of the United States and placing himself at the head of the new régime.

"What this régime will be if Theodore Roosevelt can have his own way may be gathered from his pronunciamento at Ossawatomie and his other definitions of what he calls the "New Nationalism." He is convinced that the time draws near for an entire change of governing the conduct of the affairs in this country. He wants to set up a great centralized, bureaucratic Federal administration with himself at its head, invested with autocratic powers contrasted with which those now enjoyed by the President of the United States would seem Liliputian.

In light of this interpretation of events, Mr. Roosevelt's much-ridiculed "I will" threats assume a new significance, a significance that is not being scoffed at by responsible financial interests. They are striving to smile through their fears, but that fear lurks beneath the mask is no longer denied.

These statements are not drawn from the imagination, but may be accepted as absolutely authoritative.

It is the fear here expressed that is responsible for the predictions of Democratic victory in the coming campaign. Our capitalistic classes care little through which political party they govern, but they have strong objections to being governed by any kind of a political autocrat with a powerful following like Mr. Roosevelt, or in fact to be governed at all. Consequently, a "conservative" Democracy now suits their purposes, in view of the weakening of the Republican Party through the radicalism of Roosevelt.

Whether a period of what is known as "State Socialism" is inevitable as a prelude to genuine social democracy, remains to be seen. It is worthy of note, however, that the capitalist interests have been quick to perceive the tendency in that direction in the Roosevelt policies. They understand perfectly that the control of capitalistic property, to be effective, leads unmistakably to state ownership, and it is this control that the "New Nationalism" threatens.

Of course, state ownership of this kind does not solve the great economic problem before the American people, nor is it of any particular immediate benefit to the workers. As Engels well says, "The more the state proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution."

That the country is "on the eve of a new political order," as the *Journal of Commerce* strongly suggests, is, we take it, indisputable, and the first apparent sign is the breaking up of old political alignments, such as is now obvious in the two great parties. On the question of state as opposed to federal ownership as a solution of the Trust question, both Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan now occupy the same position, while Mr. Roosevelt in his "New Nationalism" declares the inadequacy of the separate states to control the Trusts and explicitly demands National control. Logically, therefore, Taft and Bryan should be in the same political camp. Bryan some few years ago urged the ownership of the railroads by the various states in which they were located, as opposed to federal ownership, but abandoned its advocacy in the face of the opposition the proposal created. Perhaps he may now find courage to urge it again with Taft as an ally.

However these things may be, whether Mr. Roosevelt's program succeeds, and he enacts the rôle of an American Bismarck temporarily, Socialists have no reason to doubt or fear the ultimate outcome. Every economic, political and social force is today working toward the goal of Socialist endeavor, the Co-operative Commonwealth, and much as he may despise and hate Socialism, Mr. Roosevelt is compelled by industrial and political conditions, to act as a factor in the process. And knowing the nature of the process and the irresistible forces behind it, the Socialist can go on calmly with his work of agitation, education and organization, with perfect assurance, understanding that every effort to preserve the present economic system, in the long run, but hastens its passing, and brings society perceptibly nearer the collectivist goal. Whether through a stage of Roosevelt autocracy, "state Socialism" or state capitalism, the progress toward ultimate social democracy is unceasing, certain and resistless in its march.

Wall Street Wolf Packs

A RAILROAD PRESIDENT, Mr. Arthur E. Stilwell, has written a work in which he gives a picturesque description of the methods by which one group of capitalists devour another. Having been himself a victim, Mr. Stillwell evidently knows of what he writes:

"A man may have fair financial standing. He perhaps thinks he has the confidence and respect of leading interests. He imagines he may escape the cough-up-quick methods of the street. No doubt he is a director of banks or trust companies. He has been requested to carry his account in this or that bank or trust company; he has been given unlimited credit at the brokers; but the day comes when the bears—or, in truth, wolves—'need his money'; these wolves may have been associated with him and he thinks they will play fair. Like Russian wolves, financial raiders do not discriminate while picking their victims.

"The time comes for the victim to disgorge a million or two because he believed in his wolfish chums. These wolves have friends in many banks and can find out just where his loans are, nearly all being 'on demand.' In twenty-four hours they size up what bear pressure he can stand; they know his assets, almost to a cent.

"The play begins. They sell short three or four thousand shares of his favorite stocks. The banks call for more collateral and he complies. Next, three or four thousand shares more are dumped on the market, and the man they are after is the principal supporter of these stocks; he is now on the run! Therefore, the market is not protected in these stocks. Gossip is started that Mr. Victim is in a tight place. This stops all buying of his favorite stocks, since a greater slump is feared because he is reported weak. Suddenly more shares are sold at a five-point drop. More collateral is demanded, which he cannot now give, and this is known at once at the seat of war. His bank loans are called; cash and collateral gone, excepting a package of 'cats and dogs' that the bankers will not accept. One more raid on prices, a little more bear talk, and the victim, recognizing the pursuers, disgorges to the wolf pack anywhere from a quarter to a half of his life savings. Then the market rebounds and the papers mention how the day was saved! The curtain falls!"

Mr. Stillwell has his remedy of course, but confines himself to suggesting it in the following paragraph:

"I am appalled by the popular indifference to such methods and fear a protest is useless. I recall that years ago out West we hung people for stealing horses and succeeded in cleaning up the country of its boldest outlaws. These men, however, only occasionally held up a train, robbed a bank here and there, and incidentally burned a few houses."

We don't expect the Wall Street wolf-pack to display any particular alarm over this proposal, knowing as they do that their business is just as "legitimate" as that of the victim they pull down. What Mr. Stillwell describes is merely "the Law of the Jungle," and as everyone knows, "the Wolves shall live thereby."

Mr. Patten, the wheat cornerer, announces his early retirement, having earned a competence of twelve million dollars while "preaching the gospel of higher wheat."

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The Unteachable Bryan

"MR. ROOSEVELT," says a recent editorial in Mr. Bryan's *Commoner,* "adopts the socialistic idea that the trust is an economic development and has come to stay. He says:

"'Combinations in industry are the result of an imperative economic law which can not be repealed by political legislation. The effort to prohibit all combinations has substantially failed. The way out lies not in attempting to prevent such combinations, but in completely controlling them in the interest of the public welfare.'

"This is a dangerous fallacy. He had a seven years' trial with all the executive powers of the government at his command, and there were more trusts when he went out than when he went in. One of the worst of the trusts actually coerced him into consenting to the absorption of a rival and then in return helped him to nominate his candidate. It is futile to think of controlling private monopolies."

Farther along the editorial asserts that the only way to deal with the trusts is to destroy them. "Mr. Roosevelt," it concludes, "will not be able to convince the public that the monopoly is necessary. When the public understands the extent to which the favor-seeking corporations control the government, they will join with the Democrats and make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist."

While Mr. Bryan has been notorious for bad logic, this exhibition shows him at his very worst.

For instance, any ordinary schoolboy could tell Mr. Bryan that if the corporations really control the government they don't have to seek "favors" from it, any more than an employer seeks favors from his hired hands. In both cases demands are made instead of favors being asked.

But if Mr. Bryan is right, and the corporations really do "seek favors," then his statement that "it is futile to think of controlling monopolies" is sheer nonsense. They could be controlled by withholding the favors in question.

Again, admitting the Bryan assumption that the trusts can be destroyed, why is it futile to think they can be controlled? Surely the power required to destroy is at least as great as that required to control! If the trusts can be destroyed, why can they not be controlled under the threat of destruction?

Mr. Roosevelt will not be able to convince the public that monopoly is necessary, says Bryan. Of course not. Neither has Mr. Bryan been able to convince the public that it is unnecessary, and he has talked to the public on that subject much more and much longer than Roosevelt.

But why should the public take their views of the Trust from either Roosevelt or Bryan? Are they not able to judge for themselves? Is not the Trust itself as capable a teacher as either?

WILSHIRE'S has no belief whatever in the possibility of either destroying or controlling the Trust. It holds that the ultimate solution lies in the Nation Owning the Trust. But it is not quite egotistic enough to declare that the Nation cannot do so until WILSHIRE'S convinces it that it must.

Roosevelt says the Trust cannot be destroyed; Bryan says it cannot be controlled. Both are right. And government ownership looms up as the only alternative. Even the *Commoner* sees this when it says:

"If Mr. Roosevelt can convince the country that a private monopoly is necessary, then the only question will be whether a few people shall continue to corrupt the government and through this corruption enjoy the benefits of the monopoly, or whether the government shall own the monopoly and give the benefits to the public."

If, as is admitted here, government ownership of monopolies would give the benefit of the monopoly to the public, why should Mr. Bryan object? Does he not wish the public to benefit? If not, then for whom is he speaking? The answer is plain enough. For the petty capitalist, the small middle class exploiter.

And it is quite appropriate that he should be as bankrupt in logic as they are in business prospects.

At the public library of Minneapolis, Minn., several Socialist books have been excluded by the librarian, including H. G. Wells' novels, "Tono Bungay" and "Ann Veronica."

The military budgets of the six great nations of Europe, England, Germany, Russia, France, Austria and Italy, for 1910-11 amount to $1,382,059,500. With the smaller states the total will easily reach $2,000,000,000. Germany is to increase its army considerably next year, and its example will of course be followed by the other nations as far as may be possible.

A recent statistical table showing the Socialist vote of the principal countries of the world has been issued by the International Socialist Bureau. With Japan, Australia, Russia, Spain and several other smaller countries omitted, the total amounts to 8,100,000. The figures from these countries could not be definitely given, the estimate of ten million Socialist votes for the entire world being approximately correct, if the latter countries be included. Germany heads the list with 3,250,000; France is second, with 1,100,000, and Austria third with an even million. The smallest figures are from Argentine and Bulgaria, being 5,000 and 3,000 respectively.

After discovering that Mr. Roosevelt was the person with whom he had shaken hands, a Pennsylvania miner nearly died of heart disease. Fortunately this cause of mortality among coal miners can be readily eliminated by reform.

Growth of Hong Kong

Hong Kong, China, though a small island, is rapidly becoming a manufacturing center of no small importance. The consular report enumerates the following industries as located there: A dockyard and engineering plant capable of building and repairing ships of all kinds and sizes; a graving dock 700 feet long; a cement plant with a capacity of 2,000 barrels daily; a cotton mill with 55,632 spindles and employing 1,400 hands; two sugar refineries, the smaller of which uses 300 tons of raw sugar daily; a paper factory employing 150 hands and producing 250 tons of paper per month; a flour mill with a capacity of 8,000 sacks per day; a furniture factory employing 150 hands; several sauce factories, and a large number of rice mills; a shoe factory producing both European and Chinese leather shoes; a match factory; a soap plant; several knitting mills turning out socks and underwear, and a plant for cleaning and preparing feathers. Most of the invested capital, says the report, is Chinese, but the non-Chinese investor is being attracted by the low cost of labor. American imports into Hong Kong are steadily decreasing.

It has been finally decided by the Norwegian Parliament that women shall hereafter have a vote in all municipal elections. There was at first much opposition on the ground that woman suffrage in the municipalities would strengthen Socialism, but this position had to be finally surrendered in the face of the overwhelming demand for the bill.

Taft on Socialism

By REGINALD FENTON.

Everybody's Magazine wanted to obtain the last word upon "The Cause and Cure of Municipal Maladministration," and by reflex the cause and cure of the rottenness of government-at-large.

Out of all the publicists of these United States Mr. Cosgrave picked Mayor Brand Whitlock to hear the case, sift the evidence and pronounce judgment.

Whitlock dug deep, soared high and cogitated intensely, and has, in a public letter, pronounced the Cause universal and the Cure an impossibility—within the premises.

He sums up, saying: "Good government, "efficient government will not do—will not "avail any city. Sending the 'bad' to prison "and electing the 'good' to office and chang-"ing paper charters are not going to work "any real reform." Pertinently he adds: "I can't write a story on that. The story "would be as futile as 'legal' reforms."

Now what is it that Whitlock has "left in his inkpot?" as our Spanish proverb hath it.

This! The fundamentals of the "installation" we call existing civilization, have become obsolete. They are functionally dead. They can now no more become energized by any amperage of personal righteousness ("good" officials); no voltage of "legal" reform ("amended" regulations) can cope with the evolutionary facts of the existing economic state of this world of associated mankind. Russell, Roosevelt, Steffens, Sinclair, and even the legalistically conservative philosopher Taft, all alike declare the Cause to be "economic"—Big Business. And now comes Whitlock saying: "Though Daniel, Noah and Job were its commissioners, the city should perish; these three men should but deliver their own souls."

And what are you going to do about it? Hearken to what President Taft has said: "Socialism is now the greatest issue before the American people."

Five and Fifty

By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

If fifty men did all the work
And gave the price to five;
And let those five make all the rules—
You'd say the fifty men were fools,
Unfit to be alive.

And if you heard complaining cries
From fifty brawny men,
Blaming the five for graft and greed,
Injustice, cruelty indeed—
What would you call them then?

Not by their own superior force
Do five on fifty live,
But by election and assent—
And privilege of government—
Powers that the fifty give.

If fifty men are really fools—
And five have all the brains—
The five must rule as now, we find,
But if the fifty have the mind—
Why don't they take the reins?

Who's 'IT' in America!

According to Lincoln Steffens as to Who's Who in America, J. Pierpont Morgan is decidedly "IT." In the September *Everybody's Magazine* Mr. Steffens thus describes the over-lordship of J. P. M.:

"If this man represents the financial power which controls the railroads and other public service corporations, the trusts, banks, insurance companies, trust companies and other special interests, he represents those powers which—even before they were united— supported, defended and controlled political parties and bosses, and, therefore, rivaled the power of mayors and councils, governors and legislatures, the President and Congress of the United States. In other words, if this Wall Street rumor is true; if Mr. Morgan is supreme there; if he is boss of the bosses in Wall Street who boss the business bosses back of the political bosses all over the United States, then J. Pierpont Morgan is boss of the United States. *And it is true.*"

Of course it's true, but it won't be so much longer. Hasn't the real savior of the country told us recently that he intends to bring the big corporations to time?

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Random Notes

At the recent opening of the Paine Museum in New Rochelle, several clergymen spoke in most eulogistic terms of Paine as a patriot and advanced thinker. After a hundred years of clerical denunciation, an incident of this kind is both satisfactory and significant to contemplate.

Italian Socialists have captured the city of Milan—famous for its cathedral—and elected their entire ticket of twenty-five candidates, besides winning four seats in the provincial council. The vote stood: Socialists, 10,500; Constitutionalists, 7,000, and Radicals, 5,000. They have also been victorious in Brescia, Pavia, Bordighera, Valenza, Benevento, Viterbo and Pescia, besides numerous smaller places. While complete returns are yet wanting, the election has been as a whole exceedingly favorable to Socialism, while the Conservatives and Clericals have suffered great losses.

Rev. John J. Ming, a well-known American Jesuit priest, who for several years past has been conducting an anti-Socialist campaign, recently died in a Jesuit Home at Parma, Ohio. Rev. Ming was of German birth and came to the United States in 1860.

The German Minister of War has issued a circular lamenting the change that has taken place in the feelings of the masses of the people toward the army. He remarks that when a regiment arrives in an industrial district, it is received not with open arms, but with a sullen silence. The Minister places the responsibility for this change on Socialist agitation, and declares that the so-called "Young Socialist" movement infects the youth of the country with anti-militarism before they are drafted for the service.

Last year the United States Post Office was operated at a loss of $17,500,000, while the British Post Office showed a surplus of $22,000,000; the German, of $15,000,000; the Russian, of $15,000,000, and the French of $14,000,000 during the same period. The principal reason for the deficit may be found in consulting the dividend returns of the various private companies, engaged in work that in European countries is done by the government in connection with the postal system. Following is a partial list: Mackay Companies (Postal Telegraph) declared in 1909 a dividend of $3,665,216; Western Union Telegraph Co., $2,739,436; Wells-Fargo Express Co., $24,800,000; Adams Express Co., $1,200,000; United States Express Co., $400,000; American Express Co., $2,160,000; American Telegraph and Telephone Co., $13,293,072; Chicago Telephone Co., $2,012,790; New York and New Jersey Telephone Co., $1,162,322, and Western Telegraph and Telephone Co., $800,000.

At present something very like a scare is agitating the conservative and ruling classes of Germany, in view of the prospective extent of Socialist gains at the coming election. Herr Maximilian Harden, of the *Zukunft*, who, it will be remembered, several years ago exposed the "Round Table" abominations of a group of the Kaiser's most intimate companions, and who is generally considered the shrewdest and most far-seeing political journalist in Germany, declares that the country is on the verge of revolution, though most people do not recognize the fact. The signs are present and unmistakable, but a majority has never noticed the beginning of a revolution. Harden insists that the cause is the class rule and privilege that dominates the empire, and advocates "moderate reform" to prevent the masses rushing headlong into "complete democracy." An undiluted reactionary policy, he asserts, but assists the Socialists and hastens the certain approach of revolution.

If the workingmen were to give a preliminary exhibition of their union at the ballot box, it might facilitate "recognition" afterward on the part of the capitalist when the strike is called for that purpose.

Two Ways of Getting Into Parliament

Cartoon from London Labor Leader.

Labor getting in on its own levies—that's illegal.
Capital getting in by levies on the People—that's legal.

ELECTION EXPENSES

There is a general congressional election in November. Comrades and workingmen are called upon to contribute their mite to the Socialist National Campaign. To give the workers an idea of the amount of money that has been contributed by the masters, to keep the chains on the limbs of the workers, the following official report of Expenditures by the Republican and Democratic National Committees in the presidential contests from 1860 to 1904 is submitted.

Year.	Republican Candidate.	Democratic Candidate.	Expended by Republican National Committee.	Expended by Democratic National Committee.
1860	Abraham Lincoln	Stephen A. Douglas	$100,000	$50,000
1864	Abraham Lincoln	George B. McClellan	125,000	50,000
1868	U. S. Grant	Horatio Seymour	150,000	75,000
1872	U. S. Grant	Horace Greeley	250,000	50,000
1876	R. B. Hayes	Samuel J. Tilden	950,000	900,000
1880	James A. Garfield	W. S. Hancock	1,100,000	355,000
1884	James G. Blaine	Grover Cleveland	1,300,000	1,400,000
1888	Benj. Harrison	Grover Cleveland	1,350,000	855,000
1892	Benj. Harrison	Grover Cleveland	1,850,000	2,350,000
1896	William McKinley	Wm. J. Bryan	16,500,000	675,000
1900	William McKinley	Wm. J. Bryan	9,500,000	425,000
1904	Theodore Roosevelt	Alton B. Parker	3,500,000	1,250,000

Comrades, if perchance you are called upon a second time for a contribution, don't feel offended, just think what you have contributed, indirectly, in the past to keep the interests in control. Do a little something for yourselves directly. Send a contribution to Socialist National Headquarters, 180 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

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OUR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

Conducted by MRS. GAYLORD WILSHIRE

"THE DIARY OF A SHIRT-WAIST STRIKER"

By MARY WILSHIRE

JUST recently I have been exceedingly interested in a new work dealing with the part played by women in the Labor movement, and have no hesitation in recommending it to the attention of all progressive women, as one of the most striking, pathetic and realistic books it has ever been my fortune to read.

The work in question is Mrs. Teresa Malkiel's "Diary of a Shirt-waist Striker," the title, of course, referring to the recent sensational labor struggle carried on in New York City by the girls in the shirt-waist industry, and which they eventually won, after a prolonged conflict, through privation, persecution, suffering and undaunted persistence, without parallel in the annals of the labor movement, at least where women have played the active rôle.

The diary-keeper is an American working girl of the usual type—a capable worker, but one who has given no attention whatever to the nature of the struggle for existence, accepting things as they are without question, looking forward to marriage and therefore considering her occupation as temporary. At first she regards with disfavor the idea of women taking part in labor conflicts, an idea which her family and her fiancé strongly share, but is finally drawn into the struggle, and day by day as the conflict rages and the tragedy of it reveals itself before her eyes, she gradually loses her old conventional prejudices, and at length plunges into the fray as a confirmed fighter for industrial freedom.

What follows, though Mrs. Malkiel presents it in the form of fiction, is an actual account of the vicissitudes of the strike as they really occurred. The police persecution, the atrocious attitude of the Tammany judges, the prison sentences, the heroism of the Jewish girls, the want and suffering and starvation, often ending in death or what is worse still, prostitution of the victims, are all chronicled day by day in the "Diary," and may in actual fact be verified by referring to the newspapers and reports issued at the time.

Mrs. Teresa Malkiel,
Author of "The Diary of a Shirt-Waist Striker."

Mrs. Malkiel also takes care to present in its true light, the danger to the striker's cause resulting from the temporary affiliation of so-called society women, who took advantage of the situation to indulge the fad of posing as "friends of labor." Fortunately, however, the intelligence of the striking workers, and their determination to win at whatever cost, neutralized the efforts of the fashionable would-be leaders, and the well-deserved victory at last was achieved.

The story is, of course, written in the colloquial language of the ordinary city working girl, but does not suffer in the least from the trace of slang it contains. The recitation is direct, simple and easily understood, and appeals with tremendous force to the sympathetic reader.

The "Diary" has already appeared serially in several Socialist papers, and the impression it made at the time fully warrants its appearance in the more substantial form of a book, in which form it can be procured from L. A. Malkiel, 116 Nassau street, New York, at 25 cents per copy. Locals of the Socialist Party can obtain it in quantities of ten or over, for 15 cents a copy, paper bound, or 30 cents, bound in linen cloth. The Wilshire Book Co. will also handle the volume.

Mrs. Malkiel is to be congratulated as a pioneer author in this field, as her book is the first of its kind to depict the direct activities of women in the hideous struggle for existence that the capitalist system forces on society. If her work can get anything like the circulation it really deserves, its propaganda value in awakening women generally to the actual conditions of life will be immeasurable.

Women Under Socialism

By AUGUST BEBEL

Compiled by MRS. MARY OPPENHEIMER.

Lesson III.—Women in the Present. Chap. 1, pages 80—98.

Wholly irrespective of the question whether woman is oppressed as a female proletarian, as sex she is oppressed in the modern world of private property. A number of checks and obstructions, unknown to man, exist for her and hem her in at every step. She suffers both as a social and as a sex entity. A plea for more accurate knowledge of our physical make-up follows. Upon the normal union of the sexes rests the healthy development of the human race. Marriage should be a union that two persons enter into only out of mutual love in order to accomplish their natural mission. But with the large majority of women matrimony is looked upon as a species of institution for support that they must enter into at any price. Conversely a large portion of the men regard marriage from a purely business standpoint. If wedlock is to offer husband and wife a contented married life, it demands, together with mutual love and respect, the assurance of material existence, the supply of that measure of the necessaries of life and comfort which the two consider requisite for themselves and their children. Marriages and births controlled by economic conditions. Endeavor to keep woman by legislative enactment from occupations that are especially injurious to the female organism and by means of protective laws to safeguard her as a mother and rearer of children. On the other hand, the struggle for existence forces women to turn in ever larger numbers to industrial occupations. Married women called upon to increase the meagre earnings of their husbands. Marriage merely as a money transaction. American heiresses and foreign noblemen.

August Bebel.

Lesson IV.—Woman in the Present. Chap. 1 (continued), pages 98—117.

Growth of divorce. Idle and artificial life of the upper and middle class and of the very rich. Unemployment and marriage among the working people. Terrible drudgery of the married woman who is both an industrial worker and a mother and housekeeper. Infant mortality and race suicide. In general women stand intellectually behind the men. *Woman is that which man, her master, has made her.* The education of woman, more so than that of the working class, has been neglected from time immemorial. The sentimental and imaginative side of woman chiefly developed. Lack of information on the part of wives promoted by lack of sense on the part of most husbands. Married life of the working people only *idealized* when both husband and wife realize that both are tugging at the same rope and that there is but one means toward satisfactory conditions for themselves and their families,—the radical reformation of society that shall make human beings of them all.

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How About It?

F. J. C., New York, N. Y.—I enclose an editorial from a recent issue of the "New York American." As you will see, it holds the identical view that WILSHIRE'S *does, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts." What is the difference between you? Why will you Socialists not admit that Hearst is a Socialist, too?*

Just as one swallow does not make a summer, neither does one Socialist editorial make a Socialist of the editor. We admit that the editorial you send us is absolutely in harmony with the Socialist view of the Trusts, but in all probability you will not see another like it for months. For one such editorial, Hearst's papers carry hundreds either non-Socialist or anti-Socialist. If you watch their columns you will see ten times as many articles assuming and advocating the destruction of the Trusts instead of their national ownership; also articles condemning Socialism and slandering or misrepresenting its advocates. Also you will find those papers at election times throwing their weight to one or other of the old parties, now siding with Tammany and again opposing it in favor of a Hearst party. Hearst merely trades on the ignorance of the public, their lack of critical faculty, and the fact that he is able to mystify them with sensationalism and contradictory utterances. No one can tell from his papers what Hearst really believes. He will oppose the only party in the next election that advocates the view given in that editorial you send us. His entire policy is one of profiting by the confusion that exists in the public mind, and any Socialist utterance that appears in his editorial columns completely loses its effect by being swamped in a sea of opposing views afterward. From those editorials one could also prove Hearst a Prohibitionist, an Anarchist, an old line Democrat, a Single Taxer, or even a Christian Scientist. So far as placing him positively anywhere, his editorial policy completely frustrates any such attempt.

J. P. McM., Houston, Tex.—Does a Socialist movement have the effect of driving capital out of the country?

Not particularly so. The accusation is one of the stock objections to Socialism, the objector assuming that all non-Socialists will regard the aforesaid driving as a terrible crime, just as another sort of objector uses the "opposed to religion" accusation. The fact is that wherever unsettled conditions exist, the capitalist is timid about investing, but these unsettled conditions are brought about by scores of other causes as well as Socialism. When in South American republics "revolutions" occurred every month or so, the capitalist avoided them as offering no protection to his capital. For this reason the capitalist desires above all things what he calls a "stable" government—one that is able and willing to protect capitalistic interests. Sometimes it may have happened that the fear of Socialism may have caused some capitalist to invest in other countries rather than the one he lived in, but this is by no means general. There are millions of Socialists in Germany, but the German capitalist invests money in Germany as readily as elsewhere. A foreign investment is made in preference to a home one when the promised returns are greater and the security equal, and these things are about the only factors the capitalist considers. He does not invest at home through patriotic motives in any sense, and as a matter of fact the capitalists are scouring the world seeking investment in any and all countries where profit and security are probable. Nor have Socialists even the wish to "drive capital" out of the country. They would prefer rather to have it stay at home and develop, knowing that the more highly capitalism is developed in any place, the stronger Socialism grows. In short, the charge is pointless, inconsequential and absurd, and is simply the result of stupidity and prejudice.

TAKING A VACATION

IN the summer and fall months no pleasure exceeds that of a suitable vacation, a visit to the mountains or seashore, leaving behind the dust and grime of the city and the cares and worries of making a living. The season being now past and winter approaching, the millions who have not enjoyed a vacation of any kind or length, have, according to the highest authority in the land, missed something to which they were justly entitled.

President Taft, having had a two months' vacation of which he enjoyed every moment, on his return stated that "every person should take a vacation of at least sixty days." This is tantamount to saying that those who did not take a vacation, did not know how to take it, for practically everyone would like to do so.

We propose to discuss shortly this idea of taking a vacation, for Mr. Taft's statement of the case is eminently correct.

Had he said that every person should have, or be permitted to have, or should be given a vacation, we might have assented also, but with some modification and comment. But *take* is a much better word. It implies power, action, individual initiative on the part of the person mentioned.

And to take anything, power is the first desideratum. As the old proverb says, "Those that take must have the power."

If there are any obstacles in the way of taking what we want, power is just as necessary for the removal of those obstacles as it is for taking the thing desired.

And it so happens that the power to take a vacation necessitates the power to take several other things as a needful preliminary.

For instance, if another man owns the job you work at (and he generally does) he may give you the alternative of abandoning either *your* vacation or *his* job. So it becomes necessary first to secure—that is to say, take—both. When you own the job, and are therefore certain that it will be there for you on your return, you can *take* the vacation.

Now, the way to take the job is first to take away the system of private ownership of the tools and materials from the present job owners—who are few in number compared with the rest of the people—and invest the ownership of them collectively in all the people.

So far, so good. But then comes the question of wages, which are, as everybody knows, but a small proportion of the value produced by the worker, and are usually not sufficient to finance the vacation—especially one of sixty days.

Therefore, another necessary preliminary is to take the wage system and dump it, and in its place establish a system in which the worker can get all he produces. So there is another difficulty removed that stands in the way of taking a vacation.

But there is yet more preliminary taking needed. It will be first of all necessary to take the entire bunch of capitalist job owners and their political job holders—including Mr. Taft—and dump them also, so that they cannot prevent you from doing away with the wage system and the private ownership of jobs and the wage system and voting Socialism in and Capitalism out.

So first take a Socialist ballot and with it take from the capitalist and his politicians their power of obstruction; then take the system of private ownership of jobs and the wage system and wipe them out of existence, and finally take the system of collective ownership and establish it in their stead.

Then take your vacation.

Nothing difficult about it. Remember, Mr. Taft spoke of "every person," and every person that can't take a vacation constitutes a big majority.

You may, of course, under present conditions ask for a vacation, or you may be given one without asking, but you can't *take* one without first taking the things above mentioned.

And with your position secured by Socialism, you may perhaps take twice sixty days, and enjoy yourself ever so much better, knowing that you can with certainty return to a job with a four, six or eight-hour day and all you produce, instead of risking one of ten, twelve or fourteen hours and only a small fraction of your product.

Socialism will enable every person to take at least a sixty-day vacation. The best that capitalism can do is permit you to ask for it.

Antiquated Plungerers

"The proudest boast of the old-time robber barons was that they never robbed a poor man."

"Those fellows were amateurs at the game," explained the great Captain of Industry, "and didn't understand how much money there was in it."—*Puck.*

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A Socialist Meeting in a Chicago Park. Debs Speaking

A. P. Risser, Photographer, 1640 W. Monroe St. Chicago

One of the most striking phenomena of recent years is the immense increase in the size of Socialist meetings. The photograph above represents the recent assemblage in Riverview Park, Chicago, where at least 8,000 people gathered to hear Eugene V. Debs. A meeting held on October 1st at Union Square, New York, was even larger, it being estimated that at least 15,000 were present.

Surplus Value Demolished

IN a recent issue of the *American Federationist,* its editor, Mr. Gompers, in a general attack on Marxian Socialism, brands its fundamental theory of surplus value as "demonstrably false," though in his article he omits making the demonstration. Possibly, however, this was an oversight, or perhaps Mr. Gompers considered the demonstration superfluous, as he had on previous occasions discussed the subject exhaustively in his various contributions to labor literature. Perhaps the most complete refutation of the theory appeared from his pen in an article contributed to the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Michigan Bureau of Labor for 1897, in which he demolished the surplus value theory in the following terms:

> The conflict between the laborers and the capitalists is as to the quantity, the amount, the wages the laborer shall receive for his part in production, and the residue or profit which shall go to the capitalist. The one is the seller of an article—time—labor; the other is the buyer of this same article. Between the sellers and the buyers of any one thing there never yet has been a community of interests. This conflict for the largest share of the production has gone on from time immemorial, and cannot cease until the laborers shall be the capitalists, *i. e.*, the capitalists shall be the laborers. In other words, they shall be one and the same person.

In this terse paragraph Mr. Gompers not only overthrows the doctrine of surplus value, but also annihilates the hateful theory of class struggles, and at the same time firmly establishes the identity of interests between laborer and capitalist. Had Mr. Robert Hunter, the Socialist whose views Mr. Gompers attacked in the *Federationist,* been acquainted with this paragraph he could have accepted without question the statement of his opponent that the theory of surplus value was "demonstrably false." But possibly Mr. Gompers didn't think it worth while to call Mr. Hunter's attention to this particular demonstration, or perhaps overlooked it, or, to offer still another suggestion, relied upon other Socialists to bring his previous demonstration of the falsity of Socialist theories to public notice.

A. P. Risser, Photographer, 1640 W. Monroe St. Chicago.

A snap-shot of Debs speaking at Riverview Park, Chicago, showing a characteristic attitude of the great orator.

To prevent a monopoly on the part of the branch of the Standard Oil Trust which does business in Roumania, the government attempted to secure the smaller refiners a fair share of the local market, by dividing the refinery firms into classes, and prescribing the amount of distribution permitted to each, the smaller plants being of course allowed to dispose of the larger part of their product in the home market. The result was that the larger firms promptly organized a distributing company and turned over the amount of refined oil each was permitted to distribute to it, thus invalidating the project by underselling the small competitors. The government has again classed the refineries under a new arrangement and fixed a maximum price for the product. When this project fails, as it will, the next move will necessarily be government ownership, operation and distribution of oil, as has been the case in Austria.

When the "problem of the unemployed" has been really solved, capitalism will have perished from the earth.

The Launch

By W. E. Hopkins in London *Labor Leader.*

At Portsmouth Dockyard this morning, after a brief service of prayer, the Marchioness of Winchester successfully released from the slips H. M. S. "Orion"—the greatest warship in the world.—London Daily Paper.

Oh Thou who reignest King in **Zion,**
Look on us as we launch the **Orion,**
Designed Thine images to kill,
Obedient to the Heavenly will.

The captain from his conning **tower**
Directs with ease the deadly **shower;**
We use the very latest means
To blow our foes to **smithereens.**

With confidence we ask Thine **aid**
To make our enemies afraid;
Help us, oh God of love, right **well**
To blow the Germans into Hell.

This Orion on whose deck we **stand**
Is built to guard our Fatherland,
Look down, we pray, pronounce **it good,**
For Thou, we know, are British blood.

The coal and iron in the earth
Were placed there at this **planet's birth**
To build and move these ships **of ours,**
To terrorize the other powers.

When on the sea this Orion roars,
Strike terror to the foemen's shores;
May all the shots it fires be **hits,**
And blow our brother men to **bits.**

Oh God of battles, by thine aid
This mighty Empire has been **made;**
Inspire our tars with holy zeal
To murder for the common weal

Some day we know that war shall **cease,**
And all mankind will be at peace,
'Twill dawn when every foe is **dead,**
And all the maps are painted red.

Bless Thou our ships and guns till then.
The glory shall be Thine. Amen.
Our prayer is ended, yo heave ho!
Knock out the stays and let her go.

During the capitalist reign of terror in Colorado in the years 1904-5, property valued at $60,000, belonging to the Western Federation of Miners, was destroyed at Cripple Creek by respectable Law and Order mobs. The Federation sued and received judgment for $60,000, and recently the legislature passed a bill for the appropriation of the money to the plaintiffs. The State Treasurer has, however, refused payment on the grounds of no funds in hand for the purpose, and now the Federation is preparing to sue the State to compel the State Auditor to issue the necessary warrant for the payment of the claim.

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Any book mentioned in these columns can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. Unless otherwise stated, prices do not include postage.

ROBERT BLATCHFORD: THE SKETCH OF A PERSONALITY. By A. Neil Lyons. Cloth, 189 pp., 75 cents net; 10 cents postage. The Clarion Press, London, England.

In this country, at least, the personality of the author of "Merrie England" is practically unknown, though that volume, it is said, has had a circulation of more than a million copies among us, and few after reading the work in question would deny that the author himself was in all probability a most interesting character. Mr. A. Neil Lyons, a staff writer on Blatchford's paper, *The Clarion*, supplies the biography in question, and, be it said right here, has evolved a most fascinating story out of the material at his disposal. Mr. Lyons as a story teller is, however, a recognized expert, and in an amusing preamble informs his readers that after a long discussion as to who should undertake the work, he was ultimately selected by *The Clarion* staff as the only writer "possessing the impudence essential to the performance of the feat." He declares further that he undertakes the work with three preconceptions: first, that Mr. Blatchford is a very close and intimate friend; second, that he regards him as a great man—a genius; and, third, that he disagrees with about half his opinions. The result is a eulogy, tempered with much good-humored and amusing criticism; but, beneath it all, it can be readily seen that Blatchford is one of those happy individuals who seem to be loved by all their personal acquaintances. The volume is illustrated with many portraits of "R. B." at various periods of his eventful career up until the present time of writing. Mr. Lyons has certainly given the curious public several pleasant hours' reading, and his selection for the task is an excellent testimony to the intelligence displayed by the staff of *The Clarion*.

A LIFE FOR A LIFE. By Robert Herrick. Cloth, 429 pp. $1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

To the evidently increasing number of people who believe that what is generally alluded to as "the unrestrained greed and rapacity of capital" will eventually land society in literal anarchy, chaos and destruction, Mr. Herrick's book will doubtless appear as a timely warning to society to mend its ways and avoid the catastrophe. To the Socialist, who has a more comprehensive grip of the nature and character of social and industrial development and who is nothing if not critical, the volume will appear rather as a modern edition of Ignatius Donnelly's "Caesar's Column," with considerable literary improvements, but decidedly inferior in economic insight. With all this said, however, the story is one of tremendous attractiveness, the great social picture it presents being outlined by a master hand.

Hugh Grant, the central figure of Mr. Herrick's story, is an unsophisticated country youth, who like thousands of his kind wends his way to the metropolis in search of fortune, inspired by the acquaintance of a multi-millionaire banker's daughter whom he has met in his native village. This young lady professes to admire power beyond everything else in the world—the power that wealth alone can acquire and wield—and, as a consequence, Hugh betakes himself to the city, determined to acquire power of this kind as a preliminary to acquiring the girl. He succeeds in gettting a minor position in the bank of the multi-millionaire father and gradually works his way up to the seats of the mighty, becoming the manager and engineer of a vast irrigating scheme—one of the enterprises of the great banker, in whose daughter he is interested and who appears to be the J. Pierpont Morgan of the story. In the meantime Hugh had also made the acquaintance of "the Anarch," a weird sort of radical freak who shows him the underworld of society and the industrial hell upon which the success of the great is based. The young man, seeing these things and understanding the connection, goes in for "reform," and, of course, is baffled at every turn. Finally, recognizing his own helplessness, he quits business altogether and betakes himself to the life of a hermit. He will not profit by the exploitation of the people, and so goes in for "self-denial."

Then comes a tremendous natural catastrophe, the city is overwhelmed by earthquake and fire. The banks and all the other temples of Mammon go down in ruin, and the great metropolis is utterly destroyed. The multi-millionaire banker, trying to escape by driving his sixty-horsepower car through a crowd of maddened fugitives, meets the "Anarch," who springs on the machine, wrests the wheel from the driver, and turns back between the blazing skyscrapers, where both perish in the conflagration. It turns out afterward that the banker and the "Anarch" are really father and son—the latter having for years been disowned on account of his radical views. Hugh also perishes in the fire, having turned back to rescue an old acquaintance, a working girl, who, having lost her hand in the factory, was forced to the streets to live. After the fire the banker's daughter turns her vast country estate into a home for foundling children, and devotes the rest of her life to "doing good" in this fashion.

Mr. Herrick has drawn a splendid picture of the antagonisms of the social and industrial community, but his solution of the problem is simply absurd. What writers of this sort need is, above all things, a course in Socialist economics. Mr. Herrick's "Anarch" is merely a talker—the only act he performs is to kill his father and himself. The destruction of the city is in no sense a result of class antagonisms or social forces; it might just as well have taken place in any other kind of community. As for the "self-denial" of Hugh Grant and the establishment of a charitable institution by the repentant banker's daughter, these things are equally pointless and without any essential social significance. To summarize, Mr. Herrick has produced an excellent and striking story with a most lame and impotent conclusion.

TO-DAY'S PROBLEMS: ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MESSAGES OF HOPE AND CHEER BY ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY ABLE WRITERS. Compiled by Henry E. Allen. Paper, 48 pp., 10 cents. The Trade Union Book Concern, Chicago, Ill.

The unique feature of this work lies in the fact that it has 150 separate authors, selected by the compiler, Mr. Henry E. Allen, who has personally solicited the contributions. Most of the best-known radical writers and thinkers, together with several from various European countries, appear in its pages. American Socialists, of course, preponderate, and we notice the names of Debs, Warren, Haywood, Simons, Berger, Untermann, Spargo, Wilshire, Hilquitt, Sinclair and many others among them. Europe is represented by Blatchford, Crane, Shaw, Bebel, Galsworthy, Hardie, Kropotkin, Kautsky, etc. Women are also strongly in evidence, no less than twenty-four having contributed to the collection of messages. Among them we may mention Lucinda B. Chandler, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Ida Husted Harper, Dora B. Montefiore, Edna Porter, Luella Twining, May Wood Simons and Ella Wheeler Wilcox. Mr. Allen, the compiler, has had his work promptly boycotted by the distributing agency, which is perhaps the best testimony to its efficacy in stimulating public thought. Single copies cost 10 cents; 10 copies, 50 cents; 25 copies, $1.00; 50 copies, $1.80; 100 copies, $3.25; 500 copies, $16.00, and 1,000 copies, $30.00. The work is said to be enjoying a wide circulation, and it certainly deserves it.

MEN, THE WORKERS. By Henry D. Lloyd. Cloth, 280 pp. $1.50. Doubleday, Page and Co., New York.

This volume is a collection of articles, essays and speeches on the labor question written or delivered at various times by the late Henry Demarest Lloyd, the collection being made principally for the purpose of giving the reader a comprehensive view of the general attitude of Mr. Lloyd on social and industrial matters. The famous speech at the reception given to Eugene V. Debs after his release from Woodstock jail in 1895 is reprinted here; other notable adresses being the argument of Mr. Lloyd before the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission in 1903, and an address on the Illinois Factory Law in 1894. The contents have been selected by two Boston women, Anne Withington and Caroline Stallbohm, and form a valuable contribution to the literature of the labor movement, as well as a tribute to the memory of one of the most earnest and sincere friends it has ever possessed.

Books Received

SOCIALISM AND SUPERIOR BRAINS. By George Bernard Shaw. Cloth, 60 pp., 75 cents net. Postage, 10 cents. John Lane Co. The Bodley Head, 114 West 32nd St., N. Y.

NEW ZEALAND'S INDUSTRIES AND PRIVATE PROFITS. By T. J. McBride. Paper, 44 pp. Published at Christchurch, New Zealand.

THE SCIENCE OF BEING WELL. By Wallace D. Wattles. Cloth, 155 pp. $1.00. Published by Elizabeth Towne, Holyoke, Mass.

THOMAS PAINE, THE PATRIOT. By A. Outram Sherman. Paper, 24 pp., 20 cents. Special Library edition printed for the Thomas Paine National Historical Society, 120 Lexington Ave., N. Y.

THE DIARY OF A SHIRTWAIST STRIKER. By Teresa Serber Malkiel. Paper, 96 pp., 25 cents. Cloth edition, 50 cents. The Co-operative Press, 15 Spruce St., New York.

DEMOCRACY AND THE PARTY SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES. By M. Ostrogorski. Cloth, 469 pp., $1.75 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE. By Reginald Wright Kauffman. Cloth, 466 pp., $1.35 net. Moffat, Yard & Co., publishers, New York.

DROPSY OR THE DESIGN ARGUMENT BUBBLE. Paper, 32 pp., 10 cents. Truth Seeker Co., 62 Vesey St., New York.

GREAT CITIES IN AMERICA: THEIR PROBLEMS AND GOVERNMENT. By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph.D. Cloth, 426 pp., $1.25 net. The Macmillan Co., New York.

A REVOLUTIONARY BILL. By Henry Boothman. Paper, 15 pp., 25 cents. Published by the Author at Libby, Montana.

For Hungarian Socialists

Előre (Forward), the official organ of the Hungarian Socialist Federation of America, issued a special edition on September 10th, 1910, on the fifth anniversary of its existence.

The *Előre* is the only Hungarian paper in America which advocates the principles of the Socialist Party.

As a weekly it deals with all the happenings in news and politics, therefore we call the attention of all our readers to bring this up to their Hungarian shopmates and acquaintances. The editor of the *Előre* is Comrade Ladislaus Lakatos.

Subscription rates are: $1.00 a year, 50 cents for six months.

Address: *Előre*, 1528 Second avenue, New York, N. Y.

The gold production of the Witwatersrand, South Africa, during the month of July reached the enormous total of 640,000 ounces, the largest reported since the end of 1908. This means that the rate of production, if maintained—and it shows a tendency to steadily increase—will give an annual value of $150,000,000 in gold from these fields alone, or as much as the entire world supply twenty years ago.

Disregarding the Rooseveltian mandate of several years ago, that post office employees should not engage actively in politics, Oscar F. N. Nelson, President of the Postal Clerks' Union of Chicago, has been dismissed from his job. Nelson had called attention to the filthy and unsanitary conditions prevalent in the city and mailing divisions of the Chicago Post Office, and urged his fellows to agitate for an eight-hour law for postal clerks.

Eight thousand seven hundred and twenty-two persons were killed and ninety-five thousand six hundred and twenty-six injured by the railroads of the United States during the year ending June 30, 1909. This loss of life is deplorable of course, but it is much more than offset by the fact that during the same period railroad dividends reached the figure of $320,890,830.

The first rudiments of an Automobile Trust are appearing in Great Britain under the title of "The Motor Trades Association," the object of which body is declared to be "to prevent concessions being made to purchasers from the list prices of the trade." The Association comprises practically all the manufacturers of automobiles and automobile accessories in the United Kingdom.

A large alluvial gold area has been discovered in the island of New Guinea, and miners from the Northern districts of Australia are moving in considerable numbers into the new field, as the discovery is located in the British portion of the island. New Guinea has an area of about 300,000 square miles and the interior is as yet little known.

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A Good Strong Finish

Is All that is Needed Now to Insure a Large Socialist Vote. We are making Special Prices on Leaflets for Free Distribution, And Your Local Should Arrange to Cover Its Territory with Them. Let Us Close the 1910 Campaign in a Blaze of Glory

Every indication points to a record-breaking Socialist vote this Fall. The lesson of the Milwaukee victory has been learned by the Socialists everywhere, and the result has been an unprecedented distribution of good Socialist literature. Wilshire's readers have done their share of this work. Nearly 700 Locals have ordered our leaflets for systematic distribution since last July. In fact, they have entirely cleaned out our stock of some leaflets which we offered at special prices. However, we still have some left of the following, which we continue to offer at bargain figures:

"EASY LESSONS IN SOCIALISM," by W. H. Leffingwell. Regular price, $2 per 100. Special price, **$1 per 100.**

"THAT BLESSED WORD 'REGULATON'," by Charles Edward Russell, Socialist candidate for Governor of New York. Regular price, $1 per 100. Special price, **50c. per 100.**

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NOVEMBER, 1910 FIVE CENTS

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WILSHIRE'S

GAYLOR D WILSHIRE
·Editor·

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A Political Resurrection

THERE is a popular impression abroad that in the coming election and most probably in the presidential election of 1912, the Democratic Party will be victorious, and this opinion is not without foundation by any means.

In view of the fact that Socialists have for several years past announced that the Democratic Party was dead, or as good as dead, this apparent resurrection is worthy of consideration.

It should be remembered, however, that dead things can often be galvanized into a semblance of life for temporary use. And it is not very difficult to see that the predicted victory of what is alleged to be the "Democratic Party" is a case in point. Even "Imperial Caesar, dead, and turned to clay," may be utilized as a temporary shield against the wind. And just so the "Democratic Party" can possibly be made to serve a similar purpose against the gathering storm-wind of the social revolution.

As a matter of fact, both parties, Republican and Democratic, are in a state of disintegration. Whatever element in each represented principles that differentiated them from each other is being rapidly detached from both and is manifesting its existence in "insurgency" in the Republican Party, and petty capitalistic radicalism in the Democratic. The one thing left in each, and common to both, is the conservatism upon which depends the maintenance of social, industrial and political conditions as they now are. Between these two, capitalism has no need to discriminate because of the label they bear; there being no essential difference between them, they are both equally serviceable to the ruling class.

What is called "the political machine" in both parties remains in the possession of the conservative element in each, the insurgent elements in both parties have failed to secure control of it so far. These machines are in fair running order, and as the great capitalistic interests control both, they can utilize either as they may decide, knowing that the power generated is essentially the same in quantity and quality and can be employed for the same purpose—the maintenance of the capitalist system of private property.

So the prospect that the Republican machine may be temporarily retired from service and the Democratic machine started, to perform similar work, seems by no means improbable.

Such a policy has several advantages, as can readily be seen. As yet the majority of the voters honestly believe in the existence of fundamental differences between the two great parties, and the substitution of one by the other impresses the superficial observer with the idea that a real, instead of an apparent change has been made.

The Republican Party, used by the ruling class now for many years, has been confronted with economic problems for which it could find no solution. Under its régime the Trusts have grown enormously in economic power, industrial depressions have destroyed hundreds of thousands of the smaller capitalists, while the cost of the necessaries of life has risen to a point where the securing of a sufficient supply of food has become a question of vital importance for millions. Naturally, the party in power is, in the popular mind, held responsible for these conditions, a view which is of course exploited to the limit by the opposition, who at the same time insist that if they were in power, these conditions would be remedied. And as aforesaid, the masses of the voters, still believing that economic laws can be dominated by legislation, and that therefore a new set of politicians are needed for that purpose, it can be readily seen that the great capitalistic interests understand that the psychological moment has arrived for a shift of politicians, for the substitution of the Democratic machine for the Republican.

As an additional and perhaps stronger reason for the change, the menacing growth of Socialism is a factor that calls for serious consideration; the more so because the disruptive elements in both parties show dangerous tendencies to "socialistic" measures, which are ominously symptomatic of the opening development of an attack on capitalistic property relations. And to add to the alarm, and intensify the danger of the situation, the energetic Roosevelt, with a powerful following, appears on the stage with his "New Nationalism," the "socialistic" drift of which was immediately perceived and denounced by the journalistic watch-dogs of the great capitalistic interests.

It is true, of course, that the Democratic politicians are just as impotent as the Republicans to deal with the economic problems besetting the American people, but while the latter hope, imagine or believe otherwise, the Democratic "machine" will figure as an asset in the political stock-in-trade of the dominant capitalistic group. While the American people believe that there are fundamental differences in principle between such politicians as Woodrow Wilson, Harmon, Gray and Parker and other possible "Democratic Presidential timber," and those who might be selected by the Republican machine, both machines are of equal utility to the conservative propertied class. Whatever decision may be arrived at in this respect, it is at least certain that it can have no effect in arresting or even checking the Socialist movement; on the contrary it will assist in stimulating its growth, as the disappointed masses gradually realize the deception that has been practised on them, and this realization we can mightily assist by renewed energy in our propaganda, and explaining this particular fraud.

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Too Late for Reform

By REGINALD FENTON

IN Everybody's Magazine of August, 1910, F. C. Howe advises how to thoroughly "heckle" our Congressmen. But what's the use? At this stage of societarial evolution "reform" is too late; we are in the presence of the *Inevitable.* Rather spend our energies in preparing to endure the crisis of the Social Revolution and for the conditions of social life thereafter. As to the necessary evil of Congressmen and other puppets of the closing show, I find written an excellent prescription in these very premises, a prescription which some claim was written in view of this very hour:—"The time is at hand; he that is unjust let him be unjust still, and he that is filthy let him be filthy still; he that is rightly-adjusted with his work, let him stick to it, and he that is honest in what he is doing let him stand pat." New-Zealandisms, Rooseveltisms, and least of all Taftian legal-buttressing, can be of no avail to avert the inevitable or even to modify its outcome at this late stage. Prepare for the deluge. Noah is not said to have advised storm cellars or even balloons.

Says Upton Sinclair:—"The curtain is going up on a world-drama the like of which history has never shown before. When the crisis comes to America what will you do but run about like little children in a burning house" (heckling congressmen for instance), "and all for lack of sense to look into the social pit and realize that the men and women down there are just men and women like yourself"—comrades; just comrades.

Roosevelt, Taft and Tolstoi represent altruistic capitalism; *subtle disguises of one and the same spirit:*—they desire to "reform" the existing system of things, retaining the capitalistic principle. But you cannot readjust to any true functional state an organism that is rotting alive. More pertinently to the issue than he thought or meant did Nicodemus say—"Can a man enter again into his mother and be re-born?" No, indeed; the cataclysm which is even at the door will not be modified or influenced in the smallest particular by the State Capitalism of New Zealand's experiments; the severe legalistic policy of the philosopher Taft; the extra-legal "practical" policy of Roosevelt and the insurgents; nor yet by the asceticism of Tolstoism or the "clean-civism" of the civic "reformers" who are playing at theoretical "socialism" in a leaking cofferdam in the midst of the ocean of capitalism. No, I say, that which is coming, *namely the transformation of civilization* (which is the *fact* involved in the expression "socialism"), is not any scheme made up by clever people to be imposed upon mankind by majority vote or by intellectual persuasion, or even by suggestions of self-interest;—no, it is and will be a *natural result* (as natural as childbirth) of causes long active, a "consequence" now at point of projection. It is a result which now cannot be modified in the least or avoided by any possibility. But, alas, under the curse of Taftism and Rooseveltism, with their altruistic reforms, legal buttresses and unnatural "regulations," the *consummation* may be retarded—just a little—mankind may for a little longer than were otherwise necessary, be stretched upon the rack of the *principle of private property,* by being kept ignorant of the eternal verity that that principle (Privilege) is the fountain of all human evil—ethical, civic, economic.

> **"Great God!" I cried, "but is this Life?"**
>
> **"For this the armies drilled, for this the Law was administered and the prisons did their duty, for this the millions toiled and perished in suffering, in order that a few of us should build palaces we never finished, make billiard rooms under ponds, run imbecile walls round irrational estates, scorch about the world in motor cars, devise flying machines, play golf and a dozen such foolish games of ball, crowd into chattering dinner parties, gamble and make our lives one vast dismal spectacle of witless waste! So it struck me then, and for a time I could think of no other interpretation. This was Life! It came to me like a revelation, a revelation at once incredible and indisputable of the abysmal folly of our being."—H. G. WELLS: "Tono Bungay."**

On the other hand we might counteract this agnostically pernicious activity of the "step-by-step" evolutionists, by wise and true socialistic propaganda upholding the hands of our apostles of positive revolutionary doctrine (Wayland, Warren, Sinclair, Wilshire, Debs) and those others who, convinced that the epoch of *"mutation"* has come, abandon the doctrine of "reform" to propagate a widespread understanding of the thoroughness and wholesomeness of revolution, and the uselessness of experimental fireworks or palliatives. *Reforms can do nothing for Socialism;* they can touch only *modes of the application* of the principle of private property. But true Socialism will *abolish* that "principle." In the Co-operative Commonwealth that principle will not be "applied" at all.

Waste our time and energy by dabbling in current partisan politics?! Oh, what nonsense for a "convinced" Socialist. With barely ten years before us, we have scarce time to build our ark—the ark of a sufficiently wide consciousness of human comradeship—that the work of the world may go on and, without devastating confusion, be turned into the new channels of the new system of Collectivist-Co-operation when, by the cataclysmic revolutions which will *destroy the existing system* (I say in less than ten years from to-day), we shall become irresistibly forced by the Categorical Necessity—by a power not ourselves—to "live" in and by the New System.

The whole matter is very simple when looked at from a sufficiently wide generalization. I say the socialistic Mutation will be a "natural" event. That which is natural is (when grasped intellectually) "scientific." Considered scientifically, Socialism is bed-rocked upon the *common good:*—the true and practical "form" of which is the Solidarity of the Economic interests of the Human Race. Like as the blood ("which is the life") of the human organism, is *one and indivisible,* the "common good" throughout every cell and member—except upon penalty of pain, sickness and death,—so, in the Organic Fact of the Human Race as it currently functions here on this planet, is the *economic interest*—the physical basis of the life of the World-societarial. The "natural" law of social health—the divine hygienic—the eternal damnation of "privilege";—is the prescription:—*"Gather not up for yourselves treasures."* Economic "appropriation" (privus lex) is the sin of sins. Collectivism—its opposite—is the bedrock of *Socialism,* the scientific first-principle of all scientific civilization.

But—under the perverse and man-made ethics of all past civilizations of which we have any (secular) record,—and never worse than now—the Capitalistic Spirit (the principle of privilege embodied in the Institution of Private Property) has interfered in a million *unnatural*—that is, unscientific—ways with the "eco-

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nomic flow," vitiating it and ceaselessly bringing on all the horrid forms of societary sickness and misery that have tormented the world-social (and through it the individual human "soul") since history began its record. And Taft and Roosevelt and such like, think to better matters by more ingeniously empiric or more brutally unnatural "interferences"!!

And the climax is that, to-day—here and now—under the aggravated intensity of these "interferences" by Capitalism in Corporate Form, the "civilization" whose basic principle is *"Privilege,"* heaves on to a sudden and violent death:—a "death" which will take place *within ten years* from this day (every sane publicist knows what's coming) by convulsions of political revolution, prefaced by a series of terrific capitalistic wars for "commercial supremacy."

But the coming revolutions are not "Socialism." The factors which are engendering them are *"Capitalistic."* the "revolutionary" phase of the "movement" is itself animated by the self-seeking spirit. And yet it is one of the "categorical necessities" (divinely ordained means) through which mankind must pass to enter into the glory of Scientific Civilization. As it was with Pharaoh, and David, and Judas, and Pilate, and other "cataclysmic mediums," so must it be with the "revolutionists" of the modern Socialistic movement,—not to them will accrue the honor and glory of the introduction of *Socialism*—the Civic and Social Salvation of the World—the restoration to its "natural" flow and purity of the "economic stream" throughout the "body" of the New Civilization, the Collectivist-Co-operative-Commonwealth. But yet the *revolution is absolutely inevitable.*

Another power, another influence, another intention—*Comradeship*—is necessary to "resurrect" that dead body, from which the "life" of the Capitalistic Spirit shall have been driven. And "comradeship" will be the "life" energetic of the Collectivist Civilization:—Comradeship, the Socialistic Spirit, the Life of the Common Good.

Competition being the life of trade, we note with much satisfaction the construction of a 32,000-ton "super-super-Dreadnought" in a British shipyard.

"I thought he was in your set?"
"So he was, but we have cut him."
"How was that?"
"Why, the general belief that he was rich led to his being investigated, and it was proven that he was perfectly honest—and poor."—Exchange.

In the city of Paris, during the year 1909, there were slaughtered for food 48,795 horses, 861 mules and 3,305 donkeys.

Is War Impossible?

SOCIALISTS are usually credited with a monopoly of wild and visionary ideas, and as being public expositors of the most ridiculously exaggerated statements. But evidently there are others who on occasion can easily outdo in exaggeration and unreason the most imaginative Socialist. And amongst these others is frequently included the most conservative and scholarly of our public educators.

As an instance we may adduce the press report of the observations of Prof. David Starr Jordan on the possibility of war between Germany and Great Britain. This unquestionably able man, who is President of the Leland Stanford University of California, is quoted as positively asserting, that there is no war coming, that the building of warships is needless, ruinous, and an utterly foolish throwing away of money. Regarding the prospects of war between the two countries he is represented farther as declaring that there is as much chance of war as there is of a conflict between the United States and Mars.

What is the difference between this statement and one supposedly made by a Socialist to the effect that war between the two countries was as certain as the rising of the sun—taking the lead from the professor's astronomical simile?

And yet no Socialist has ever made such a statement. The most extreme among them have at most pointed out the strong possibility of such an occurrence.

And it is to be noticed that the professor's previous statements make his conclusion a still more absurd exaggeration—if that were at all possible.

Warships are needless. There will be no war. The expenditure is simply a throwing away of money, useless, ruinous and idiotic. Suppose this view is accepted, does it lead to the professor's conclusion?

Not in any sense. On the other hand it leads to an exactly opposite conclusion.

If the Germans and English are sufficiently insane and idiotic to deliberately throw away their money uselessly and thus ensure their certain ruin, we would like the professor's opinion on the question of whether or not they are sufficiently insane to fight each other.

If we see a man deliberately scatter his money on the street for no ostensible reason, we conclude that he is insane, but we don't by any means feel certain that he won't scrap when the policeman takes him in charge. The chances are that he will, and more especially if he is a husky person, and both the policeman and the crowd that gathers know it. At any rate there is considerable more likelihood that he will tackle the policeman or some bystander—rather than Mars. Dr. Jordan, being an individualist, this simile he will recognize as legitimate, and therefore of considerable more force then a Socialist argument.

What Professor Jordan has really said is that war is likely between Germany and Great Britain, as all who have learned to reason can easily see. Possibly he meant that the discerning alone should interpret it correctly, while the other view is necessary and good enough for the ordinary chump in the street. Such a view helps business and it was the one the reporters wanted anyhow. Possibly also, it was garbled to read that way. For the sake of the professor's intellectual reputation we hope this was the case.

Professor Jordan is too able a Darwinian to leave the impression that any social phenomenon, even insanity, is causeless, or that anything can be explained by it. And he knows too that every effect, even insanity, becomes a cause—in this case, a cause of still more insanity, which may in turn with great reason and probability be manifested in war.

The professor is a director in the School of International Peace, a most respectable and influential body that maintains its prestige by seeing the things that are not, and shutting the eyes to the things that are. It is bad company for a Darwinian, who should be the last person on earth to attempt outclassing the Socialists in their alleged monopoly, by competition in exaggeration that they are helpless to overcome.

Isn't it a bit curious that the policemen who whack the unionists with clubs are never referred to as strikers, while the name is always applied to the recipients of the beating?

Since the late Mr. Harriman's death, his estate is said to have increased in value by about $70,000,000. Why? Simply because though Mr. Harriman has stopped working, the rest of us haven't.

Under capitalism consumption more than keeps pace with production, that is, the consumption otherwise known as tuberculosis. We have three times more of it in proportion to population than Great Britain has.

Just now it is rather interesting to note how many articles are not appearing in the magazines on the decline of Socialism in Germany.

A $20,000,000 competitor of the Standard Oil Co. has been formed in London by a group of British and American capitalists. The next step in its development will undoubtedly be "a gentleman's agreement" with its great rival, as a preliminary to the final combination of both concerns.

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WHILE the expectations of Socialists are usually greater than the results attained in elections, it certainly does seem that there is much reason to predict a considerably increased vote in the coming elections.

Seldom or never has it happened that the national Socialist vote in a Congressional election has been greater than that polled in the Presidential election of two years before, but it seems as if in the coming contest this condition need not be looked for.

The two years have been filled with agitation and propaganda, growing from day to day more systematic; the number of speakers has greatly increased; the membership of the Party has reached nearly sixty thousand, and on the whole, harmony has prevailed and factionalism decreased. The vote of the Presidential year was much lower than generally expected and may be regarded as an index of the lowest probable figures. The number of Socialist papers has vastly increased and more literature distributed than ever before. And, finally, the example of Milwaukee has acted as a stimulant, the extent of which cannot be accurately calculated, but may be certainly regarded as a fairly important factor.

Besides this there does not appear to be in the field any particular "red herring" from the capitalist camp to divert the workers off the trail, and it is certain also that the trade union bodies are better affected toward Socialism than ever before.

Altogether we may, after making allowances for the fact of this being a Congressional election, look with fair confidence to a substantial increase of say 80,000 votes, which would bring the total over 500,000. If we do better than this, the prediction of a million votes in 1912 will not seem particularly unreasonable.

HERETOFORE the capitalistic vials of wrath have been poured out unceasingly upon the "walking delegate" as the typical representative of trades union officialdom. This process has been suddenly reversed in England, where the present ominous unrest of organized labor is being attributed solely to the rank and file refusing to heed the advice of their official leaders.

In the struggle for higher wages, the conservative trade union leader is, despite his conservatism, often a thorn in the flesh of the employing class, and naturally an object of hatred on account of his "unreasonable demands"; his following of "dupes" is the object of pretended sympathy from the employers, who of course declare that the leader is a callous brute who cares nothing for the starvation of the workers through protracted strikes, so long as he can fatten at their expense. Their sympathy is then with the rank and file.

When, however, the workers show a tendency to disregard the advice of the conservative official, and launch out upon a revolutionary course which may threaten the entire capitalist system with disaster, then the current of sympathy of the employers is reversed and gravitates toward the official whose "wise counsel" is no longer heeded. This is now the attitude of the British employing class.

Demands for higher wages, "extortionate" as they may appear to the capitalists, at most only strive to limit exploitation, while revolutionary political action threatens its very existence. It is not, therefore, difficult to understand this transfer of sympathy to the "conservative trade union official," who will grow in favor with the master class just in proportion as Socialism grows among the organized workers.

ONCE more the ghost of the "general strike" has been "laid" in France through the "firmness" of M. Briand, a one time Socialist and now Premier of the country. His calling of the railroad strikers to the colors and thus placing them under military law, is regarded as the master stroke which compelled the resumption of work. At the same time the fact that he compelled the railroad owners to concede the increase of wages asked for is not generally emphasized, as it would be a confession that the general strike had in reality achieved its object.

The trouble, however, with the government is, that it may not be able to indefinitely repeat with this method without running the risk of immediate disaster. When we consider the steady growth of French anti-militarist sentiment, and the fact that the unions seem definitely committed to the general strike policy, and are also growing fast in numerical strength, the outlook is not particularly cheerful or reassuring for the Government. And if there is any truth in the statement that the union deliberately began the strike merely as a preliminary test of strength, the prospect is still darker for the powers that be.

The policy of arming strikers with military weapons, for the purpose of breaking their own strike, is not unlike playing with dynamite. Men are perhaps likely to make a different use of the weapons furnished them, than that intended by the furnishers, and French history contains a few examples of that fact, pregnant with meaning in past class conflicts.

A few years ago one might with some reason have predicted that France was one of the countries in which the social revolution might

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occur, on the whole, peaceably. But the outlook has been entirely changed by the advent of the general strike as a working class weapon. One can almost say that it is a thousand to one that if this policy is continued, the change will come through physical force and violent revolution.

However, the revolt in Portugal took this form without great loss of life, and it may be that the same result can be accomplished in France without greater proportional loss. At any rate we hope so if that is the form revolution is to take there.

SOME two months ago a period of rioting occurred in Berlin, in which several hundred of the rioters and about a hundred police were injured. The reason for this somewhat unusual occurrence was not given at the time; the Socialists of the city denied any connection with it, and the police authorities in fact attributed no responsibility for the affair to them.

It now turns out that the high cost of living was at the bottom of the trouble, which threatened to take the serious form of a general revolt of the working people of the city. While the Berlin employers admitted the fact, they at the same time declared that they were unable to raise wages sufficiently to remove the cause of the discontent, a statement which in all probability was true as a whole.

When it is remembered that hunger riots have invariably preceded great social revolutions, this occurrence in the German capital appears as a sinister portent of coming events. Still more ominous is the fact that at the same time similar occurrences were reported from other German cities, notably Cologne, in which a riot of no small proportions also took place.

These incidents, of no great importance perhaps in themselves, have at the same time considerable social significance. They verify the statement of Socialists that capitalism with its competitive wage system must reach a point where it cannot feed the workers, and cannot allow them to feed themselves. This point, German capitalism is rapidly approaching, and we are not so very distant from it in this country either, nor for that matter are any of the other great capitalistic countries, for the high cost of living is already a universal condition.

The German Kaiser has recently assisted progress by publicly declaring his divine right. He might further assist in permanently settling the cost of living problem by publicly inviting his subjects to "eat grass," a counsel that proved most stimulating to general progress a hundred odd years ago in France.

HAVING secured a practical monopoly of the oil production of this country, the great Standard Oil Company has now laid out for itself a plan of campaign involving the domination of the world's production of petroleum. In consequence a war upon its European competitors is imminent, and both sides are preparing for battle.

The attack is to be opened from this side by a price-cutting onslaught aimed at the great British and Continental companies, about seventy in number, who are already consolidating into a trust, in order to meet the more effectively threatened attack. A concern named the "British Consolidated Oil Corporation, Limited," is the nucleus around which the European Oil Trust will probably form.

Austria will meet the onset of the Standard Oil forces by taking over the local oil industry and transforming it into a state monopoly.

It might be supposed that the Standard Oil kings should be satisfied with monopoly of the industry here, but there is one overpowering reason which compels them to enter on a campaign of world conquest.

It is the same reason that explains the origin of the Trust, and the Standard Oil Trust in particular—overproduction.

The California properties of the Standard Oil Co. are now producing a daily surplus of 50,000 barrels, for which no market can be found on this side. Hence the invasion of Europe. At the same time the oil stocks of that continent have been so enormously increased that supply exceeds demand there also. So the conflict necessarily opens with a reduction of selling prices.

It will end either in the victory of the Standard Oil Co., or a consolidation of the warring factions, which in turn means a World Trust in oil, a consummation which cannot be possibly prevented by national anti-trust laws inadequate in themselves, but even more inadequate to deal with an international economic problem.

There is still another alternative. If the European governments follow the example of Austria, the Standard Oil attack will have the effect of raising throughout the different European countries the cry of "Let the Nation Own the Oil Trust," a striking illustration of how the Trust ultimately makes for Socialism.

Notice of Copyright

Through an oversight the notice of copyright that should have appeared in the issue of WILSHIRE'S for October, 1909, on Mr. Upton Sinclair's play, "The Second-Story Man" was omitted.

An Ethical Mistake

As time goes on it becomes more and more apparent that the American Revolution was a great mistake both from a legal and an ethical standpoint. We belonged to England just as fairly and squarely as anything—just as fairly as we now belong to the Trusts, or as fairly as the Philippines belong to us. England was in the business of owning us and making us pay for the privilege. We had no right to interfere. Many a widow and orphan had an interest in us. It may not be too late to make restitution.—*Puck.*

He Was the Bone

Boss—Who are you going to vote for this time, Mike?

Mike—Divil a bit for either.

Boss—What! Neither Liberal nor Tory, d'ye say?

Mike—Neither; I've learned something.

Boss—And what's that?

Mike—Have ye ever seen two dogs fighting for a bone?

Boss—Yes.

Mike—Ever see the bone fight?

Boss—No.

Mike—Well, I'm the bone.—*Sydney Bulletin.*

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Lloyd-George: Near-Socialist

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

SOCIALISM has made great strides in England since I first came here nineteen years ago, although superficially it is not altogether apparent.

However, even in those days England was far ahead of America in the attention being paid to social questions. I had the year previous been actively engaged in the Socialist movement in California, having been a Congressional candidate in Los Angeles in 1890, almost the only Socialist candidate for Congress in the United States of that year. After that campaign en route from California to London I found time to run for the office of Attorney General of New York upon the Socialist ticket. When that election was over I started off for London. Hence, knowing the Socialist movement at home so well, I was in a good position to form a judgment of its relative strength in England. In those days in England the Fabian movement with Shaw and Webb was just beginning, and the Social Democratic Federation with Hyndman, Quelch, Bax, Hunter Watts and others was comparatively young.

In America in 1890 we were still in the days when muckraking was unknown and the Trust problem was so little considered that Bryan and Free Silver came up six years later to hold the boards to the exclusion of all other thought for nearly ten years. Roosevelt was a boy reformer hunting the grafter, and in twenty years he has not advanced very much.

The American people were not then, and indeed they are not even yet, seriously considering the necessity of solving any social problem; in fact they still deny that any problem exists.

But England even then was giving it considerable thought, and to-day she is thinking much harder. Twenty years later Webb and Shaw are still the two prominent men with the Fabians, and Hyndman, Quelch, Bax and Watts are still the cabinet of the Social Democratic Party. New men have entered both organizations, but they have not made much of a dent compared with the old ones. Superficially it would seem to argue that if in twenty years the two Socialist organizations in England could not show much growth nor much of any new men, that Socialism could not have made much of an advance. Even to point out the appearance of the Labor Party with Keir Hardie and Ramsay McDonald would not be convincing, for the Labor Party to-day is not a definitely Socialist party, besides it does not seem to have as much strength politically as it did three years ago, and there is no sign that it is growing in strength. However, where I find the growth of Socialism in England, is not within the Socialist organizations, but outside them. It is in the general sentiment of the people, and I cannot better give proof that I am right in this than by giving in extenso a report of a speech made at the City Temple last Monday night by the real head and front of the dominant political party, the Liberal Party, Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

I ask my readers to read that speech carefully and then picture to themselves what would happen on the New York Stock Exchange if Taft or Roosevelt should have made such a speech, and they must remember that George is more of a real leader of his party than either of those two gentlemen, and, moreover, he has no Constitution and Supreme Court to balk him when he starts out to do "great things."

True, from a technical Socialist point his argument at times is faulty. Preventing a rich man spending his money on luxury does not mean that the poor man will get what he don't spend, though it may be such spending is the only way under our competitive system by which the poor man can ever get the surplus of the rich.

Increasing the revenue of Egypt by irrigation means an increase of rent rather than an increase of wages, but such criticism of the speech is hypercritical when we agree that its purport was not so much to find a remedy as to call attention to a condition.

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After opening his argument by demonstrating that Mr. Chamberlain's proposals of Tariff Reform were utterly inadequate to meet and solve the problem of poverty, which was the real cause of the world's present unrest, Mr. Lloyd-George continued as follows:

I am not a Tariff Reformer; all the same I recognize that Mr. Chamberlain's historic agitation has rendered one outstanding service to the cause of the masses. It has helped to call attention to a number of real crying evils festering amongst us, the existence of which the governing classes in this country were ignorant of or overlooked. We had all got into the Levite's habit of passing by on the other side. You will only have to look at the six main propositions which underlie Mr. Chamberlain's great appeal in order to realize that nothing can quite remain the same once those propositions are thoroughly accepted by a great political party. What is the first proposition? That this is the most powerful Empire under the sun. What is the second? That Great Britain is the heart of this Empire: strong, powerful, rich enough to send even more of its blood to the remotest member of this huge body—and in his view we can bear it. But what is the third proposition? That in the affluent centre of this potent Empire there is a vast multitude of industrious men, women and children, for whom the earning of a comfortable living, and often of a bare subsistence, is difficult and precarious. (Hear, hear.)

What is the fourth? That to alter this state of things needs drastic and far-reaching remedy. He suggests a complete revolution in our commercial system. What are the fifth and sixth? They are so important, when you come to consider remedies, that I invite your special notice to these propositions. The fifth is, that the fact of such a sweeping change involving losses and injury to the fortune of individuals, ought to be no barrier to its immediate adoption, since the well-being of the majority of the people would thereby be secured. This proposition is so important, inasmuch as every reformer knows full well that the greatest obstacle of all in the path of reform is the existence of so many vested interests —(cheers)—whose roots have struck deep into the existing order. There are undoubtedly trades and businesses that have a vested interest in our present commercial system. To alter it must necessarily bring ruin on them, whatever the effect might be on the rest of the country. Mr. Chamberlain ignores them entirely as an item even for consideration, let alone compensation, in his suggested reform. That is a great and fruitful proposition. The sixth proposition is, that the time has come for seeking a remedy, not in voluntary effort, but in bold and comprehensive action on the part of the State. (Loud cheers.)

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Although I have observed a good deal of poverty in my walk through life, and although I had read a good deal about poverty, I confess I never quite realized its poignancy until I came to administer the Old Age Pensions Act.

I found, then, what an appalling mass of respectable, independent, proud poverty existed amongst us. (Loud cheers.) Cases, within a few score yards of the City Temple, where poor women, old and worn, after honest industrious lives extending over seventy years, were still working away through the livelong day, starting early, resting late, to earn a wretched pittance, which just saved them from starvation, but never lifted them above privation, earning 6s. and 7s. a week by needlework on garments for women who in an idle hour will spend more on frivolity than these poor people would earn in three years of toil—paid but 6s. or 7s. a week for endless labor, parting with 3s. 6d. of it for rent, as they were obliged to live somewhere within the ambit of work! the remaining 2s. 6d. or 3s. 6d. having to provide food and raiment to keep the poor human machine from stopping for ever. (Cries of "Shame!") These are the tales borne in

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to me by the stern, matter-of-fact, although, I am pleased to say, sympathetic Government officials who administer the Old Age Pensions Act.

Let us take one other fact. You have read, I have no doubt many of you, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree's wonderful study of poverty in town life. You know with what laborious and arduous care it was compiled; how he investigated the condition of every family in the city of York; how he discovered that the large proportion of the population lived on means which were inadequate to provide them with sufficient food to build up and sustain strength; how he found that the physical condition of something like 80 per cent. of the children in the working-class districts was under the average standard; and how in the poorer districts more than half these poor little wretches presented a pathetic spectacle, showing the hard conditions against which they were struggling—puny and feeble bodies, insufficiently clad, quite evidently insufficiently fed, bearing every sign of privation and neglect on their poor little faces—in the heart of the richest Empire in the world.

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We have recently had a great agitation in this country over the filling up of some land forms under the 1909 Budget. All the Press hooters have been sounding in the stillness of the dull season a note of indignation which was perfectly deafening. I heard it in the city. What has it been all about? I am not going to discuss the merits or demerits of my land taxes; it would not be relevant, and it would hardly be right at such a Conference as this; but it is rather germane to inquire into the nature of the grievance.

I found it took about ten minutes to fill up Form IV—if you knew where your property was. (Laughter.) A number of large landowners complain that, employing their agents and all their clerks and surveyors at full time, they cannot, even in two months, fill up the forms in respect of their property. Are you sorry for them? (Laughter.) Their estates are so large that it takes over sixty days to write out the barest outlines of its dimensions and locality. You have only to contrast that with the stories I have told you about the poverty of men and women just as meritorious as these others whose affluence is so burdensome, in order to find some sort of explanation of these tremors of the earth which seem to menace the foundations of society. (Loud cheers.)

So much for real property; what about property as a whole, real and personal? I have had during the last two years to look into the death duties pretty closely, and I find that, out of 420,000 adults that die in the course of a year, five-sixths leave no property which it is worth anyone's while to pick up—a few articles of cheap clothing and perhaps a little furniture, which would hardly pay the rent if it were sold by a broker's man. Out of £300,000,000 that passes annually at death, about half belongs to something under 2,000 persons.

Had the 350,000 who died in poverty led lives of indulgence and thriftlessness and extravagance? And had the 2,000, who owned between them nearly £150,000,000, had they pursued a career of arduous toil, and frugality? Everybody knows that that is not the case. It is facts such as these that account for the murmurings in the heart of Britain, which betoken the presence of some organic disease in her system. (Cheers.)

HOW THE POOR LIVE.

I saw it suggested by one able writer that most of the destitution that prevails was traceable to thriftlessness and waste amongst the wage-earning classes. (Laughter.)

I do not know whether the gentleman who wrote that article ever tried his hand at keeping a family and saving up on 21s. a week.

* * * * * *

Amongst the many contrasts which a rich country like ours presents between the condition of rich and poor, there is none more striking than the profligate extravagance with which land by the square mile is thrown away upon stags and pheasants and partridges, as compared with the miserly greed with which it is doled out for the habitations of men, women, and children. You measure the former by the square mile, the latter is given out by the yard, and even by the foot.

The greatest asset of a country is a virile and contented population. This you will never get until the land in the neighborhood of our great towns is measured out on a more generous scale for the homes of our people. They want as a necessity of life, plenty of light, plenty of air, plenty of garden space, which provides the healthiest and the most productive form of recreation which any man can enjoy.

* * * * * *

Another source of waste is unemployment. I don't mean among the working classes. (Laughter and cheers.) A good deal of attention has been devoted recently to unemployment amongst the working classes, and I am glad of that. Next year we hope to produce a great scheme for insuring these classes against the suffering which follows from lack of work; but absolutely no thought has been given to unemployment amongst the upper classes. This is just as grave as the other, and is a prolific cause of unemployment amongst the workmen.

A number of men and women are given the best training that money can afford, their physique is developed, their brains are strengthened and disciplined by the best education, and then, after they have spent the first twenty years—the first third—of their lives in preparing and equipping themselves for work, they devote themselves to a life of idleness. It is a scandalous and stupid waste of first-class material; and the worst of it is the system requires that they should choose some of the best men whom wealth can buy to assist them in leading this life of indolence with a degree of luxurious ease.

It is a common, but shallow, fallacy—that, inasmuch as these rich find employment for, and pay good wages to those who personally minister to their comfort, to that extent they are rendering a service to the community. Quite the reverse. They are withdrawing a large number of capable men and women from useful and productive work. (Cheers.)

I want to make it quite clear, so as to avoid all possibility of misrepresentation, that I am not referring in the least to the men who by their own brains have made the money which enables them to purchase occasional leisure. There is no more hard-worked class of men in the world than this. I refer exclusively to the idle rich. There is a larger number of people of this class in this country than probably in any other country in the world. You will find them in London clubs; or in the country, walking about with guns on their shoulders and dogs at their heels; or upon golf courses; or tearing along country roads at perilous speeds; not seeking to recharge exhausted nerve cells, spent in useful labor, but as the serious occupation of their lives.

If you want to realize what a serious charge they impose upon the community, I will put it in this way. If you take these men, with their families and with their very large body of retainers, you will find that they account for something like two millions of the population of this country. It is exactly as if the great commercial and industrial cities of Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow were converted into great privileged communities in which no man was expected to engage in any productive or profitable enterprise, where the sole business of one set of citizens was to enjoy themselves and of the rest of the citizens to help them to do so.

Can you think of anything more wasteful, more burdensome to the community, more unintelligent, than a system of that kind? (Cheers.) Yet that fairly describes the system under which we live in this country, where a very numerous class of the population, without labor, still live lives of luxurious indulgence, helping each other to do nothing—(cheers); and a great multitude of others live lives of arduous toil without earning sufficient food and raiment or repose. Believe me, there is too large a free list in this country, and it cannot afford it. (Loud cheers.)

I have recently had to pay some attention to the affairs of the Sudan, in connection with some projects which have been mooted for irrigation and development in that wonderful country. I will tell you what the problem is in that country—you may know it already. Here you have got a great, broad, rich river upon which both the Sudan and Egypt depend for their fertility; there is enough water in it to irrigate and fertilize both countries and every part of both countries; but if for some reason or other the water is wasted in the upper regions, the whole land suffers sterility and famine.

There is a large area in the Upper Sudan where the water has been absorbed by one tract of country, which, by this process, has been converted into a morass, breeding nothing but pestilence. Properly and fairly husbanded, distributed, and used, there is enough to fertilize the most barren valley and to make the whole wilderness blossom like the rose. Even then there would be some who would do better than others—the land which may have fallen to their lot may have more bounteous qualities, or its cultivators may be better fitted to make effective use of what they have got. Some inequalities would remain; and rightly so. But whilst some would thus have a surplus, all would be blessed with abundance.

That represents the problem of civilization, not merely in this country, but in all lands. Some men get their fair share of wealth in a land, and no more—sometimes the streams of wealth overflow to waste over some favored regions, often producing a morass which poisons the social atmosphere; many have to depend on a little trickling runlet which quickly evaporates with every commercial or industrial drought. Sometimes you have masses of men and women whom the flood at its height barely reaches, and you then witness parched specimens of humanity, withered, hardened in misery, living in a desert where even the well of tears has long ago run dry.

What is to be done? Once more I agree with Mr. Chamberlain, that whatever is done, the remedy must be a bold one. Our efforts hitherto have been too timid, too nervous, achieving no great aim.

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Lessening the Kingdoms

ALMOST sixty years since, when reaction in Europe had succeeded in nullifying the menace of revolution in 1848, and conservatism, expressed in monarchy and capitalistic exploitation, was apparently firmly enthroned, the, at the time revolutionary, poet Swinburne put forth his famous "Song In Time of Order," in which he portrayed the hopes and determinations of the exiled revolutionists, who had failed at the time to overthrow the monarchies of the Old World.

"Out to the sea with her there,
Out with her over the sand;
Let the kings keep the earth for their share!
We are done with the sharers of land.

They have tied the world in a tether,
They have bought over God with a fee;
While three men hold together
The kingdoms are less by three.

We have done with the kisses that sting,
The thief's mouth red from the feast,
The blood on the hands of the king
And the lie at the lips of the priest.

Will they tie the winds in a tether,
Put a bit in the jaws of the sea?
While three men hold together,
The kingdoms are less by three.

Let our flag run out straight in the wind!
The old red shall be floated again
When the ranks that are thin shall be thinned,
When the names that were twenty are ten:"

* * * * *

"In the teeth of the hard glad weather,
In the blown wet face of the sea;
While three men hold together,
The kingdoms are less by three."

Sixty years have passed and two-thirds of the prediction have been literally verified. The kingdoms are less by two. France, forty years ago, and Portugal to-day. Spain may make the third, with Germany, Russia and Italy as possibilities to make the prediction doubly safe.

The "three men holding together" for the destruction of monarchy in 1852, have grown to a mighty host in 1910—more than three millions—possibly three times three millions. The ranks that were twenty at that time have not become ten, but ten thousand, are still swelling with every passing year, and their numbers make exile absurd and impossible.

And their program now is not limited to the destruction of monarchy alone; it comprises also the capitalistic exploitation affiliated with it.

Ever higher rises the sea of social revolution in Europe, and there are none to bit and bridle it. With prophetic eye, the same poet saw the resistless swelling tide, and eight years later incorporated his vision in the no less famous "Song In Time of Revolution," which to-day so appropriately describes the situation of the old order of things in Europe that we reprint it on this page.

A SONG IN TIME OF REVOLUTION

By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE

The heart of the rulers is sick, and the high-priest covers his head;
For this is the song of the quick that is heard in the ears of the dead.

The poor and the halt and the blind are keen and mighty and fleet;
Like the noise of the blowing of wind is the sound of the noise of their feet.

The wind has the sound of a laugh in the clamor of days and of deeds;
The priests are scattered like chaff, and the rulers are broken like reeds.

The high-priest sick from qualms, with his raiment bloodily dashed;
The thief with branded palms, and the liar with cheeks abashed.

They are smitten, they tremble greatly, they are pained for their pleasant things;
For the house of the priests made stately, and the might in the mouth of the kings.

They are grieved and greatly afraid; they are taken, they shall not flee;
For the heart of the nations is made as the strength of the springs of the sea.

They were fair in the grace of gold, they walked with delicate feet;
They were clothed with the cunning of old, and the smell of their garments was sweet.

For the breaking of gold in their hair they halt as a man made lame;
They are utterly naked and bare; their mouths are bitter with shame.

Wilt thou judge thy people now, O king that wast found most wise?
Wilt thou lie any more, O thou whose mouth is emptied of lies?

Shall God make a pact with thee, till his hook be found in thy sides?
Wilt thou put back the time of the sea, or the place of the season of tides?

Set a word in thy lips, to stand before God with a word in thy mouth;
That "the rain shall return in the land, and the tender dew after drouth."

But the arm of the elders is broken, their strength is unbound and undone;
They wait for a sign of a token; they cry, and there cometh none.

Their moan is in every place, the cry of them filleth the land;
There is shame in the sight of their face, there is fear in the thews of their hand.

They are girdled about the reins with a curse for the girdle thereon;
For the noise of the rending of chains the face of their color is gone.

For the sound of the shouting of men they are grievously stricken at heart;
They are smitten asunder with pain, their bones are smitten apart.

There is none of them all that is whole; their lips gape open for breath;
They are clothed with sickness of soul, and the shape of the shadow of death.

The wind is thwart in their feet; it is full of the shouting of mirth;
As one shaketh the sides of a sheet, so it shaketh the ends of the earth.

The sword, the sword is made keen; the iron has opened its mouth;
The corn is red that was green; it is bound for the sheaves of the south.

The sound of a word was shed, the sound of the wind as a breath,
In the ears of the souls that were dead, in the dust of the deepness of death.

Where the face of the moon is taken, the ways of the stars undone,
The light of the whole sky shaken, the light of the face of the sun;

Where the waters are emptied and broken, the waves of the waters are stayed;
Where God has bound for a token the darkness that maketh afraid;

Where the sword was covered and hidden, and dust had grown in its side,
A word came forth which was bidden, the crying of one that cried;

The sides of the two-edged sword shall be bare, and its mouth shall be red,
For the breath of the face of the Lord that is felt in the bones of the dead.

Before we succeed in remedying one evil, fresh ones crop up. We are hopelessly in arrear. The problem has to be considered on a great scale.

The time has come for a thorough overhauling of our national and imperial conditions. That time comes in every enterprise—commercial, national, and religious; and woe be to the generation that lacks the courage to undertake the task. I believe the masses of the people are ready for great things; nay, they are expecting them.

My counsel to the people would be this—let them enlarge the purpose of their politics, and, having done so, let them adhere to that purpose with unswerving resolve through all difficulties and discouragements until their redemption is accomplished. (Loud and continued cheers.)

As an illustration of the increasing demand for rubber the import trade of that article in Great Britain is most significant. Twice as much crude rubber was imported in 1910 as in the previous year, and four times as much as in 1908. *Bradstreet's* gives the following figures for the three years: Imported in 1908, $4,635,000; 1909, $6,282,000; 1910, $16,281,000.

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How Labor Rules in Australia

THE domination of the Labor and Trade Union movement in Australian politics is evidently a thorn in the side of the local capitalists, as may be seen from a discussion of the subject by the Sydney correspondent of the London *Morning Post*. We reprint some of the most interesting excerpts from his letter:

The Arbitration Bill is through Committee in the House of Representatives with but few amendments. These were enforced because the whole weight of legal opinion in the Chamber being against the Attorney-General some of his many venturesome attempts to encroach upon the Constitution became clearly indefensible. The High Court, though trusted by the whole community, is distrusted by the Trade Unionists. That is because of the sincerity with which it safeguards our Constitution against the constant endeavors of the Labor Leagues to destroy State authority. This they persistently assail because it confines their ambitions within six separate domains. The Labor majority to-day is federal; its only sovereign administration is federal; the short road to the control of Australian industries and of their proprietors is federal. Nothing but the High Court bars the way of the Caucus to a complete control of the whole of the employers and employments of the Commonwealth. That is now their great objective. The new Caucus plan of campaign includes an appeal to the people by referendum next March or April, which they expect to give them an unrestricted national control of all our industries. Since the Federal Parliament already possesses absolute authority over the fiscal policy, the Customs revenue, the Defence Forces, and the taxation of Australia as a whole, this further addition to its autocratic powers would practically make its sway supreme. Our Constitution would cease to be federal; like that of South Africa, it would be unitary and centralized. Whatever view critics at home may take of this fundamental transformation now confronting us, every one here must admit that it was entirely unforeseen ten years ago. Then not a single State could have been carried for federation with such a prospect. Unification may not be adopted yet. In any event the distance we have travelled since his Majesty opened our first Parliament in 1901 affords a striking illustration both of the mobility of opinion in a new country and of the extraordinarily efficient organization of our Labor Leagues.

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It is admitted in the Federal Parliament that every member of the Labor majorities in both Houses belongs to a Trade Union. There is no exception to this rule. From the Prime Minister downwards each of them sits in a double capacity—representatives of both Labor Leagues and Trades Unions. The same condition of affairs obtains in the State Legislatures. To-day in the National Parliament and in South Australia the government is vested in these nominees of the Leagues and of the Unions, who cannot venture to slacken in their devotion to either of the coteries to whom they owe their selection, and to whom they must look for their maintenance in office. Every Caucus consists of these two blended elements, and it might be said to consist of these only were not a large section members of the Roman Catholic Church. The number is in excess of the proportion to which the large body of Irish working men and women entitles them. Clannish outside their class, there are always a number of people apart from the Leagues and Unions who support these candidates when they are of the same persuasion or the same blood. The Unions dominate the Caucus, the Caucus rules the Cabinet, and hence in the Commonwealth and in South Australia (possibly in this State, too, before long) the Unions will in fact dictate the policy of their Governments. Nowhere in the Empire or out of it has such a class ascendancy existed as now threatens Australia.

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The real core of the new Bill from the Labor point of view is to be found in the clause repealing each and all of the conditions imposed by the present Act upon every grant of preference to Unionists made by the Court. They may not now employ their funds for political purposes, their rules and terms of admission must be reasonable, and generally their responsibilities as public bodies require to be recognized before they can be endowed with independent authority covering powers the exercise of which, as Mr. Irvine, K. C., said, may be "absolutely tyrannous and cruel." Henceforward their rules will remain private, their actions unchallengeable, their funds may be spent in political agitations, they may impose their own terms, upon all who join them, and limit the employment of any free laborers who remain only after all Unionists, without regard to their comparative efficiency, are fully employed. Truly the Unions have extorted "their pound of flesh" without delay and without mercy from the Fisher majority. They have enjoyed opportunities of obtaining preference for six years, which some of them accepted because fair conditions were enforced in order to prevent gross abuses of this privilege. That preference no one opposed or has sought to restrict. Amendments making it more attractive would have been conceded so long as injustice was guarded against. But now every barrier, high or low, is broken down. The Unions in a few days more will be enthroned and absolute masters of the industrial situation. The coming change, though clearly explained by our principal papers, apparently does not diminish the lethargy of our public. It is true that the extreme individualism and the remains of the anti-federalism of our Free Trade *Daily Telegraph* discount its attacks upon the Labor movement, while the timidity and tepidity of the *Morning Herald* render it equally ineffective, in spite of its more national spirit. Yet, all allowances made, the apathy with which Sydney accepts these aggressive strides towards Caucus Party despotism augurs ill for effective opposition at our approaching State elections, though in respect to these both papers are anxiously earnest. The Labor Party, begun in the Unions, depends upon them for its Leagues, and for its members in our Legislatures, who, sitting in Caucus to-day, reign over the Commonwealth. Naturally their first decree gives them, as Unionists, a law of their own, free from conditions, and a Court of their own, through which they can and will establish themselves as a privileged class.

Such are the results of the conquest of political power by the workers of Australia through the use of the ballot in their own class interests instead of those of their former masters. Laws, courts and constitutions and all the sacred parchments of capitalist supremacy are swept out of the way without ceremony, once power to do so is conquered. And as the correspondent laments, there are none to hinder and the public is apathetic. Laws made by the capitalist class in the interests of that class are substituted by laws made by the working class in the interests of the working class.

When our workingmen rank in intelligence with the Australian working men we can handle our capitalists just as easy. Power is the one thing needful.

An American concern engaged in exploiting the coal deposits of Spitzbergen has just sent 8,000 tons of the product to market. Spitzbergen is an uninhabited island lying between the parellels of 77 and 80 degrees north latitude or between six or seven hundred miles from the North Pole. Despite the intense natural cold of the region, the work has been carried on without interruption, the excavations being so deep that the temperature below ground was sufficiently high to permit continuous work at all times

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Lord Charles Beresford, the well-known British Admiral, has publicly stated that the sea power of Great Britain is endangered by the spread of Socialism, and that Socialism and Militarism stand in irreconcilable opposition to each other.

During the first six months of the present year, 1,465 new corporations, with an aggregate capital of $398,551,500, have been chartered in Canada. One of them—the Steel Company of Canada—is capitalized at $25,000,000, and another—The Canadian Collieries—at $20,000,000.

London bakers have decided to increase the price of the four-pound loaf by one cent, so hereafter the Londoner will have to pay twelve cents for his four-pounds of bread, instead of eleven. For the same weight, however, the American still continues to pay 20 cents—five cents for a one-pound loaf.

The export bicycle trade of the United States, which in 1897 amounted to seven million dollars, has decreased in 1910 to $620,760.

Books Received

THE CAVERNS OF DAWN. By James Paxton Voorhees. Cloth, 519 pp. $1.50. The Raidabaugh-Voorhees Co., Plainfield, Indiana.

SOCIAL JUSTICE. By Percy Vivian Jones. Cloth, 325 pp. $1.50 net. Cochrane Publishing Co., Tribune Building, New York.

SOCIALISM AND SUCCESS. SOME UNINVITED MESSAGES. By W. J. Ghent. Cloth, 252 pp. $1.00 net; postage, 15 cents. The John Lane Co., 114 W. 32d St., New York.

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OUR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

Conducted by MRS. GAYLORD WILSHIRE

OPERATING A SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL

By KENNETH THOMPSON

OUR Lyceum or Sunday School was organized by the Young People's Socialist League Study Class on February 21st, 1909, and has now twenty-nine enrolled members. Mrs. Lucile Kenworthy was elected General Instructor, and proved to be a competent teacher in music as well as lesson work. On the event of Mrs. Kenworthy leaving the state, Mabel Cowdery was elected instructor, and has proven herself to be an efficient and practical teacher by always teaching and pointing out the class struggle, always careful to avoid using such terms as justice, right, etc., so often used by Socialist reformers who don't understand the Socialist philosophy, and do not know what the Socialist movement means. In this way the children are passed over the period of utopianism that so many of us had to, or have to, labor through.

There is a standing committee of three members of the Young People's Socialist League, Edwin Goetze, Martin Bortveit and Kenneth Thompson, who help the general instructor to prepare the lessons for each Sunday's work.

We have secured leaflets with lesson work from various publishers, but as yet have failed to find anything suitable for this work, and have so far been dependent on the work prepared by the instructor or the Committee. We use Moyer's "Songs of Socialism," and the children have sung and given a red flag drill at two entertainments given by Branch Oakland.

The children elect their own officers. The officers consist of chairman, secretary and treasurer, and they are given instruction in conducting business meetings. This is one of the practical lessons that is not taught in any other school for children.

The school is called to order by the chairman, who calls on the secretary for the roll call and the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting. The children are then asked for any suggestions they may have for the school work, and in this way the instructor often gets valuable help. It also makes the children feel that it is their work and they take a greater interest in the school.

The lessons are carefully worked out so that the class struggle is always before the children as the basis of the Socialist philosophy, and without the class struggle we would have no Socialist movement; always careful not to blind their young minds with any false conceptions of "justice, right," etc., other than class justice. We show them that these words are used by reformers, and are meaningless to class conscious Socialists.

The League had a picnic for the school at Piedmont Park in April, and we all had an enjoyable time. Some of us had a lively time caring for the young revolutionists.

At Branch Oakland's annual picnic at East Shore Park, on May 16th, the Branch gave special prizes for races by the Sunday school children. After these were over there were races for all children present.

We have had a prize contest on for regular attendance, also a "World Advertising Receipt" contest, of which the terms and prizes were as follows: "Any boy or girl, a member of the Progressive Lyceum, collecting $500 worth of advertising receipts before August 29, 1909, the date of our next picnic, will in return have their photograph, with a short article telling of their work, printed in the "World." In addition to the above 1st, 2d and 3d prizes, ranging in value from $1.50 to $5 will be given to the three who collect the most receipts in the same time." This contest was made possible as a result of the interest taken in this work by the World Press Committee. This committee is elected by the Socialist Party of Oakland and assists the editor in conducting the party paper, "The World."

The Socialist work among children is one of the most important branches of the party work, and should be encouraged in all cities and towns where there is a party organization. We find that the minds of the children are open and they are willing and eager to learn what the Socialist philosophy and movement means. The children of to-day will be the class conscious voters and industrialists of tomorrow if taught in a Socialist Sunday school, so, Comrades, let us see to it that we encourage and help along this important branch of Socialist work.

Woman Under Socialism

By AUGUST BEBEL

Compiled by MRS. MARY OPPENHEIMER

Lesson V.—Woman in the Present (Continued). Chaps. 2 and 3, pages 118—166.

Seriously erroneous conceptions still prevalent on the subject of female education. To man woman is first of all an object of enjoyment. Economically and socially unfree, she is bound to see in marriage her means of support. Woman is forced to enter into competition for a husband with the members of her own sex by means of the most favorable external presentation of her person possible. Running parallel with the effects of mistaken education are the no less serious effects of mistaken or imperfect physical culture upon the purpose of nature. All physicians are agreed that the preparation of woman for her calling as mother and rearer of children leaves almost everything to be wished. Physical debility of many women. Many men do not marry because they think they cannot support a wife and family according to their station. To support two wives is, however, possible to a small minority, and among these are many who now have two or more wives, one legitimate and several illegitimate. Large numbers of women do not marry simply because they cannot. The deficit of candidates for marriage (men) affects most those women who through education and social position make some pretensions and yet, outside of their persons, have nothing to offer the man who is looking for wealth. *Modern marriage is an institution that is closely connected with the existing social condition and stands or falls with it. But this marriage is in the course of dissolution and decay exactly as capitalist society itself.* Chapter 3 deals mainly with the subject of prostitution. Marriage is the obverse, prostitution the reverse side of the medal.

Lesson VI. Woman in the Present, continued. Chapter 4, pages 167 . . . . 180. The endeavor of woman to secure economic self-support and personal independence has, to a certain degree, been recognized as legitimate by capitalist society. The principal reason for such acquiescence lies in the class interest of capitalism. With the sharpening of competitive warfare the labor power of woman comes into ever greater demand. Woman is increasingly employed along with man, or in his place, because her material demands are less than those of man. In general, the working woman ventures only exceptionally to join her fellow toilers in securing better conditions of work and wages. Woman is even a trump card in an employer's hand against refractory workingmen. For many branches of industry she is fitter than man. With the development of industry woman finds from year to year an ever increasing field for her application but—and this is the determining factor—without tangible improvement in her social condition. Woman displaces man and in her turn she is displaced by young folks and by children. Woman is increasingly torn from family life by modern developments. A long list of industries follows illustrating this statement. Some of these industries are most dangerous, especially to pregnant women.

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British vs. American Radicalism

BY far the most powerful and influential statesman in Great Britain to-day is Mr. Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer. He looms up much larger in British politics than even the Premier, Mr. Asquith.

And Lloyd-George is besides a radical of the radicals. His recent public address on the subject of "The World Unrest" at the City Temple, in London, makes the radicalism of Roosevelt and La Follette look insignificant by comparison. Some of the statements of Mr. Lloyd-George at this meeting may be recounted here, for the benefit of those who imagine that British statesmen are more conservative than ours.

Mr. George declared plainly that the question of poverty was the one great issue in England to-day, and that it was imperative that a solution be found. That the contrasts between wealth and poverty were so menacing as to threaten society with irretrievable disaster unless the question were fairly met and solved rightly.

That in the enormous majority of cases, the poor and wretched were so by no fault whatever of their own.

That out of 420,000 adults who die annually in Great Britain, five-sixths leave no property whatever beyond "a few articles of cheap clothing and furniture which would hardly pay the rent if seized by the sheriff."

That out of three hundred million pounds sterling that passes annually at death, half belongs to some two thousand persons.

That poverty is not due to lack of thrift and wastefulness among the working people, and that those who hold such opinions are speaking without either knowledge or experience.

That land is thrown away by the wealthy by square miles on pheasants and partridges while the habitations of human beings are doled out by the yard and the foot. That this land must be surrendered by the wealthy idlers to make homes for the people.

That men and women are the most valuable asset of a country, and should at least have the care and attention given to cattle and horses.

That physical deterioration of the people must be stopped at all costs, as it involved the most disastrous waste of the national assets.

That another source of waste was unemployment. They were trying next year to perfect a scheme to insure workingmen against unemployment, but on this occasion he meant unemployment among the upper classes.

These people were carefully fed, raised, clothed and educated for more than twenty years of their lives at the expense of society, and when their equipment for their life work is finished they devote themselves to a life of pleasure and idleness. That these people—about two million in number—are a curse to society and to themselves, and that their uselessness, and the burden of them is a result of the system under which all equally live—workers and parasites.

That this must be stopped and these idlers found useful work. The "free list" in England was altogether too large and would have to be cut, as the country could not afford to carry it any longer.

Mr. Lloyd-George concluded in the following words:

> The time has come for a thorough overhauling of our national and Imperial conditions. That time comes in every enterprise—commercial, national and religious; and woe to the generation that lacks the courage to undertake the task. I believe the masses of the people are ready for great things; nay, they are expecting them.
>
> My counsel to the people would be this—let them enlarge the purpose of their politics, and, having done so, let them adhere to that purpose with unswerving resolve, through all difficulties and discouragements, until their redemption is accomplished.

Perhaps it is not exactly fair to contrast these straightforward and significant utterances with the puerile babble of our politicians. We must not forget that Lloyd-George is simply saying what the bulk of the British people are thinking at present. We Americans are still largely unconscious of the fact that we have a similar problem to solve, and so, as yet, any old drivel labeled politics passes unchallenged with us. As yet we confuse denunciation with radicalism.

Roosevelt's "New Nationalism" caused considerable alarm in financial circles, not so much on account of any positive statements it contained, but rather for the tendencies it foreshadowed. Had Mr. Roosevelt delivered such an address as this of Lloyd George's, a smash in the stock market would have instantly followed, and the press would have raised a universal alarm against "Socialism." And with good reason.

Yet it must be admitted that the address of Mr. Lloyd-George falls far short of the Socialist demands, and no doubt appears both to himself and those he speaks for, as merely necessary reform, even though it be loudly decried as "socialistic" by the political opposition. The fact seems to be that a majority of the British people more or less clearly recognize that the conditions described by the Chancellor of the Exchequer are so intolerable that they cannot be longer endured without national disaster, and that even if they cannot be rectified without "socialistic" measures, those measures must be adopted.

It is also significant to note that practically the entire Liberal press of England endorses the Chancellor's speech as a whole, and particularly that part referring to the "unearned increment" from the land, the idea that the landlord has no rights as against society, becoming increasingly prevalent. Even the *Times*, the principal Tory organ of the country, admits that the address was on the whole a sensible one, thus exhibiting most significantly the extent to which the British people are prepared to support "socialistic" measures, which undeniably make inroads on capitalistic property.

In this perception we are as yet far behind the British people. Most of us are still under the delusion of traditional "democracy" and fail to see that our economic conditions are essentially the same as in Great Britain, and carry with them the same results. It is possible, and, perhaps, probable that with us these conditions have not as yet reached the critical position they have attained in England, but that they will do so ultimately is beyond question; and when they do, they will be generally perceived, and we shall have radical addresses from our Roosevelts and LaFollettes, that will compare with those of Mr. Lloyd-George.

In the meantime, while the American people can be deluded with words of thundering sound, and little or no concrete meaning, our politicians don't need to change the quality of their oratorical output.

The Japanese government is establishing, near Tokio, a railroad workshop with an area of 3,000 square feet. The shop will be used for the repair of passenger and freight cars, which are now being built at the government workshops in Osaka.

Birmingham (Eng.) municipal street railway system showed last year a profit of $589,391. About 75,000,000 people were carried during the year.

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Any book mentioned in these columns can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. Unless otherwise stated, prices do not include postage.

THE WORKERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By James O'Neal. Paper, 136 pp. 25 cents. Published by the Author at 831 North Third St., Terre Haute, Ind.

It is not, of course, possible to treat adequately within the compass of a hundred odd pages the very extensive theme implied in the title of Mr. O'Neal's book, and so it must be admitted that he has only partly filled that familiar "long-felt want," which forms such an important part of the stock in trade of the book reviewer's vocabulary. However, it must be admitted also that whatever filling has been done has been well done, and we hope that the author may in the near future be able to extend and amplify his work. The materials exist in abundance, and Mr. O'Neal knows how to use them to good advantage. His history properly begins with a glance at the social and industrial conditions prevailing in Europe about the time of the discovery of America, at which time the stream of labor began to flow from Europe to these shores. From this starting point the author traces the fortunes—or rather the misfortunes—of the millions of workers who from generation to generation poured in an unceasing flood westward—the different systems of exploitation to which they were subjected, their futile attempts at rebellion, and the development of the unavoidable class struggle in general. The work is brought down to the period of Independence and concludes with a well written chapter entitled "The Aftermath." A valuable characteristic of the work is that the quotations given are from the most reliable bourgeois historians and those generally accepted as authorities in the capitalist world, and through their testimony the author amply makes out his case. We hope to see the time when more Socialists will undertake the study of the economic history of this country, a condition which would assuredly multiply the value of Mr. O'Neal's work manyfold.

THE FUTURE OF TRADES UNIONISM AND CAPITALISM. By Charles W. Eliot, LL.D. Cloth, 128 pp. $1.00 net. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

While we do not insist that Dr. Eliot's views are worthy of any special respect on the subject of Trades Unions and Democracy, this volume might not prove uninteresting to Socialists possessed of sufficient curiosity and a dollar for which they have no particular need. Capitalism, of course, in the conception of the learned author, is to stay on earth permanently, as also is Trades Unionism, a conception recently attained by many capitalists who have only been converted to that view through their failure to destroy it. Now, how are these two factors to get along together in the future? The doctor has it all settled. The Trades Unions are to drop all their now objectionable features—that is, the features objectionable to the capitalists—and become "properly conducted." Obviously when this happy reform has been accomplished, Capital, having no kick, will automatically become "fair" to labor. The reward of both will be "democracy," a state of society in which the capitalists will become philanthropists and the workers the happy recipients of their bounty, which will take the form in general foreshadowed now by the benefactions of a Rockefeller and a Carnegie. The Eliot Utopia is hardly an inspiring one, and cannot, like Socialist Utopias, be rightly dismissed as a "beautiful dream." However, it is probably the best that the doctor can do under the circumstances, though whether such visions are worth a dollar each must be left to the judgment of the possible purchaser.

BURNING DAYLIGHT. By Jack London. Cloth, 361 pp. $1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

In several of Jack London's best known books, the central figure approaches to some extent to the popular conception of the so-called "Superman," and in this striking volume the same portrait occurs, in a possibly more powerful and heroic form than in any preceding work of his. This time the opening scenario is set in the wild and desolate mining regions of Alaska in the infancy of the gold mining stage. "Burning Daylight," which is the name of the hero of the novel, is in all respects adapted to his primitive surroundings, a physical giant of immense strength and endurance, and withal a man of powerful character and wonderful insight. In everything physical and mental he so far excels his competitors as to finally become recognized as the mining king of Alaska. When he has accumulated ten millions or so, he strikes for the "outside" and gets into the big financial game, matching his powers and cunning against a pack of financial wolves much more formidable than those of the Alaska pack trails. He gets "trimmed" at first, but reverses the situation and bites the biters in a spectacular manner, and for several years continues the robbery of the robbers and graduates into the ranks of big capitalism. Withal he is never deceived by the process of wealth accumulation, and finally throws away a thirty million pile for the love of a woman, with whom he lives afterwards, in primitive style though exceedingly happy. Most of the reviews we have seen of this work denounce the description of capitalism in New York and San Francisco, while commending the savagery and relentlessness of the Alaska scenes. There is much Socialism in the book, as there is in most of London's works, and the value of the present volume consists in the fact that the author has made it eminently readable and interesting for all types with the possible exception of the class-conscious capitalist.

WORLD CORPORATION. By King C. Gillette. Cloth, 240 pp. $1.00. New England News Co., Publishers, Boston, Mass.

This work is the third of a series published by Mr. Gillette, being preceded by "Gillette's Social Redemption" and "Gillette's Industrial Solution," which appeared respectively in 1907 and 1908. The titles will, of course, explain to the reader that Mr. Gillette claims to be in possession of a scheme which, *if adopted*, will settle satisfactorily the great social and industrial problems of the day. The present volume contains the scheme worked out in what the business man would call a "practical" way, starting with the prospectus, charter, by-laws, directors, etc., of the "World Corporation," and ending with several chapters giving Mr. Gillette's views on social and industrial questions in general. The entire work may be summed up as an endeavor to find a short cut to Socialism, though Mr. Gillette does not designate his "World Corporation" by that particular name. While Socialists have long ago passed through the Utopian stage and practically ignore and repudiate all "schemes" of this kind, none the less this venture should prove rather more interesting than the ordinary, as Mr. Gillette starts out with some undoubted advantages. Fourier, the great French inventor of a new system of society, which like the "World Corporation" was also to be the "champion of equity and justice" on earth, waited for ten years at a certain street corner for a millionaire who was to finance the venture, but who never showed up. Mr. Gillette is in the happy position of being able to start his scheme, being a wealthy man, though of course not able without assistance to put it completely through. Hence the prospectus, etc. Whatever the fate of the "World Corporation" may be, it is only justice to Mr. Gillette to credit him with the best possible intentions toward his fellowman, and even should his hopes be disappointed, he has not only the consolation of knowing this, but also of knowing that he has contributed several interesting though somewhat belated volumes to the literature of Utopian Socialism.

THE SCIENCE OF BEING WELL. By Wallace D. Wattles. Cloth, 155 pp. $1.00. Published by Elizabeth Towne, Holyoke, Mass.

How to keep well is a subject of equal importance to materialist and mystic, and Mr. Wattles has arranged his matter and constructed his work so as to interest both. The former will find the various suggestions on diet, hygiene and exercise, of much practical value, the author having evidently given long and careful attention to the subject. For those who delight in what is called "New Thought," Mr. Wattles has dispensed intellectual treasures of that kind with a generous hand. So each may come and partake at the altar, choosing the viands he prefers. For instance, when the author begins a chapter with the statement that "it is a settled fact that man naturally chews his food," we agree at once, as the statement is perfectly understandable, and our experience has shown us that it is even now largely true, and would be wholly so had everybody the requisite time to eat. In this connection we have somewhat unpleasant memories of wrestling with the cold contents of a dinner-pail under the wall of a newly constructed building on which we were engaged, and trying to down our opponent in the limit of fifteen minutes. However, we digress. We really meant to say that when Mr. Wattles informs us most positively that there is a "Thinking Substance from which all things are made, and which, in its original state, permeates, penetrates and fills the interspaces of the universe," we fail to get him quite so clearly and comprehensively, which is no doubt due to our inexperience in soaring into the indefinite and diving into the unfathomable. However, there are possibly many people to whom one statement is as complete as the other, and if they find equal satisfaction in both, it is not for us to object. We understand fully what might be called "the gross physical" side of Mr. Wattle's explanations and fully approve of them. It may be that some day, some time, we may advance far enough to comprehend the other side.

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Balfour on Slum Property

SPEAKING recently at Edinburgh, Scotland, Mr. Balfour, former prime minister of Great Britain, in dealing with the ownership of house property, lamented the fact that there were not enough small owners that were also occupiers, but declared that he had no objections to large landlords. "If you want," he continued, "to find the worst forms of slum property, or tumble-down cottage property, or half ruined property, you have to go to the small owner who is not occupier."

Mr. Balfour has on many occasions recently attacked Socialism, but in this case he fails to see that he is really putting up an argument in its favor.

If the worst form of house property is that of the small owner who is not occupier, and the better form is that of large landlordism, it follows that the best form must be that of the largest ownership possible, viz. ownership by the collectivity—which is the Socialist position upon ownership of all property capitalistic in its nature.

And so far as municipal or community ownership of house property has been realized, it is beyond question that such property is by all odds the most sanitary and best maintained, when compared with privately owned house property however large the holding.

As for any increase in the number of small owners who are also occupiers, there is no hope whatever under the competitive wage system. That form of property holding is fast passing away, not only in Great Britain, but also here, where there is supposedly more opportunity for its realization.

EDUCATION UNMASKED. By "Rev. Ealer." Paper, 32 pp. 25 cents. Critic and Guide Co., 12 Mt. Morris Park West, New York City.

The author of this little work, who has prudently concealed his identity under the *nom de plume* of "Rev. Ealer," is in all probability a school teacher, judging from his minute acquaintance with the conduct of New York schools and his intimate knowledge of pedagogy in general. He divides his work in two parts, the first dealing with the science of teaching in general, while the second is devoted to a description and criticism of education as conducted in the Public Schools of New York. The pamphlet contains many valuable suggestions and justifiable criticisms of the manner of teaching, the position and status of school teachers in general, and a well worked out discussion of the different methods applicable in educating children of diverse characteristics and abilities. We should like to see this essay in the possession of all parents who take a live interest in the education of their children and our public educational methods in general.

FERRER

By HERMAN SCHEFFAUER.

Who armed the hands of the butchers? What powers crouched in the crypts of night?
What fools, fat-blown with their hate like toads, plotted to throw in eclipse this light?
Not enough the curse and blight they brought on the house of Spain with pyre and bar—
Their mildewed hands as of old must stretch from ancient darkness to quench a star!

Yet blindly they wrought in their rage, nor learned the lesson of new-born centuries,
Nor saw, ere they trod on the torch of truth, what hands shook dust from their dynasties,
What ghostly chisels gnawed deep upon the mouldered mortar that bound the vault,
Nor their cold lips knew that the taste of blood like that of tears is accurst with salt.

Wherefore from their baleful tomes they dragged the words of an iron doom in vain,
While the blood-splashed Torquemada again sprang howling out of the ribs of Spain,
And lies like serpents crept from their throats to weave a halter for men to wear,—
Yea, charnels stank 'mid manacle-clank as they fusilladed a greybeard there!

But the musket-roar and the smoke o'er Earth grew straightway a bolted thunder-cloud,—
And the dumb lips of the slain re-open, and his hand moves blazing beyond his shroud,
While she that slew him—the crumbling realm—hath felt new life in her ashen womb—
E'en she is freed by his blood!—for blood, like a fire may shine—like a flower, bloom.

Morgan on Miracles

MR. J. PIERPONT MORGAN recently attended an Episcopal convention in an outlying city and expressed himself as disgusted with the senseless talk indulged in by the delegates on the possibility of miracles.

For this the N. Y. *World* took Mr. Morgan severely to task on account of his implied scepticism. It wanted to know why Mr. Morgan repudiated miracles when he himself was able to perform them, instancing his transfer of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. to the Steel Trust, as a miracle for which no explanation was "humanly possible."

To this, so far as we have seen, Mr. Morgan has made no reply, though were he sufficiently imprudent he might express himself as disgusted with the senseless talk of the *World*.

To represent the process of accretion by which the Trust grows, as a miracle, "which no fellah can understand," is an admirable policy both from the standpoint of the *World* and Mr. Morgan. If the public can be convinced that these processes are mysteries which defy explanation, the public won't inquire, and Trust Rule will remain reasonably safe.

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WILSHIRE'S

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
·Editor·

Vol. XIV No. 12 NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1910 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

Socialism in the Recent Election

WITH a vote of approximately seven hundred thousand, between thirty and forty members in the various State Legislatures, a candidate in the National Congress, many of the States doubling their Socialist vote, most showing a large increase and none recording a decrease, it is quite reasonable that the last election should be regarded as a point of departure, from which the entrance of Socialism as a factor of political importance in the national life should be dated.

It has certainly been an encouraging and inspiring victory, and its effect in stimulating still farther Socialist effort will be most beneficial.

Though without doubt the drift toward Socialism will steadily increase from this time onward, it is not to be expected that the Socialist vote will not at times show temporary decreases, for without doubt some part at least of the vote recently polled was due to the absence of any distinct radical party in the field. In this connection the Hearst movement may be left out of account, as it is obviously played out.

But it should be remembered that the radical elements in both the great parties had no opportunity for political expression in the recent election, a condition that we can hardly expect to continually repeat itself in the future. And we know by experience that the appearance of such a party always has the effect of temporarily checking the growth of the Socialist vote, as it naturally attracts the majority of those who are in the stage of "coming our way."

However, this detracts nothing whatever from the actual splendid progress made by the Socialist Party in the recent campaign. It is but a recognition of the general fact that the majority of the votes which increase the Socialist total periodically, come from people who have traversed a certain preliminary stage of radicalism. That this number must continually increase is of course evident, and quite as evident is the fact that they must eventually swell the Socialist voting ranks.

The fact that this final result is unavoidable, though each such radical party starts out with the explicit statement that it is not in any sense "Socialistic" and has nothing in common with the Socialist abomination, is but one of the many proofs that society, despite its protests against Socialism, and its efforts to avoid it, is irresistibly compelled to move in that direction.

In all probability, 1912 will see the rise of such a radical movement in this country, for it is simply out of the question that the change from a Republican to a Democratic administration can in any way lighten the economic pressure to which the American people are being subjected, or solve any of the great economic industrial problems that are at the root of present-day unrest. This unrest, growing, as it must grow, day by day, and not yet sufficiently enlightened to express itself in Socialist votes, must therefore bring into existence a radical movement more or less "Socialistic" in character. And its composition will doubtless include the "insurgent" and radical elements of the Republican and Democratic parties and whatever other elements may have been attracted by the special radicalism of Roosevelt as expressed in the "New Nationalism."

How the Socialist vote may fare when confronted with this situation is a matter of conjecture. The renewed propaganda effort, which will undoubtedly result from the recent Socialist success, may perhaps offset or even more than offset the tendency to divert near-Socialists from voting the straight Socialist ticket. But we can hardly expect to repeat the brilliant success of 1910, so far as actual increase in the Socialist vote is concerned.

However, the Socialist vote, though of great importance, is not at all times, of itself, the most important fact in the world's progress toward Socialism. More important at certain periods is the leavening influence of the Socialist movement—mostly unseen by the superficial observer, and of course with none of the spectacular features of a great vote which can be exhibited in impressive figures—which silently permeates large masses and is first manifested in radical movements of an increasing Socialistic

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character. A function of the Socialist movement which in importance is exceeded by no other is this process of steady permeation, through which ever-increasing numbers are continually pressed forward toward Socialism, without clearly understanding their destination or the general direction of their march, until they find themselves in the Socialist camp, and their ultimate enlightenment is then assured.

Those who claim, therefore, that the results of the last election mean a long step forward toward placing Socialism in the position of a political factor of the first importance, are undoubtedly right. Whatever the vote may be in 1912, Socialism will by that time have graven its mark deeply in the national life, and its power and influence in the future will increase rapidly with every passing year, until America takes her place among the foremost nations of the earth in the onward march to economic freedom.

The Lords in the Balance

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

FOR many years the question of the right of the House of Lords to veto legislation has been a burning question in Great Britain, and even the coming election will not decide the matter if the Conservative Party can prevent a clean-cut issue being put before the electorate.

As a matter of fact, the gage thrown down by the Liberal Party is clear enough, but the Conservatives are smart enough to try and make the voters think that the issue is anything but what it really is, for they know that upon a fair and square fight on the question of the House of Lords, they would be sure to lose.

The Liberals have introduced a bill called Parliament Bill, which declares that the House of Lords shall have no right to hold up any bill passed by the House of Commons, for more than two years, and that it shall have no right to interfere with a "money bill" at all.

The House of Lords has refused to pass this bill, and now the Liberals have called for a general election on December 3, to have the country decide whether or no the majority of the voters want such a bill passed.

If a Liberal majority is returned to the next Parliament, they will again present the bill to the House of Lords for its concurrence, and if the Lords once again reject it, the Liberal Prime Minister will ask the King to appoint as peers a certain list of Liberals that he will give him, and these newly made Liberal Peers will pass the bill. Exit the House of Lords, practically.

Now, this would look a simple enough way to end the rule of the Lords, and it really is simple enough, but the trouble is that the Tory or Conservative Party—also called the Unionist Party—refuse to discuss the question upon the bald lines of shall or shall not the Parliament Bill be passed. They are cunning enough to try and shunt the election upon the old question of Home Rule for Ireland.

The Tories say that the Lords are the only thing that stands between the Nation and Home Rule for Ireland, and that Home Rule means the downfall of the British Empire. They dwell particularly upon the "American Gold" that Redmond, the Irish leader, collected for parliamentary expenses on his recent tour through the United States and Canada. The amount was but $200,000, and the money is to be used to pay the living expenses of the Irish members during the next Parliament—members of Parliament, it must be remembered, are unpaid. It's rather stretching it, however, to talk about that $200,000 being a huge corruption fund as the deciding factor in this election. They cry that England will have sold herself for $200,000 in American gold if she votes Liberal, and yet not a single Peer in the House would marry an American heiress unless she had at least two million dollars. And there is not one Irish member who may get part of this $200,000 but what would be elected anyway.

However, it's the only card the Tories have to play, and they are certainly playing it for all it's worth. It does not seem to me that the voters can be so bamboozled, but one can tell better after the election.

Of course the logical voter will vote for the Socialist candidates, who not only declare for the ending of the Privileges of Birth, but the Privilege of the Dollar, whether American or British. Unfortunately, however, the Logical Voter will not have many chances to vote for a straight out and out Socialist in this election, for there are not so many Socialist candidates, and he will be usually limited to a choice between a Liberal and a Tory.

There have been many elections in the past where the point of difference between the two great British parties was largely one of words, but it does seem to me that in this particular election the question between privilege and opportunity is for once well defined.

Whether the electorate will find the issue as clear to them as it seems to me is another matter.

Hyndman is again running for Burnley, and stands a better chance of election this time than he ever did before. The total vote there last time was about 15,500, of which Hyndman got 5,000 and the Liberals and Tories split the balance, with enough in favor of the Liberal to elect him. Hence Hyndman has but to jostle the balance ever so slightly in his favor to be the first man ever returned to Parliament purely as the representative of the Social Democratic party, of which in this election he is the sole candidate.

A Correction from England

In a recent number of this journal some comment was made upon the attitude of Mr. Dan Irving, a British delegate to the recent International Socialist Congress, in which the impression was left that Mr. Irving considered the proceedings of the Congress as futile and valueless. Mr. Irving writes us a communication, which we regret we cannot find sufficient space for, to the effect that his strictures refer only to the question of Protective Labor Legislation and Unemployment; that the findings on these questions were deplorably weak and altogether unsatisfactory; and that he and the entire British delegation were of the same opinion and protested against their adoption.

The clipping from which we quoted was from the London *Daily News* and represented Mr. Irving as dissatisfied and disgusted with the entire proceedings, and we were deceived by the misrepresentation. The whole matter again emphasizes the need of caution in accepting the statements of the capitalist press at their face value. Mr. Irving declares that he is in complete agreement with those Socialists who see in the opportunity for consultation and acquaintance which such Congresses afford, its most important function. Only on the question above referred to did he express dissatisfaction.

Judge James B. Dill, known as the "Father of the Trusts," died recently at his home in Orange, N. J. His bereaved offspring are happily able to provide for themselves.

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The Railway Strike in France

By ODON POR, *Special European Correspondent, Wilshire's*

GEORGE SOREL, the keenest living French philosopher and revolutionist, says, in an article recently published, that the French railway strike is probably one of the most remarkable events of our contemporaneous history. He first of all calls the attention to the fact that we must not connect this strike with the movement which has favored, in these last years, the development of revolutionary unionism in France. Indeed, the French railwaymen have only a year or so ago come to the conclusion that their social diplomacy or their humble negotiations with Parliament and the Railroad Companies leads nowhere as far as their economic conditions are concerned and therefore they discharged their general-secretary, who was the promoter of the diplomatic way of action and who is a great friend of Briand. Henceforth the revolutionary minority was in control of at least the administrative powers of the Railway Union and began to devote its energies to the neglected work of organization and tried to eliminate the craft unions of the railway workers with the view of merging them into one powerful body.

It was planned to call a strike this fall at the opening of the Parliamentary session in order to bring pressure to bear upon the Government and the Railway Companies and induce them to relieve the grave economic conditions of the railway workers.

But the workers were exasperated to such a degree that the breaking out of partial strikes, at the least provocation, was feared before the general movement would be wholly prepared. And so it happened. And the fact that Briand has foreseen the inevitability of this has aroused the suspicion of the workers and they ask themselves, whether some of Briand's numerous friends in the labor movement informed him and they question themselves, further, whether Briand has provoked these partial strikes in order to beat the Railway Union before it was prepared for united resistance.

Briand is perhaps the greatest scoundrel of modern times. He betrayed his revolutionary Socialism with reformism, he betrayed his reformism with radicalism—always under the pretext of willing to work for "social good" and always claiming that his latest transformation leads him into an environment where he can better unfold his social activities and social talents. Now he has revealed his real character. He is striving for personal power. He knew that a railway strike would shake his position as prime minister, and seeing its inevitability he provoked it before it was prepared by the workers, in order to destroy the organization and thus strengthen his position with the bourgeoisie. He now betrayed the working class. He directly and shamelessly acted as a true coward, working first in the dark and, then, when he saw things go his way, came out into the open with lies and charges to justify his actions for "social peace," actions which have been brought directly for his own advancement and in the interest of the bourgeoisie.

When Briand announced that the strike was started as "a criminal enterprise of violence and disorder" and as a revolutionary movement aiming at overthrowing the present society, he lied. The workers fought for the ridiculous minimum wage of one dollar per day, for improvements in the pension system and for a reorganization of their work. The French workers, though more revolutionary than the workers of other countries, are not such fools as to launch a revolution when they are not wholly prepared for it. But Briand, to save appearances, was forced to cover his violations of all unional and individual liberties with lies. The illegal arrests and discharges, the arbitrary orders of mobilization or militarization were justified by Briand and his retained press as inevitable measures for saving society.

The French bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie of the whole world is unanimously hailing Briand as the Saviour of Society, as a man of exceptional energy, courage and wisdom. He is now, in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, the Social Dictator, who gives to everybody what belongs to him in order to maintain peace and order.

The judgment of the bourgeoisie is in this case as superficial as in any other. The bourgeoisie is always impressed by some show. Be it a show of money, of power, of brutality, of any success, be it obtained at any price. The bourgeoisie is morally so low that it bows before a man who all his life was a traitor, and accepts his leadership, because he has proved to be momentarily useful. Briand is for the ruling classes, at present, worth his weight in gold many times over. But I doubt his wisdom. He is, as I said before, a coward. And a coward cannot be wise. Because a coward always seeks the success of the moment, because he has no courage to look into the future and no perseverance to prepare for it, because he fears the future and therefore uses every means without any higher guiding principle to reinforce his present position.

The wise man is more concerned with the future than with the present. A wise man chooses his actions according to the inspiration of a higher principle and a consideration of the future possibilities of his action. A wise man seeks no quick success at any price, for he knows that quick success holds the factors of quick decline. Success to be made permanent must be organically connected with the future and the price to be paid for it lies in a patient and intense work of preparation. But this the bourgeoisie does not know. In its eyes, the wise man is the most spectacularly successful man.

Briand's quick success, for which he paid with cowardly scheming and another betrayal, will prove to be his early grave. His success was not based upon a prudent attenuation or averting of the economic causes of the strike movement, but upon its brutal repression and upon using his knowledge of the weak points of the organization, which he has acquired as a militant revolutionist, against his once comrades.

However, this brutal suppression, while it broke the strike, has conjured up a desperate sense of resistance in the French workers. The fact that more than fifteen thousand railroad men refused to obey the order of militarization has a tremendous social significance. It proved that the anti-militarist propaganda made great inroads in the working masses. It convinced the workers that their insurrection against militarism is possible. And this fact becomes even more significant when we consider that this

(*Continued on Page 10*)

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THE multiplication of daily and weekly Socialist newspapers which has taken place in the last year or two, makes it superfluous for a monthly journal to attempt to compete in the matter of news. By this time practically every Socialist in the country knows approximately the vote polled by the Party in the recent election, and as a consequence they are omitted in this issue, though in common with all Socialists we rejoice in the splendid advance that has been made.

We wish to convey our thanks to hundreds of correspondents who have been kind enough to turn in lists of figures of the local vote in their various localities, and ask them to accept this explanation of their non-appearance.

It is an old and somewhat commonplace joke that the "returns of the Socialist vote come in by slow freight," but it seems to hold good in this election also, as the total returns are yet far from complete at present writing. Possibly the "slow freight" was slower than usual this time on account of the heavier vote it had to transport.

In the January issue we hope to be able to give the final returns of the vote to our readers, merely mentioning that at present it is estimated to be seven hundred thousand or thereabout.

A large number of the most observant Socialists seem to attribute the increase largely to an increased output of Socialist literature of all kinds—papers, magazines, books, pamphlets and leaflets, and in this they are in all probability correct. To a part of this success we can modestly lay claim, for in the past year the business of the magazine has been greatly increased, and the output of literature from this office has grown by leaps and bounds.

There can be no greater satisfaction than that of knowing that one has contributed his or her part to the success of a movement that means the ultimate uplifting of humanity, and we feel assured that the recent triumph will serve to stimulate us all to an increase of effort, until our final object is attained.

HOW little the capitalistic elements of the country have been scared by the recent great increase in the Socialist vote, is seen in the confirmation of the sentence of Fred Warren, of the *Appeal to Reason,* which was announced a week or so after the election.

Warren must serve six months at hard labor and pay a fifteen hundred dollar fine, for proposing to do on a small scale what the Supreme Court held was legally done by capitalists in the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case.

It isn't of course pleasant for Warren, but will certainly give the Socialist movement an added impetus. Just as the Moyer-Haywood case served to attract the attention of millions who would otherwise have remained ignorant and indifferent, so in like manner will the Warren case, which in fact is a sequel to the other.

Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad, it is said, but perhaps the stupidity of the capitalistic courts in this case was due to the fact that they couldn't very well do anything else. To have reversed the sentence would have equally aided Socialism. People who undertake to stop the movement toward Socialism are not intelligent, therefore their actions must necessarily be unintelligent.

It is said that the hard labor clause was added to the sentence so that Warren might not find leisure to write for the *Appeal* while in jail. But, even if this is true, it is doubtful if it will tend to diminish the output of agitation on the subject.

We do not feel inclined to criticize the justice of the decision. In such matters, under our present system of class rule, justice as an abstract ideal is not possible of application. Warren received the only brand of justice kept in stock for such occasions: that described by the Greek philosopher as "the interest of the stronger."

Socialists as a rule don't court martyrdom, but when it is forced on them they are usually practical enough to turn it to the best account, and the Warren case will be no exception. We are quite as competent here to utilize the jailing of an editor as are our German comrades.

WE have been so accustomed to listening to speeches and papers about the folly and uselessness of building "Dreadnoughts," that it is something of a relief to hear that two of these expensive monsters have been utilized at last for some practical purpose.

The warships in question belonged to Brazil, having recently been constructed at great expense in England for that country. It developed that on their reaching a home port, the sailors, in revolt against the treatment received aboard, sought redress by seizing the ships, slaying the officers and turning the big guns on the city, which it may be mentioned was Rio Janeiro. It wasn't a regular bombardment; they just turned a few shell loose around the suburbs to show what they could really do if their demands were not complied with.

The prominent citizens of the burg were of course horrified and indignant at first, but as they came to realize the situation their indignation apparently ceased and they promised not only redress of all grievances, but also agreed to overlook the petty detail of the murder of the officers.

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A hundred odd years ago something similar took place in England's fleet; the sailors for the same reason seized the ships, but killed nobody. As in Brazil, they were promised redress, but were eventually cajoled into giving up possession of the ships. Then the powers that were once again restored redeemed their promise by a general hanging of the mutineers.

Physical force is an invincible weapon under some circumstances, but it must be used intelligently. In the first place, care must be taken that the amount acquired is sufficient for the purpose desired; and, second, that it must not be surrendered. If these conditions are observed, even the terrible crime of mutiny, with murder attachments, can be condoned.

AS it is an easy and pleasant task to editorially consign a political opponent to the "down and out club," it is not at all strange that an impression has been created that Roosevelt will trouble the American people no more, the recent election having relegated him to political oblivion or innocuous desuetude or some other condition of harmless impotence.

But those who entertain that hope have overlooked two very necessary factors in their calculations. First, the irrepressible pugnacity and loquacity of T. R.; and, second, and perhaps more important, the fact that the Socialist movement has a certain need of his services.

Mr. Roosevelt has not been engulfed in a political sea; he merely lost his footing temporarily in a little, shallow, and dirty local political puddle, where he was for the time being engaged in slinging mud at the opposition gang.

He is needed to save the country from Socialism, and for that reason Socialism needs the sort of opposition he can supply. His criticism of that subject which appeared some time ago in *The Outlook*, though of a certain value, is not perhaps such an asset to the Socialist movement as his avowal of the so-called "New Nationalism" policy, which so alarmed our conservative citizens at the time of its putting forth, and which they fondly hope is now and forever shelved by the defeat of Roosevelt on an issue of State politics.

We Socialists know better. We know that Mr. Roosevelt cannot remain inactive in the face of the recent Socialist success, and that his method of fighting Socialism is by insisting that unless the American people adopt his particular "Socialistic" policies, nothing can save them from having the entire Socialist program thrust upon them. And we know also that an opponent of this kind really serves us in the long run, however much he may profess opposition to us.

Mr. Bryan never was of any particular value to the Socialist movement, except perhaps as a "horrible example" of reactionism run to absurdity, and it was perfectly logical that he should fade away. But Mr. Roosevelt at least has his face turned to the future; he knows that Socialism is the problem ahead, and thinks he knows how it can be avoided. For such as he, evolution has work that needs doing, and a place in the world of the living.

IN the recent death of Count Leo Tolstoy, one of the most unique and extraordinary figures of the present age has passed away.

To give anything resembling an adequate character sketch of this marvelously many-sided man is far beyond the scope of an editorial notice. Perhaps superfluous here also, for the world has heard more of Tolstoy and his work than of any other man now living. And genius being an undefinable thing, no commonly-accepted interpretation of the man and his strange life-work has yet been arrived at.

Possibly the task will fall to historians of the future, who may, in tracing the course of social evolution in Russia, be better fitted than we are to measure the effect and value of the teachings of this extraordinary man in connection therewith.

The Russian government is relieved by his death of a dangerous enemy, and the peasantry in him have lost a powerful and sympathetic voice. But the work of Tolstoy still lives and will continue to affect both in the days to come, just as Marx, Engels and Lassalle, though long dead, still live in the process of the social revolution which they more clearly than others of their times foresaw, and to the coming of which they devoted their splendid talents and genius.

So in the coming days we shall interpret the life work of the dead man with the progress of Russian revolution as a criterion.

Our First Congressman

In the election of Victor Berger to Congress, the Socialists of America have finally wiped out the standing reproach of years that they had no representative in the National body.

Writing in the *Social Democratic Herald*, Berger himself declares that this fact was used as an argument in Europe against the Socialists there. Their movement had never made any headway in America, the most capitalistic country on earth, and the one in which the workers enjoyed the widest political freedom. It is not difficult to see how this condition of affairs could be made to serve as a general refutation of Socialist claims and theories.

So it is all the more satisfactory to know that the opponents of Socialism in Europe have been deprived of this argument by the results of our recent election. The sending of Berger to Congress thus becomes a matter of international as well as of national import.

The reply that one representative can do nothing there misses the point. The answer is that there are more coming, that Berger is but the advance guard, the herald that announces the approach of the others.

His election is a fact that probably impresses the average non-Socialist much more than if the Socialists had polled a hundred thousand more votes without electing anybody to Congress, and anything calculated to fix the attention of these people on Socialism is of the utmost value and importance to the movement. In the popular mind a Congressman is a much more important figure than an agitator however brilliant, and Berger's election is an undeniable demonstration of the sort of success that appeals most strongly to the American voting public.

What England now needs is a Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional the attempt to abolish the House of Lords.

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SUBORDINATION

By **HARRISON REEVES**

WHY Smith and Brown took each other so seriously was no less a mystery to those blindly sincere young men than it was to their superiors at Culebra. Men who had studied such unsympathetic professions as medicine and engineering, and in rival universities, ought logically to hate each other. The superficial esteem in which the Chief Engineer held the men and their relation was shown clearly enough by his conjecture that Brown had cured Smith of a stomach-ache and that Smith had built Brown an antiseptic shower-bath. When it was explained to him that they had entered the canal service together, on the same day, he said that so far as he was concerned they might leave it together, on the same day, or any day. Since they were too mediocre to discharge, he sent them to Gatun, hoping that they would be able to rejoice together, even in that wilderness. The assignment ordered them to wait there and observe the weather until somebody died up the line.

Now there wasn't anything particular to do at Gatun except to observe the weather, which was obviously wet and warm. Moreover, according to the "Daily Dead" column in the Canal Record, there must have been plenty of vacancies up the line. But Smith and Brown sent in technical statistics about the rainfall until the Chief telegraphed them to "reduce humidity at once." Jenkins, a local missionary who hated the blasphemous chief and knew his idiom, told them never to take suggestions literally. Consequently, they took his suggestion literally and sent in no more rainfall reports, but fell to studying them instead. Within a week Smith was working sixteen hours a day on a flagrantly unofficial survey, while Brown ate and slept in an improvised laboratory where experiments were simmering every hour in the twenty-four. Jenkins told the chief that they were both quite mad, and that it was his fault, which bred itself into countless anecdotes about the psychological effect of the weather.

The simple fact of the matter was that Smith and Brown were men of genius. Moreover, they both knew it and never talked about anything else, except occasionally when Smith would rave a little about an extraordinary girl in Pennsylvania who was coming down to marry him as soon as he won his promotion. The best part of it was that their talents were so purely professional that the present opinion of the amateur world didn't matter. For men whose names were to go down through all eternity, a temporal reputation for climatic insanity was almost amusingly unimportant. In fact, they rather enjoyed the irony of the situation, for it was exactly their study of rainfall which had led to the grand twin ideas which would make them famous. Another humorous pastime was to contemplate the children of the twenty-fifth century memorizing the names Smith and Brown, names so rare in the list of the world's heroes. Just now, the girl in Pennsylvania was the only outside person in the secret, and she didn't understand.

Smith had surveyed and designed a dam which would hold back enough rainfall for twenty-five miles of canal. The construction of such a work would save the government seven years of labor and about a billion dollars. Brown had discovered the yellow fever toxin which his department had been looking for so stupidly while the population died. As he was over-fond of putting it, the most mercenary age could not estimate the value of his invention in mere billions. But the sublimity of their real motives contradicted discussion. Who could be vain or jealous when humanity was at stake? And as a matter of fact, each divided his enthusiasm so equally between the two schemes that by dint of checking each other's logarithms and formulæ their minds were well on toward a state of duo-mania before the great morning when their innocent looking booklets were filed at headquarters.

There was a sort of explosion in the executive offices. Very young clerks believed that the Chief Engineer and the Health Officer fainted in each other's arms. Smith and Brown were said to have received six telegrams while they waited for the first train. The Chief and the great H. O. met them at the station and fairly dragged them up the hill. The Chief, with frantic gesticulations, reiterated his scepticism and profane anxiety. The H. O. found it all very unusual and charming.

After three days' inquisition, Smith and Brown met to compare notes. "Well, how do you like it?" asked Brown, who affected optimism.

"It's hell! What kind of a crowd have you got?"

"Mostly fools. But I guess we'll bring them 'round in another sitting, both of us. Think so?"

"Sure. Why, damn it man, they can't get away from it. We've got what they've been looking for ever since the job opened up. Well, good luck. I'm going to bed. You look sick. Better take care o' yourself."

Secretly they were both chagrined by the stubbornness of the officials in matters of mere detail. At first mumbled praises crept into the cross examination, but the chiefs frowned them down and probed after the next minute calculation. What hurt worst was that the enthusiastic part of it, the splendid ideas themselves, as conceived in their entirety by the inventors, suffered the ignominy of the obvious and went undiscussed. It seemed that the officials must tear their masterpieces up into shredded elements, and display their own woeful ignorance of mathematics and chemistry. Smith had to talk about hydraulic pressures to men who had never heard of a logarithm, while Brown tried to explain his theory of germ inoculation to uniformed gentlemen who couldn't pronounce the word corpuscle. The altruistic satisfaction of teaching these lofty personages the a b c's of their professions was not a sweet reward for youthful truth discoverers. Furthermore, no one had as yet shown the commonplace intelligence to propose a name for these feats. Were the terms "Smith's Dam" and "Brown's Toxin" to be left unspoken until the infinite repetitions of posterity should establish them?

The end of it all was that a committee of three called on Smith at Gatun. A fat person who acted as spokesman intimated that he, at least, was open to conviction, and that, further, he was the man who could convince the Chief Engineer and get the dam built. The other committeemen compromised by remarking that Mr. Smith had certainly stumbled upon a very clever idea. After dozing a few days over Smith's blue-prints, the committee, through the fat person, submitted an interminable report

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to the effect that the proposed dam was very interesting, and that, if it could be built, it would certainly be a great thing for the canal. The Chief told his secretary to file the thing away and despatched a hydraulic expert with a note to Smith which informed him very graciously that he had been recommended for promotion. That night Smith cabled for the girl in Pennsylvania.

It took the hydraulic man just three hours to discover that the rock bottom under Smith's dam was largely a conjecture. Meanwhile, the Health Officer had stopped short to advertise for Americans and "other persons from a cold climate" to volunteer as tests for a new kill-or-cure yellow fever toxin. Missionary Jenkins counselled his young friends to speak truth and have faith in the Lord, whose mercy, in similar predicaments, he had known to be infinite. There was a shower of taunting messages from headquarters, demanding proofs, proofs, proofs. A humane medical board held that Brown was already too run down to be a fair test of his own drug, and the canal men were willing to wait for somebody else to try it first, in spite of liberal rumors about brass medals and widow's pensions.

Brown found Smith in a cluster of steam drills down in the swamps. "Struck any bottom?" he yelled above the clatter of the machinery.

"Yes, once. We're hunting for the ledge now. Ought to get it clear across in a week. You're sick. Why don't you go to the hospital?"

"I'm going to resign."

"What?"

"I'm going to resign."

"Come here." Smith led him out of the noise. "Now say that again."

"I'm going to resign, I tell you. They won't try the toxin on me."

"Course they won't, not when you're all in already. But where are the rest?"

"They won't volunteer."

"Damned cowards! How long will they give you to get a test?"

"They're going to throw it over to-morrow. I'm going back to the States. I've had enough."

Something in his voice made Smith swallow an oath. "Never mind, old man. We're not through with 'em yet. Come along."

"Why! Where are you going?"

"With you, back to town."

"No Smith, your work's here."

"Not now. This can wait. I'm going onto your job for a while. Come along."

"No, by God, Smith. I won't let you take that stuff."

"Oh, go to hell. Come on, come on. Don't be a fool. Are'nt we in this thing together, man?"

"It's together then," muttered Brown as they set off for the hospital.

Smith was inoculated and exposed to yellow fever. That night Brown worked the drills in the swamps and found one more solid bed of rock foundation.

In the following week the Canal Record got out its first extra. One page was devoted to an article by the Health Officer, in which he announced that he had at last succeeded in perfecting a yellow fever toxin upon which he had been experimenting for some time. After a careful test by a board of competent physicians, the drug had been so diluted that it could now be used safely by persons from the temperate zone. In the closing sentence, there was an expression of decorous relief at the banishment from the tropics of so fatal a disease. The rest of the extra was packed with a reprint of the Chief Engineer's vast report to the Commission at Washington. In it he spoke of the great difficulties he had encountered and subdued in designing a dam which would change the entire nature of the canal. Sincerest thanks were lavished upon his special dam committee for their invaluable suggestions in regard to the necessary rock foundation. An explanatory foot-note estimated the saving roughly at a billion dollars and seven years in time.

In the regular edition of this organ, there was an editorial exhorting Congres to erect statues of the Chief Engineer and the Health Officer at the Pacific and Atlantic entrances of the canal in reward for their services to the country and mankind. The editor received a notable advance in salary before the next pay day. But at the foot of the "Daily Dead" column were two notices, marked "Late through error":

"John Smith, engineer, at Gatun, from heart failure, due to artificial inoculation."

"James Brown, physician, at Gatun, from pneumonia, due to exposure."

On the Sunday following, Missionary Jenkins preached a funeral oration to the girl from Pennsylvania on a text out of Romans VI, 7, to the effect that "He that is dead is free from sin." The girl said that on the whole she agreed with him.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

(*An English Translation of the Famous French Revolutionary Song.*)

Arise! ye starvelings from your slumbers,
Arise! ye criminals of want;
For reason in revolt now thunders,
And ends at last the age of cant.
Away now with all superstitions!
Servile masses, arise, arise!
We'll change forthwith the old conditions,
And spurn the dust to win the prize.

CHORUS.

Then comrades, let us rally,
The last fight let us face;
L'Internationale
Unites the human race.

No Saviors from on high deliver,
No trust have we in prince or peer;
Our own right hands the chains must shiver,
Chains of hatred, greed and fear.
Before the thieves disgorge their booty,
And give to all a happier lot,
Each at his forge must do his duty,
And strike the iron while 'tis hot.

We're tricked by laws and regulations;
The taxes strip us to the bone;
The rich enjoy the wealth of nations,
The poor have nought to call their own.
Long have we in vile bondage languished,
Yet we are equal, every one;
No rights but duties for the vanquished,
We claim our rights for duties done.

The kings of mines and ships and railways,
Resplendent in their vulgar pride,
Have plied their task to exploit always
Those whose toil they've e'er decried.
Great is the spoil held in their coffers,
To be spent on themselves alone;
We'll seize it some day, spite of scoffers,
And feel that we have got our own.

The kings defile us with their powder,
We want no war within the land;
Let soldiers strike; for peace call louder,
Lay down your arms; join hand in hand.
Should these vile monsters still determine
Heroes to make us in despite;
They'll know full soon the kind of vermin
Our bullets hit in this last fight.

We peasants, artisans and others,
Enrolled among the sons of toil;
Let's claim the earth henceforth for brothers,
And drive the idler from the soil.
Long time our flesh has fed the raven,
Too long we've been the vulture's prey;
But now farewell, this spirit craven,
The dawn brings in a brighter day.

What does it matter if the United States is the only civilized country outside of Spain and Bulgaria which does not have a parcels post? We are not compelled to follow the lead of other countries. We are perfectly able to map out our own course of action. Even if we had not the company of Spain and Bulgaria, still we have both the right and the stamina to stand alone and the money to back it up with a big navy if necessary. What does it matter if other countries carry parcels at a much lower rate than we do? We are a Republic, and they are not. Being a Republic, we can charge ourselves as much as we please and it's nobody's business if we do.—*Puck.*

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FRENCH RAILWAY STRIKE

(*Continued from Page 5*)

was the first important occasion for testing the intensity of the anti-militarist action. The ruling classes were frightened to death, for the northern frontiers of France were left unprotected and were thrown open throughout the strike. The reactionary press called the strikers criminal traitors and demanded their severe punishment.

The brutal suppression of the strike, approved by the ruling classes, showed up the true nature of the ruling socialistic-democracy, and it reinforced the class lines, so blurred in France through the high-sounding proclamations and promises of the socialistic democracy in power. The radical talk of the renegades will not any longer fool the working classes. It will leave, henceforth, all political wranglings to the politicians, and will concentrate upon the intensification of its economic movement.

Instead of being demoralized and their organizations destroyed, as hoped and expected by the ruling class, the workers came out from this defeat reinforced in decision and full of hope. They called off the strike in a dignified manner. They confessed their temporary defeat, but announced that they are not tamed. The strike committee ordered them back without seeking settlement or compromise with the Government and the railroad companies. They at once reaffirmed the necessity of establishing a powerful railway organization, comprising all the railroadmen of all the railroad lines, as a basic condition of future activity and success.

The workers called the bluff of the socialistic-radicals and found out that their social program holds nothing. They have been defeated this time, but this defeat, for the lessons it taught them, and for the active resistance it provoked, and for the forces it tested in action, has an inestimable value. And in this value lies Briand's future defeat and the defeat of the class he represents.

We can only congratulate the French comrades on their manful movement, and we can only learn with them from their defeat and their magnificent and heroic spirit of resistance that held Europe in excitement for a whole week. And we must look forward to grave events that inevitably will result from the revolutionary situation created by this formidable clash of the classes.

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

THE Socialist and Labor Party vote in Great Britain will show no such immense increase as has been witnessed in the Socialist vote in the United States.

It was the vote of the intelligent radicals, who had practically no alternative offered them but the Socialist ticket, which went to swell the Socialist vote, probably even more than the vote of the newly made out-and-out Socialist.

The radicals could not vote the Republican ticket without either endorsing Cannonism, on the one hand, or Rooseveltism, with its meaningless flapdoodle, on the other. To vote the Democratic ticket would have been voting for a corpse. Many of them did not vote at all, and some voted the Socialist ticket because it furnished the only means of registering a protest against graft and reaction, and finally, many of them—we hope most of them—voted the Socialist ticket because they had become convinced that Socialism was the only remedy for existing social evils.

How many belong to this last class it will be hard to estimate until we have another election in which the radicals and near-Socialists have a chance to vote for a ticket which seems radical, and seems to have a chance of winning, and yet is not the straight Socialist ticket. Possibly such a party may never appear, and possibly by the time such half-way party does appear, the half-fledged Socialists of to-day will have become so full-fledged by that time that they will refuse to leave the Socialist flock.

We know that in the Parker-Roosevelt election of 1904 many of the Bryan votes went to the Socialists, only to go back to Bryan in 1908. Probably a good many of these Bryan votes this year went to the Socialists, but there can be no doubt that of these, Bryan has little chance of getting them away again.

Whatever lingering doubt the radicals may have as to how little radicalism there is really in the Democratic Party, will almost surely be dissipated by the actions of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives during the coming year. I will venture to predict that the difference between what the Republicans might have done and what the Democrats actually do, will be inappreciable.

As a matter of fact, there is even a greater chance of the Conservative Capitalistic Party of the future in the United States being the direct heir of the Democratic Party than of the Republican Party. The support that Wall Street gave the Democratic Governor of New York is most significant. A corpse is more conservative than the most conservative of live men, and if the Democratic Party is not dead, it's awfully near dead.

However, in Great Britain the radicals do have the Liberal Party for which they can vote, and feel that when they are voting for it they are voting for something quite different from the Conservative Party. I know it is the fashion with many British Socialists to insist that there is no difference between the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party. They are both capitalistic parties, they will tell you, and the only difference is that the Liberal Party is more hypocritical than the Conservative Party.

I consider this no argument, even if it is true, and as to its truth, I would say that it's only half true at best. But true or not true is not the question. The question is not what Socialists think about the Liberal Party, but what the supporters of that party think about it.

The Liberal leaders like Lloyd-George and Winston Churchill may be hypocrites in demanding that the House of Lords be abolished and that the Idle Rich should be set face to face with a social system which will no longer allow them to live on the labor of others without giving any return. They may be hypocrites, but even so, the voters who elect them to office are not hypocrites, and the leaders are bound to give effect to a large measure of the principles which they are enunciating, when they may have the power to do so, or out they go. Their tenure of office depends on their keeping their promises.

The spirit of a political party is not to be judged by vain guesses at the inner thoughts of its leaders, but by the actual words spoken by them.

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No one can deny that the words of the Liberals are much more radical than the words of the Conservatives; as to the sincerity behind those words, that is another matter, and from my point of view comparatively unimportant. A good many of our American Conservative Republicans were convinced that Roosevelt was acting the part of the demagogue in the last election, and expressing Radical sentiments that he did not believe. But I never heard of any of such men voting for the Roosevelt candidate on the strength of their guess that Roosevelt was talking buncombe. They took him at his word, and not at their guess as to his being a hypocrite.

A politician must be and is judged by what he says and not by what he is thought to think. Therefore the Liberal Party of Great Britain has the support of the great mass of radicals and near-Socialists, and as long as the Liberal Party keeps its promises fairly well, and its leaders keep talking more and more radically—as they are doing all the time—the chance of a great Socialist Party arising and taking votes away from them is more and more remote.

The Labor Party also suffers very much by this constantly growing radicalism of the Liberal Party.

In fact, the Liberal Party is decidedly more Socialistic to-day than were the Labor leaders of a few years ago. For England had its Gompers and Mitchells as well as America.

But not only is the growing radicalism of the Liberal Party injuring the growth of both the Labor Party and the Socialist Party, but also lack of funds in the present election will be almost enough to prevent any great growth in their vote.

The Labor Party has, by the Osborn decision, been largely cut off from its income derived from assessments from the Trade Unions. This is bad enough, but on top of that is the fact that both Labor Party and Socialist Party are only now recovering from the expense of the last parliamentary election, which was held only last January, and this also is an element which will cripple them badly in the coming election.

It must be remembered that not only is there no payment of members in England, but the costs of an election—which are borne by the Government here—are thrown upon the candidates. It costs, at a minimum, $2,500 for each Parliamentary candidate, and a burden like this naturally tends not only to restrict the number of candidates, but to create a condition where many of the Labor men who do contest the election, are not provided with the necessary funds to get out their normal vote.

Hence, with all these conditions facing the Socialists of Great Britain, I would say that notwithstanding the great increase in Socialism in England during the past year, I doubt very much if the Socialist and Labor vote will not actually show a decrease.

An Interview with Wilshire

(London Daily Chronicle)

CANDIDATE for the United States Congress on two occasions, candidate also for the British House of Commons and the Canadian Parliament, Mr. Henry Gaylord Wilshire is now in London, his home being in New York city.

Talking to a representative of *The Daily Chronicle,* Mr. Wilshire spoke freely of things political, both in the States and in this country. Twenty years ago he was ending a sojourn of five years in Great Britain, during which he was a frequent speaker on the platform of the most advanced movements in London, and fought a contest in one of the Parliamentary divisions of Manchester.

"Things appear to have moved pretty fast since I left," he commented, "notably in the direction of municipalisation of certain great public services. So far as I remember, Huddersfield was the only town that had municipal trams; now they are everywhere. And yours here are much better than ours in New York. I live twelve floors up, off Broadway, and you would think that was high enough to be out of the way of the noise. But you can hear them almost miles away, because they have a flat wheel that makes a terrible noise when the brake is applied.

"There is a much greater tendency towards Government or State ownership than there was when I was over here before. Yes, you are going ahead pretty fast, and apparently on safe lines.

"And there is one good feature about the heads of your State and municipal services that we have not. They do not exercise arbitrary power as ours do. In the Post Office of New York, for instance, there was an amusing example of the kind of thing I mean.

"As you know, I own, edit, and publish WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE. It is a sociological and literary production, in which I express my views upon matters of public interest. One day the Post Office notified me that magazine was to be struck out of the special rates list, under which the freight is only a cent a pound.

I went up to see about it. And they told me that it had been done under the rule that excluded advertisement matter from that class. When I probed the matter a little further, they said the magazine was chiefly used for the purpose of advertising Gaylord Wilshire, and that there was no difference between advertising Gaylord Wilshire personally and advertising Gaylord Wilshire's soap. So I had to go up into Canada, where they gave me the cheap rate, and I was able to send the paper into the United States at the same price as if I had published it in New York.

"Then in the case of books. If I refer to, say, a medical work in such a way as to indicate where it can be bought, the Postmaster-General will come along and exclude me from the mail, if in his opinion the reference is bordering upon the indecent.

"The same thing will happen if he decides that some thing advertised in the paper, which may have been overlooked, is in the nature of a lottery or gift; he will have the paper struck off the list. Yes, I know," Mr. Wilshire continued, "that in this country a proprietor or publisher may be punished for improper comment, or assisting in the promotion of a lottery. But the difference is that here the matter is decided by a magistrate, or by a judge and jury, whereas in the United States the Post Office is judge and executioner. That gives a lot of power to the position and to the holder, who is the nominee of the President. Roosevelt would use the power. Taft would say, 'No, I will look into the matter, and see if it is legal.' Roosevelt would say, 'I shall appoint my man.'"

(Continued on Page 14)

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OUR WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT

Conducted by MRS. GAYLORD WILSHIRE

California Socialist Woman's Conference

By GEORGIA KOTSCH

THE State Conference of the Woman's Socialist Union of California was held September 14-15 at San Francisco. Not being a delegated convention, the action of the conference was recommendatory only, but being a representative body of the Socialist women of California, it is safe to say that the action of the Conference will be ratified in the main by the membership. The meetings were held in Jefferson Park Hall, and were full of interest and marked by a unity of purpose and that earnestness and devotion which is the backbone of the Socialist movement.

The question of affiliation with the Woman's National Progressive League was discussed at length, and a motion to discontinue affiliation was lost, it being the almost unanimous opinion of those present that it was well to be linked with any organization that would help in any way to reach women and bring them into the Socialist movement. A motion to the effect that the W. S. U. maintain its separate identity, but affiliate with the party carried without a dissenting vote. Plans for assisting working women in their fight were made, and the whole trend of the Conference was towards active work along class-conscious lines. The morning sessions were devoted entirely to business, the afternoons to short papers and discussions, the second afternoon being under the general topic of "Civic Betterment," under which head the advocates of temperance, suffrage, purity, direct legislation, etc., gave their views, the Socialist viewpoint being given in three able papers and in a short but stirring address by Anna Maley. J. Stitt Wilson, Socialist candidate for Governor, was the speaker on the first evening, and Miss Anna A. Maley, National Woman Organizer, on the second.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, The standing army and the militia are always used in industrial disputes in the interests of the employers of labor and against the strikers; therefore, be it resolved, that we especially deprecate the inculcation of the military ideal in the training of the young, and that we are especially opposed to the Boy Scout movement; and be it further resolved, that we commend to the workers of the State of California the example of the German working class, who in their selection of gifts for their children, never give them tin soldiers, firearms, or anything calculated to inspire military ardor or strengthen military sentiments.

"Whereas, the Union Label is a guarantee of better conditions of labor; and whereas, the Woman's Socialist Union recognizes the class struggle, and the necessity of supporting the workers; be it resolved, that we do pledge ourselves to buy goods marked with the Union Label wherever possible.

"Whereas, investigation has undoubtedly proved the existence of a widespread traffic in girls, by which the safety of all women, and especially the women of the working class, is menaced; be it resolved, that we express our unqualified abhorrence of this traffic; and be it further resolved, that we seek the co-operation of all citizens, and especially of women and women's clubs, in bringing about the enactment of measures to suppress or limit this traffic.

"Whereas, the White Slave Traffic, and the facts regarding the subjection and the slavery of women have been suppressed; and whereas, we believe that these facts should be known as widely as possible; and whereas, the *Progressive Woman* has fearlessly advocated the cause of woman by publishing the truth regarding these matters, and has also ably supported the Socialist movement as offering the only effective remedy for the oppression of woman; be it resolved, that we call on all men and women to join the class-conscious movement of the workers, the Socialist Party, to the end that we may abolish the wage labor system, of which the White Slave Traffic is an offshoot; and be it further resolved, that we endorse the stand taken, and do most heartily commend the attitude of the *Progressive Woman* on this question."

Women Under Socialism

By AUGUST BEBEL

Compiled by MRS. MARY OPPENHEIMER.

Lesson VII. Women in the Present. Chap. 4 continued. Pages 180-215. With the extension of female labor the family life of the working class goes more and more to pieces. The dissolution of marriage and the family is a natural result and immorality, demoralization, degeneration, diseases of all kinds, and child mortality increases at a shocking pace. A return to the old conditions of industry is impossible, however. We should seek instead to establish a *social condition in which the full equality of all without distinction of sex should be the form of conduct.* Machinery having removed many industries from the home has greatly altered the position of woman in the household. It has made her freer and more independent. Central kitchen and laundries, centralized heating and lighting apparatus, etc. The trend of our social life to-day is not to banish women back to the hearth as our "domestic life" fanatics prescribe. On the contrary, the whole trend of society is to lead women out of the narrow sphere of a strictly domestic life to a full participation in the life of the people and in the task of human civilization. Effect of social conditions and environment in developing or repressing ability. Woman has the same right as man to unfold her faculties. Woman in the professions.

Lesson VIII. Woman in the Present —continued. Chap. 5, pages 216-234. Woman's civic and political status. Social dependence of a rank or class ever finds its expression in the laws and political institutions of a country. Illustrations taken from the common law of Germany, England and other countries. Changes in recent years. Mary Wollstonecraft. Whether married or unmarried, more than ever before, woman now has a deep interest in social and political conditions. It cannot be a matter of indifference to her whether a policy is in force that favors war or not; whether the necessaries of life are made dearer by taxes which tend to promote adulteration of foods. Moreover, woman pays direct and indirect taxes out of her support and her income. Again the system of education is of the highest interest to her, for it goes far toward determining the position of her sex; as a mother she has a double interest therein. Questions concerning the hours of work, night, Sunday and child-labor, safety appliances in factory and shop, payment of wages and notices of discharge,—all these are political questions that concern the woman as well as the man. Nothing proved by the argument that women have until now showed little interest in the political movement.

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From the Bottom Up

By the Author of "HOW TO BECOME A HERO"

THAT is the way for you to rise, from the bottom—up. You may read it, if you will, in novels, editorials, biographies, histories and other works of fiction. You know how the son-of-the-firm, although reared in the lap of luxury, put on overalls and went into the mill, the factory or whatever it was, and learned the business from beginning to end, just like a common workingman.

Huh? What? The common workingman doesn't learn any business from beginning to end, but just some little operation connected with that business and keeps on doing it until he is driven out by a younger and more rapid worker.

Just listen to that, gents! Here's a fellow trampling on the glorious Stars and Stripes, insulting free American institutions and trying to break up the home, instead of running a couple of them.

But, nevertheless, I'll show *him* how Caesar Heep, Jr., *did* work from the bottom—up.

On the first day he arose at nine o'clock, like an ordinary workingman, bade a cheery gotohades to his valet, and stepped into the tepid bath that had been prepared for him. As he expected a strenuous day, he placed himself in the hands of a Swedish masseur, who soon had everyone of the young toiler's muscles in perfect order. After a coarse, frugal breakfast of grapefruit, cocktail, hothouse, cantaloupe, cereal with clotted cream, broiled Irish ham, poached modern eggs, French rolls and real Mocha coffee, his valet laid out his overalls and jumper for him, just like an ordinary workingman.

Then his high-salaried French chef, who was born in Switzerland of Scotch-German parents, got ready his three-story dinnerpail. Or, rather, the chef evolved, created or begot in inspiration the menu for the evening dinner, which Mr. Heep always ate at seven o'clock like an ordinary workingman.

At the door was an automobile, and into this Caesar Heep, Jr., climbed and was chauffed to the factory, like an ordinary workingman.

The day's work was of absorbing interest, and consisted of smoking two cigars and reading the morning papers, listening to and telling a few stories too good to be printed, making a round of the factory and vaguely wondering why none of the people looked up from their machines, and going out to lunch for two hours, like an ordinary workingman. He didn't go back to the factory, as the strenuous work he had already done had caused a headache. Besides, it was now nearly four o'clock, and at 4.10, at the Paradise Vaudeville Theatre, Birdina Periwinkle, the reigning English music hall favorite, would sing that pathetic and classic little ballad:

"Get all the 'usbands that you can,
But tyke them one by one."

Caesar had already heard her fourteen times, but in everything he undertook he was thorough, and so he went to see her again.

So because of the hard day's work he did, every newspaper office in the city was in a state of wonderment and commotion. Next day the *Sunstroke,* the *Evening Tribune,* the *Morning Post* and others gravely announced:

"In spite of the fact that young Caesar Heep's check is already good for a million, he has gone into his father's factory to learn the business, from the bottom—up. The masterful way in which he acquired detail, in which he drove right to the essential point, and in which he regulated and co-ordinated, surprised the heads of departments. His presence, also, acted as a terror to the lazy workman, and as a spur to the faithful. The example set by young Heep will do much to still the assertion of those envious people who say his father draws an enormous revenue from a business of which he knows nothing. Before he is through, young Heep will be able to perform every operation connected with the gigantic business, no matter how difficult, the same as an ordinary workingman."

Next morning, however, Caesar had a pony polo engagement. So he took the day off, with salary, of course, like an ordinary workingman. In one month he visited the factory seven times, and on one day remained three whole hours. But then his love for good music and admiration for Birdina Periwinkle—in whose estimation he stood eleventh on the list—left him little time for the strenuous demands of learning a business. But all the time his salary went on, as would the salary of a shoemaker, or a carpenter, or a clothing cutter, or a bricklayer, in like circumstances. He spent Easter at Lakewood, and after Easter sailed for Europe to rebuild that superb strength and nerve force expended in learning a business. But never for a moment, as "One Hundred Select Biographies" so frequently remarks, did his grip on the business relax, nor did anything escape his alert, watchful eye. In the Fall he came back so strengthened that he was elected one of the directors, in place of a man frozen out. By Spring he was vice-president, though he was in Cairo when elected. And then the papers hailed him thus:

INDUSTRY REWARDED.

Young Caesar Heep, After Years of Toil, at Last Reaches the Summit.

A few years ago the fashionable world and union circles laughed when it was said Caesar Heep, Jr., had donned overalls and gone to work in a factory. But quietly, persistently, and with all the indomitable energy for which the family is noted, he kept right on working, and working hard. Yesterday it was learned that he had worked his way up to the vice-presidency, taking equal chances with the other common workingmen. Naturally they were delighted that one of themselves, a man with whom they had worked at the bench, would be head of affairs. So the former sneerers have nothing more to say. Caesar Heep has shown what a rich man's son can do, and he has set an example to rich and poor alike. He is now the brains of a vast corporation, but he fairly earned that exalted position by learning the whole, vast business, from the bottom—up.

Moral:

Go, too, thou sluggard, and do likewise.

Japan now possesses 86 cotton mills, capitalized at $26,104,115 and operating 1,403,034 spindles and consuming 410,823,154 pounds of raw cotton yearly. The value of the cotton goods produced by Japan in 1908 was $50,125,697, as compared with a value of $8,913,056, and in 1909 this amount had value of imported cotton goods is steadily declining as the Japanese grows. In 1908 Japan imported cotton goods to the value of $8,913,955, and in 1909 this amount had fallen to $6,036,312, a decrease of almost two million dollars.

There are in Germany to-day 28,000 cooperative societies with more than four million members, who with their families represent nearly one-third of the total population of the country. "The authorities," says a consular report, "nowadays recognize the utility of these associations, which form a counterweight to the existing syndicates, trusts, and other combines organized by capitalistic power."

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Interview with Wilshire

(*Continued from Page 11*)

Mr. Wilshire says the citizens of the United States for the most part get the kind of government they deserve and demand. What is wrong can, he thinks, be changed. "If," he comments, "you give the very wealthy control of the country, they are bound to control it in their own interests. Mr. Roosevelt will probably get another turn of office, and will make a row about purity, and so on. But it is absolutely inconsistent. The politicians live through the corporations, and the corporations govern.

"The members, if they are very wealthy, want to come over to Great Britain, with their motor-cars and their racers, and to associate with the 'notorieties.' The others could not afford to do it.

"If they are middle class rich they are dependent upon the upper class rich for various favors, and they are controlled by the politicians for what they will give in return. Roosevelt won't do anything, except through a revolution, and he is not out for that. Indeed, everything he proposes, such as the giving of collective control of the railways, is only to check the demand for State ownership.

"The people are absolutely disgruntled and dissatisfied. But they don't know what they want. They know that Roosevelt is honest, in a financial sense at least. And when he proposes to emancipate them somehow or other they go out for him, and he becomes a popular hero. But they don't know what they want, and he doesn't know. If they did, and said they wanted a certain thing done, Roosevelt would say, 'I want it, too.'"

With regard to such successes as those achieved by the Socialists in Milwaukee, Mr. Wilshire regards them as probably only spasmodic, and not likely to be repeated frequently. As he is himself a Socialist in economics, his opinion is interesting.

Mr. Wilshire expresses the opinion that the signs are clear that the State, in this country, is beginning to look after the individual, to recognize his value, and to protect him more and more. "It is really a revival of a form of the old feudal system," he says, "under which men gave their services, and were given protection in return. We have never had anything of the kind in the United States. There it has always been, and still is, 'Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost.'"

Mr. Wilshire knows the Dominion of Canada, and laughs at the notion that the vast and ever-increasing army of Americans going in there are likely to clamor for annexation or federation with the United States. They value too highly, he thinks, the better system of government, and greater freedom from "graft" they find there.

Among other activities in which he is engaged just now, Mr. Wilshire is connected as president or director with two British Guiana gold mines. And in connection with them he has met with the difficulty of heavy cable rates. Seven shillings a word he thinks is a barrier between different parts of the Empire. And therefore he would have the price reduced to sixpence or a shilling anywhere within the Empire, as a means of drawing the parts together. He would, if necessary, have the service subsidized. "I believe," he declares, "that if you spent a million on a cheap cable service you would soon get other millions back for it in the shape of increased commerce."

Graft Universal

Graft in the form of stealing food supplies intended for prisoners is perhaps too common an occurrence to attract any particular attention even when the steal is too open to be denied, as a Nevada editor seems to have discovered. He declares that the government prisoners in the Reno County Jail, half of whom are awaiting trial, are being fed on the slops from a neighboring hotel at 12½ cents per head, while the government pays 25 cents per meal for the prisoners. The hotelkeeper stated publicly that he would put up a regular meal of 25-cent quality when the County Commissioners came through with the full amount. Then the editor wrote to Washington about the matter and was informed that it would be called to the attention of Mr. Wickersham on his return from Alaska. So the matter stands at present. No one in the Wickersham department or among the local authorities seems to have either the will or the power to stop the abuse. The "rake-off" is only about $5.00 per diem and the editor expresses himself as astonished that any man would stoop to such a dirty action for that sum.

However, such actions are exceedingly common. Here in New York we are "investigating" the stealing of the meat supplies for the insane patients at Ward's Island, where it is said that 150,000 pounds of meat have been swiped by grafters in the past few years. Complaints of this nature from prisons and other public institutions are being continually registered.

There does not seem to be much chance that anything can be done to put a stop to these peculations. "Graft" of all kinds, respectable and disreputable, will probably continue as long as we are living under a system of which robbery of the workers is the foundation. Prisoners and inmates of public institutions are even more helpless than the workers, and are of course more safely and easily plundered. On the whole the only remedy seems to be in steady and persistent work for the realization of Socialism and the destruction of the incentive to grafting. It may be a slow method, but it is the only sure one.

Economic Determinism

"I have called," said the candidate to the man with the bulldog face, "to know if I may count on your vote at the ensuing election?"

"'Arf a moment," growled the free and easy elector, in a voice like a wounded church organ; "I want to ask you something. Are you in favor of this 'ere electric lighting scheme?"

"I am," said the candidate, proudly, "in fact I think I might say that I am one of the prime movers in the improvement."

The bulldog man rolled up his sleeves and closed his fist, which bulged like a savoy cabbage.

"Then get off my doorstep!" he cried. "Get off while you're all in one piece. I'm the lamplighter!"—*Exchange.*

Trusts and Socialism

ARTHUR MORROW LEWIS.

As an example of the tendency of industry towards Socialism we may observe the trust. The trust is a case of consciously regulating the volume of production with a view to the effective demand—demand backed by ability to pay. It fails to abolish poverty because it pays no attention to that immense demand for food, clothing, and shelter which has no cash to back it. On the other hand it increases that ineffective demand by enlarging the army of the unemployed. This is done by economizing labor—replacing men with machines and abolishing obsolete methods of doing things. The trust, therefore, while it is an example of conscious and collective action, and is a development in the direction of Socialism, does not relieve, but rather accentuates the poverty which constitutes the social problem. Only one change is necessary to transform all this. And this change will be accomplished when Socialism triumphs and society owns all the trusts instead of being owned by them.

Books Received

MEDICAL CHAOS AND CRIME. By Norman Barnesby, M.D. Cloth, 384 pp. $2.00 net. Mitchell Kennerley, New York and London.

THE CONFLICT OF COLOUR. By L. Putnam Weale. Cloth, 341 pp. $2.00 net. The Macmillan Co., New York.

ROADTOWN. By Edgar Chambless. Cloth, 172 pp. $1.25 net. Roadtown Press, 150 Nassau St., New York.

SONGS OF THE ARMY OF THE NIGHT. By Francis Adams. New and revised edition. Cloth, 125 pp. $1.00. Mitchell Kennerley, 2 East 20th St., New York.

LORDS OF INDUSTRY. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. Cloth, 355 pp. $1.50 net. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

MAZZINI AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. Cloth, 239 pp. $1.50 net. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

CATECHISM OF KARL MARX'S "CAPITAL." By Lewis Cass Fry. Economic Publishing Co., 106 N. 4th St., St. Louis, Mo. Paper, 138 pp. 25 cents.

SOCIALISM AND PROGRESS. By Bruce Calvert. Paper, 16 pp. 10 cents. Published by "The Open Road," Griffith, Lake Co., Indiana.

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Any book mentioned in these columns can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. Unless otherwise stated, prices do not include postage.

THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE. By Reginald Wright Kauffman. Cloth, $1.50. Moffat, Yard & Company, New York.

Those good, comfortable folk, who profess to believe that it is more wicked to stir up the contents of a fetid social cesspool than to pretend that it has either no existence, or if so should be allowed to remain undisturbed, are not likely to approve of Mr. Kauffman's efforts to familiarize the public with the details of life in "The House of Bondage," under which name Mr. Kauffman designates that important pillar of our capitalistic institutions, the brothel.

And it must be admitted that it isn't a pleasant work by any means. None of the common tragedies of life can be made pleasurable or "artistic," least of all the tragedy of prostitution. We have seen some reviews complaining of this lack of the "artistic" in Mr. Kauffman's work, and hasten to say that in our opinion such complaints are well founded.

The girl whose life story forms the base of the work, is a Pennsylvania country lass, who is decoyed to New York under promise of marriage by the business agent of a sort of brothel-keeper's union, and at once installed in the "House of Bondage," where under the influence of a drug, the necessary preliminary process of breaking her into her future occupation is deftly and speedily performed.

After this the recital becomes a history of the progressive physical and moral degradation of the victim. Several times she tries to break away from the sordid and infamous slavery of the "House," but these attempts are frustrated by the attentions of the police, the intrigues of the "cadets"—as those who procure the raw material for the industry are termed—and the political and social necessities of local Tammany statesmen. Finally at about the last stage, the girl manages to get means to pay a visit to the old Pennsylvania home, where her wretched and dissipated appearance tells only too plainly what her life has been. Repulsed by her people—respectable working-class folks—she turns back to New York, where homeless and penniless she is finally compelled to beg admission to the shameful prison-house from which she had escaped only to be told by the business-like proprietress that she was no longer serviceable as a sexual commodity. "Its no use, Violet," says this experienced employer, "the life's got you and you're all in." With which verdict the book closes.

The book has been likened to a bomb exploded under the seats of those who either actively or passively maintain the system of which prostitution is an indispensable part. Reviewers have exhausted the vocabulary of horror upon it, with unlimited adjectives showing how it is calculated to burn, blister, sear and otherwise irritate and stimulate the public conscience to destroy the infamous traffic, which it might possibly do, if the public conscience were not already sufficiently seared, as the author, who is a Socialist, very well understands.

Still the justification of the work lies in its exposures. Though it may not accomplish the hopes of reformers, still it is necessary to cry these shameful things from the housetops so that none can plead ignorance of the existence of this horrible cancer in society and its vital connection with all the rest of our social, political and industrial institutions.

The "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of prostitution will never be written by any person, Socialist or otherwise. Only when the Temple of Capitalism is laid in ruins will the House of Sexual Bondage share its fate, for after all the latter is but an annex of the greater House of Economic Bondage, and stands or falls with it.

LESSONS IN LIVING. By Elizabeth Towne. Cloth, 185 pp. $1.00. Published by the Author at Holyoke, Mass.

This work purports to be a statement "in Logical and Practical form of the new philosophy of life and living." Starting to review it, we were suddenly brought up with a round turn, by the assertion, immediately following the promise of "Logical and Practical," that the philosophy could not be understood unless the would-be recipient "got above reason," so we were unfortunately stopped at the starting post, through our ignorance of that location. However, we can at least tell what the start would be like. Once having got "above" reason, the student will find that he is not hampered by the petty limitations of such people as Darwin, Haeckel and Huxley, but is at once enabled to jump the barrier, seize the unknowable, and brand it with the indelible and indisputable assertion that "God is the primal substance that fills all space, all time; out of which and by which all things are made."

From this necessarily follows that "God thought or spoke the universe into being," and from this onward the rest is easy. The path leads straight through the Seven Principles of Creation, past Evolution and the Absolute (noticing the New Thought Platform on the way), and on through Cosmic Consciousness and Mental Immigration to Action and finally Rest. When this is attained, you finally learn the Song of Yourself, close the book, and come down from "Above Reason"—if you can manage it.

Miscellany

Last year the municipal street railroad system of Sheffield, England, produced a net profit of $191,020, an increase of $17,256 over the previous year. Nearly eighty million passengers were carried, and, while fares are being steadily reduced, the wages of the 1,644 employees were increased by over $10,000 during the year.

The Chinese Empire is now supplying the United States with peanuts and large shipments are being made from Shanghai to New York and Philadelphia. Last year China exported nearly sixteen million pounds of peanuts to different countries.

Mail service between Birmingham and London, a distance of 113 miles, is now carried on by automobile. The wagons carry five thousand pounds of mail matter at the rate of twelve miles an hour, and the Post Office authorities are planning to extend the system indefinitely.

It is not generally known that the great Russian river, the Volga, is one of the most extensively used waterways in the world. There are 2,100 steamers and 8,445 other vessels on the river, with a total capacity of 8,600,000 tons, and last year a total of 19,900,000 tons of merchandise were handled on this great commercial highway.

During the year ending June 30, no less than seven and a half billion pounds of sugar were consumed in the United States, an average per capita consumption of 82 pounds.

During the year 1909 five hundred thousand emigrants left European Russia for Siberia, as against 120,000 for the United States. The Russian government provides cheap rates on the State railroads for the Siberian emigrants, and allots 41½ acres of land to each adult emigrant in the district where he decides to settle.

Some idea of the immense amount of wood pulp used in the newspaper business may be gathered from the fact that the international trade in this commodity amounted in 1908 to no less than 3,698,082,295 pounds.

On May 1st, 1910, the great Krupp Company, of Germany, had in its employ no less than 68,985 persons. In its main establishment at Essen this great company has in operation 7,500 machines, 18 rolling mills, 171 steam hammers, 82 hydraulic presses, 435 steam boilers, 554 steam engines, 2,690 electric motors and 972 cranes. The company uses about two and a half million tons of coal yearly, which is supplied from its own mines.

Amsterdam, Holland, owns its gas works and electric plant, both of which have been conducted with great success. Though the cost of light and heat to the community has been steadily reduced, the operation of the plants still shows a handsome profit.

The telegraphic service of Italy, which is owned by the government, has reduced its rates so that now ten words can be sent for 11 cents. Additional words are one cent each.

According to a consular report, the population of Latin America is now 67,796,072, covering an area of 8,769,294 square miles. This estimate includes Mexico, Cuba and the Central America Republics. The density of population was 26.05 to the square mile.

The record mark of gold output from the Transvaal mines is that of last August, when 640,000 ounces were mined, having a value of $13,760,000.

Despite the recent wave of prohibition and the "Anti-Saloon" movement, the consumption of beer and alcoholic liquors has increased in the last ten years out of all proportion to the increase of population. Estimating the latter at ninety millions, the consumption of beer has risen from 39,330,848 barrels of 31 gallons to 59,485,117 barrels in 1910, while distilled spirits in the same period have increased from 93,391,827 gallons to 134,572,010 gallons.

In the city of Freiburg in Baden the municipality operates a pawnshop, an insurance business, a theater, a newspaper and several restaurants, as well as the public schools. It provides opera for the people, a seat at the performance costing nine cents, while the nearby municipal restaurant will provide the opera-goer with a supper after the performance for six cents.

A revolution in the cement industry is expected through the discovery of a method by which to transform the refuse slag from iron furnaces into cement. The invention comes from Nottingham, England, where large deposits of slag from the innumerable iron works in the district have become a considerable nuisance to the inhabitants.

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Book Bargains for the New Year

We have on hand a limited quantity of the books listed below, which we propose to sell at the greatly reduced prices quoted. These works are of the utmost value to the student of sociology, and no Socialist library can be considered complete without such a collection. Many of these works, though not written by Socialists, contain much matter of the utmost sociological value, being the work of trained observers who have made a specialty of the particular subjects they deal with. We consider this an opportunity for Socialist students and locals to supplement their libraries, that may never again occur. A glance at the prices quoted will sustain this opinion. The books are all in perfect condition, most of them being as new. All are bound in superior cloth, and have sold at prices from two to three times what they are offered for by us. Please note that we have only a limited number of each book mentioned and cannot guarantee to supply at these low prices quoted when the supply is exhausted. Send in your order now if you wish to secure these wonderful values. The postage on each book is marked on the list, and will be paid by the purchaser, but all orders amounting to five dollars or over will be sent carriage free.

NEW WORLDS FOR OLD. By H. G. Wells. Cloth, 333 pages. Regular Price, $1.50. Our Price, 90 cents. Postage, 12 cents.

RUSSIA FROM WITHIN. By Alexander Ular. Cloth, 290 pages. Regular Price, $1.75. Our Price, 75 cents. Postage, 12 cents.

THE RUSSIAN PEASANTRY. By Sergius Stepniak. Cloth, 651 pages. Regular Price, $3.00. Our Price, $1.50. Postage, 15 cents.

RED RUSSIA. By John Foster Fraser. Cloth, 288 pages. Regular Price, $1.75. Our Price, $1.25. Postage, 12 cents.

MILITARISM. By Guglielmo Ferrero. Cloth, 320 pages. Regular Price, $2.00. Our Price, 75 cents. Postage, 15 cents.

Ferrero is universally recognized as the master historian of the present age.

THE SOCIETY OF TOMORROW. By G. De Molinari. Cloth, 230 pages. Regular Price, $1.00. Our Price, 40 cents. Postage, 10 cents.

INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM. By David Macgregor Means. Cloth, 248 pages. Regular Price, $1.00. Our Price, 40 cents. Postage, 10 cents.

THE TRUST; ITS BOOK. By James H. Bridge. Cloth, 255 pages. Regular Price, $1.50. Our Price, 40 cents. Postage, 12 cents.

MODERN SOCIALISM. By R. C. K. Ensor. Cloth, 396 pages. Regular Price, $2.00. Our Price, $1.50. Postage, 10 cents.

This book is indispensable for a Socialist library, and contains a vast amount of information on the subject of Socialism and the movement in every country of the world. Only a very small number for sale at this price.

AMERICAN COMMUNITIES. By Charles Nordhoff. Cloth, 431 pages. Regular Price, $4.00. Our Price, $1.50. Postage, 16 cents.

This work, the highest recognized authority on the subject, was issued at $4.00 and has ever since been retailed at that price.

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JANUARY, 1911 FIVE CENTS

WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

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IS WILSHIRE A CROOK?

Here Is a Banker Who Says He Has Handled More Than Two Hundred Thousand Dollars That Wilshire Spent in Bishop Creek

Bishop, Cal., December 11, 1910.

We have read with considerable interest the newspaper reports you refer to and note that only one side of the story is given, and as that side has come to your attention we think that what we know of the other side might be of interest to you. To begin with, we know very little about Wilshire's stock handling, except as reflected at this, the mine end; the Bishop Creek mine has been the best handled of any mining proposition we know of in Inyo County, as regards expenditure of money, intelligence in development, treatment of employees, and in the high character and efficiency of the men in charge of the property; in the past four years Wilshire has expended over two hundred thousand dollars on this mine, and most of this money has passed through our hands, and for this money his company has equipped the mine with over $25,000 worth of first class machinery, has secured U. S. patent to twelve claims, own over 5,000 electric horse power, have done hundreds of feet of diamond drill exploration, sunk a three hundred foot shaft, drifted on the first level for 257 feet, showing a vein carrying average value for that distance of $10 per ton in gold, drifted 200 feet on the lower level, exposing eight feet of ore showing average values of over $20 per ton the entire distance, representing hundreds of thousands of dollars in values.

The great squeal against Wilshire has come from men who were formerly associated with him, who made a gentleman's agreement with him to do certain things, and did not keep their word, forcing him into a corner where he had to fight; he fought back by reorganizing the company, and leaving out the men and stock who had broken faith with him, and promptly issuing new stock to those who had acquired the holdings in good faith.

The Postal Inspector who is accredited with starting the present trouble did not even interview the men here in charge of the mine, ourselves, who he might know would have some knowledge of local conditions, nor any reliable business man that we can learn of.

We have secured a copy of the manager's annual report, which we enclose herewith; we are personally acquainted with this man, and we believe that he could not be induced to make a false statement, no matter what the consideration might be; you may retain this report if you wish.

Trusting that this data will be of some use to you, I am,

Yours truly,

WILFRED WATTERSON,
Of the Inyo County Bank.

What the Bishop Postmaster Says

His Opinion of the Mine after a Personal Visit With a Delegation of Bishop's Most Substantial Citizens and Mining Experts

To Hon. GAYLORD WILSHIRE, for Information to Whom it May Concern.

My Dear Sir:—Having had many inquiries as to operations and probable development of The Bishop Creek Mines, I take this means of answering all, so far as I am able to determine. Being one of a committee invited to inspect the property of the Bishop Creek Gold Co., we visited the property on the 29th of November, 1909, report of which is published in the annual report of Supt. Paul E. Lodge for the year 1909, and is absolutely correct, so far as we were able to determine. Reports were also published by the "Inyo Register," edited by W. A. Chalfant, one of the committee, and a man whom I am acquainted with since childhood and whom I know to be honest, conservative and conscientious in all his publications of this nature. Also by the Owens Valley "Herald," edited by C. E. Kunze, a man of ability and large experience in mining centers. Both these reports I consider conservative, honest reports of conditions as found by our party.

I myself have had no personal mining experience, but have observed mining throughout many parts of California and Nevada. I am thoroughly acquainted with the section in which the Bishop Creek Mines are located and know that it is a very extensive mineral belt. I will say that so far as my experience has gone, I never saw more thorough work done so far as prosecuted under existing conditions. As is said by Mr. Kunze, "This is no poor man's mine or proposition," but requires large expenditures in order to develop and equip the property. But I see no reasons why after proper development and equipment it should not be a large producer. There is no question as to the assays of samples taken by our party, as Messrs. Strong and Sherwin are men in whom we have perfect confidence. All work and all improvements done on the property would indicate confidence in the production of a paying mine with further equipment as contemplated. As to the inside workings and plans of the promoters and managers, I can say nothing. I only base my opinions and convictions from examinations and observation. I have every confidence in Mr. Paul E. Lodge, and it is evident this confidence is shared by many others as evidenced by his election as one of our Town Councilmen.

Hoping this may serve as an answer to many inquiring people and relieve me of many replies, I am,

Your respectfully,

(Signed) J. W. CLARK,
Postmaster, Bishop, Cal.

Bishop, Cal., December 26, 1910.

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"LET·THE·NATION·OWN·THE TRUSTS"

WILSHIRE'S

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XV No. 1 NEW YORK, JANUARY, 1911 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

The Post Office, The "World," Wilshire and His "Nemesis"

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

AS is well known, it is the open season all the year round with the United States Post Office, when it comes to gunning for Socialists. There is nothing surprising in this, inasmuch as the Post Office is the most autocratic and irresponsible arm of our Government and there is practically no method for Socialists answering its attacks.

True, you can escape from it as I did some ten years ago by going to Canada in order to publish "The Challenge," the predecessor to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, in peace, or by going to jail at hard labor in Kansas, as Fred Warren, Editor of the *Appeal to Reason* is about to do, but after all neither Canada nor jail is exactly a pleasant reward for expressing one's opinion.

The peculiar thing about the attacks of the United States Post Office upon Socialists is that they are made in such unexpected and unprecedented ways.

I am sure that while I knew that I was unpopular enough with the Post Office, yet I never thought for a moment that they would debar "The Challenge" from the Second Class entry upon the allegation that my editorials were so essentially the expression of a peculiar and pronounced individuality that the Magazine was, in the opinion of the Post Office, merely a personal advertising medium. That such a ridiculous charge would ever be made was quite beyond the limit of my feeble imagination. It was a charge that had never been made before and has never been made since. It stands unique upon the calendar of Post Office Crimes.

It is also equally certain that when Fred Warren sent out his $5,000 reward envelope that whatever other charge Warren may have thought that the Post Office would bring against him, he was not looking for them to attack him on that account.

Warren was only doing what hundreds of other men had done before him and up to that day no one had ever thought of such an act being libelous, the other men were not Socialists, however.

Now, I don't wish to ring in Socialism with my private business, but it would seem that in the present instance it is impossible for me to reasonably explain the methods of the United States Post Office without making a connection.

The New York *World,* on December 14th, published a lurid article headed "Uncle Sam After Gaylord Wilshire Mining Companies." The story being that the Post Office had sent out Inspector Booth to investigate the Bishop Creek Mine and that he had returned to New York and reported that "Wilshire had no Mill in operation and that there was nothing to justify his extravagant advertising claims for the mine."

Inasmuch as I had never claimed to have a Mill in operation, and inasmuch as, in fact, I have for months been telling the stockholders that the Mill was the very thing we needed to purchase, it seems to me that the Post Office might have saved money and time by reading my own literature upon the matter than sending Booth out to Bishop to learn what every stockholder already knew.

The inference that it is desired that the public should draw is that I had said that there was a mill in operation. This may fool the general public who are not conversant with what I have said. but there certainly will be no stockholders surprised at hearing that we have no mill in operation.

If we had a mill operating there would be no need of more money, for the Mill itself would provide the gold.

The *World* alleges that Booth also said that he could see nothing to justify the extravagant claims Wilshire made for the Mine. I don't wonder that Booth saw nothing. Looking at a mine through a telescope from the town of Bishop—which is eighteen miles from the mine—and that is as near as Booth ever got to the mine—would hardly be likely to show up enough gold to justify "extravagances."

To find out the truth about the Bishop Mine a competent mining engineer should have been sent out with orders to go down the shaft and sample the ore

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and assay it. I would be only too willing and glad to have the Post Office do this and, in fact, would foot the bill myself. This will be seen from the following copy of a letter that I have this day mailed to Post Master General Hitchcock:

To Post Master General HITCHCOCK,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: My attention has been called to an article in the New York *World* based upon an alleged report made to you by Inspector Booth upon the Bishop Creek Mine of California.

I would first of all say that were there not so much circumstantial evidence of genuineness I would have not thought it possible that a private report from your subordinate could have become public in such a manner. It is such an entirely unprecedented case that I am persuaded that Inspector Booth was guilty of an act of gross indiscretion without your permission. It would seem incredible that you should have authorized him to make public his report, especially such a weak and foolish report.

If the report had been made by a competent mining engineer, who had actually visited the mine, made a careful examination and sampled the ore from the drifts, and you had then authorized the publication of his entire report, it would have been more understandable, even though unprecedented. If the public then bought stock in the mine, it would have been with fair warning, you had washed your hands of the matter.

But here is a report made by a man who gives no evidence of any competency to make a report of any value (Booth was until recently a traveling salesman, I understand), and who, even if he were competent, could hardly pass on the value of a mine when he did not go within eighteen miles of it. He comes back with the astounding news that there is no Mill in operation on the mine, when no one has ever said that there was.

He thinks my claims for the property are extravagant. I would remind you that my claims for the property are based to a certain extent upon a personal examination of the mine by J. W. Clark, your own postmaster at Bishop, who, together with others, signed the following statement:

"We went down the shaft to the first level, where U. G. Smith, a practical miner of many years' experience, took, for the party, a sample of across 15 feet of the top of the drift, which when assayed by A. M. Strong, a custom assayer of Bishop, gave $11.27 gold to the ton. The party then went down to the second level, 290 feet below the collar of the shaft; there Mr. Smith took a second extensive sample, across 8 feet of the face, which gave $34.38 to the ton. We were allowed our own course in taking these samples. None of us have any financial interest in the property whatsoever."

(Signed) J. W. CLARK, Postmaster, and five other well-known citizens of Bishop.

I can only say that if it is true that we have a vein of ore in the Bishop Mine with a pay shoot averaging for eight feet wide $34.38, that it is perfectly justifiable to make what would ordinarily be called "extravagant" claims.

However, Mr. Clark is not the only Government Official that might have given you information about the Bishop Creek Mine.

The Commissioner of the Land Office in the Department of the Interior has in his archives two reports on the Bishop mine by different mining engineers made before they would grant us patents in the National Forest. I would suggest that you, as a Cabinet Officer, have the right to call for these reports. They are denied to myself and the general public, but you can call for them. Why not do so?

I would agree to pay the expense of procuring a new report made by any engineer whom you yourself may select. I will have this report printed verbatim and sent to all our stockholders.

I am just as anxious as you are that the public should know the truth about Bishop Creek.

As to the alleged remarks made by your Inspector Kincaid, of New York, that I have been selling stock in the Aremu Rubber & Gold Co., Ltd., of British Guiana, whereas there is no such company in existence there, I would reply that I never alleged that the Aremu Rubber & Gold Co., Ltd., was incorporated in British Guiana. The prospectus, as well as the share certificates, state clearly enough that the company is incorporated in Arizona. The property is in British Guiana, but not the corporation.

This statement is on a par with declaring that there is no mill at Bishop.

I am, sir, very respectfully yours,

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

Dec. 31, 1910.

"Nemesis" Vinton, who is a "promotion" lawyer, and a director in the Bartica Rubber Company, a Sterling Debenture venture, made an agreement that when the mine paid back what had been put into it by way of advancements and loans, he should participate in the profits. But "Nemesis" was an old man in a hurry. He wanted his profits before they were made and merely because I have refused to give him what he is not entitled to, he has been raising all of this hulla-baloo, but always willing to settle for $10,000 or an offer.

The *World* says: "It was understood by all stockholders that no dividends were to be paid until all the outstanding bonds were taken up. As soon as there was an output from the mine without the declaration of a dividend, Vinton and the other

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minority (the Vinton family) stockholders broke up the camp of brotherly love." This quotation is taken verbatim from Vinton's own story to the *World,* and I presume he will not be called into question. I wonder if Vinton wishes my aid to cancel that $10,000 judgment held against him in New York by an estate in which a widow is the principal beneficiary.

The Post Office has also been sending out letters to my stockholders, asking them how about their dealings with Wilshire and adding, with unconscious humor perhaps, not to consider the question as in any way reflecting on me. I am not the first victim to this practice, however.

Theodore Schroeder says in the November *Twentieth Century Magazine:*

There is another and more insidious method of ruining a man's business by the spy-system than that of blackmailing or the coarse perversions of justice such as were used by the Post Office in the Lewis case, and here is the method. Let us assume that some one has given offense to the executive head of the spy system, or any political boss who has influence with him. A spy is set upon the trail of the offender. His mail is inspected, both that which is addressed to him and that which he sends out. The mail boxes in the neighborhood of his business are watched. The envelopes which bear the offender's name are withheld long enough to copy from them the names and addresses. Then in a very few months the government spies have the addresses of every man with whom the prospective victim has any business relations. In many instances the mere possession of these names and addresses are an asset worth thousands of dollars in the hands of an unscrupulous spy or an unscrupulous business competitor. The spy department of the government now sends to every one of the correspondents of the man whose business it may desire to injure a very innocent looking letter, which reads like this:

570

Return all papers promptly with reply.

Case No.————

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT
Office of Inspector,
——— *Division.*

————*190..*

Sir:—

With the return of this letter, please inform me whether your business transactions with (naming the intended victim) have been satisfactory, and if not, advise me fully as to the particulars thereof, and forward all correspondence received from them, together with the envelopes in which the same was enclosed, having first written your name on each for identification.

It is thought proper to make the above request because of inquiries received at this office as to the business of the firm named, and this letter should not be regarded as in any way reflecting on the character or reliability, and should be treated as STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Your early reply under cover of inclosed envelope, which does not require that a postage stamp be affixed, will be duly appreciated.

Respectfully,

Inspector.

Suppose nothing wrong is disclosed by this investigation, yet every one of the thousands of persons to whom this letter is sent becomes suspicious and many naturally change their business relations. The offending man whose business has been "investigated" by the spy-system may never learn the cause of his loss of patronage, and his business is injured or ruined without his ever being able to discover the cause or counteract the influence which has brought about that result. If, however, he should have a confidential friend among his correspondents, who informs him of what is being done, he is without remedy or redress against the insidious and all-powerful spy-system.

The last decision of the court in the Warren case is that the Post Office has the right to refuse to transmit newspapers altogether if it chooses to restrict its activities to carrying letters. Some day the *World* itself may get hit hard enough to feel the danger involved in the growth of the autocratic power of the United States Post Office.

Meanwhile, I would ask my stockholders not to become nervous over these newspaper attacks. They cannot hurt the real value of the mines and they cannot prevent me getting the money I require for their proper development.

The Aremu mine and the Tassawini mine are both operating and producing steadily, the former mine has produced since it went into operation last March, $87,551 gold, and this hardly represents half of the real output, inasmuch as we have not yet installed our cyanide plant and lose a great part of our values to the dump.

The Tassawini mine has produced up to date $168,914 gold, but I confess that its operations, though profitable, are still a disappointment. However, it will hardly be contended by the United States Post Office that the mines are fictitious when two out of three are operating at a profit, even though a small one, and have produced $256,465, as shown by the official government returns.

The *World* says that the Post Office *thinks* I have obtained from credulous investors $3,250,000. As to that I would say that even if I had received such an amount for three valuable gold mines it would not be so very extraordinary. However, as a matter of fact, I may say if I had received for my interests even one-tenth of that sum, I would not to-day be in London for money. It can never be truthfully said that Wilshire did not believe enough in his own mines to invest not only all his own money in them, but that of his immediate family. No one has anything like the stake in seeing our mines make good that I have.

I am rapidly perfecting my plans for getting in London all the capital that will be needed to put in the cyanide plant at Aremu and the mill at Bishop Creek.

This onslaught will, at worst, merely delay matters slightly, and I doubt if it will even have that effect. I am not dependent upon my stockholders for further cash and, anyway, they are not so easily terrified by the capitalist press. They know it.

I shall be in London possibly for several months longer, perfecting my plans.

During that time I shall be found at my London office attending to my own business as long as it suits my own convenience.

9 Queen Anne's Gate,
London, S. W., December 31, 1910.

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The Slanderer Silenced

By ALLAN L. BENSON

I AM not going to make the mistake of telling you how rich are Wilshire's gold mines. Wilshire's mines may be the richest things that ever happened, for aught I know, but not being a mining expert, I should not know a rich mine if I were to see one.

I want only to tell you of things that I know. I want to tell you of Wilshire, whom I have known for years, and whom I believe to be an honest man. I want to tell you of the United States Post Office Department of which I know something. And I want to tell you of the New York newspapers that are supporting the Post Office Department's attack upon Wilshire. I know the New York newspapers fairly well, and the things that I shall tell you about them are within my own knowledge.

I was in Washington a few days ago when I saw Wilshire's portrait staring from a bulletin board through the front page of the New York *World*. Reading the article that accompanied the picture, I learned that the post office department had been investigating Wilshire, that suspicion, not to say more, had been thrown upon his mining ventures, that he had received from stock sales something more than $3,000,000, and, lastly, that a government official of British Guiana had certified that the Aremu Rubber and Gold Company was not incorporated in British Guiana. And, upon the basis of the latter statement, the *World* blithely remarked that the company existed "only in Wilshire's imagination."

When I returned to New York I called at Wilshire's office. Mrs. Wilshire showed me the company's prospectus in which it was plainly stated that the company was incorporated in Arizona, and, in a specific way, explained all of her husband's mining transactions to me. Then she asked me what she could do, if anything, to stop such libelous publications.

Knowing the managing editor of the *World* as I did, I suggested to her that she go with me to see him. She did so. To the managing editor of the *World* I said in substance:

"This woman and her husband are my friends. I have long known them well. I know that the *World* has done him an injustice. If I can demonstrate to you that the *World* has done him an injury, will you right it?"

He said he would.

Then I told him the *World* was quite within the truth when it printed the statement of the British Guiana official that the Aremu Rubber and Gold Company was not incorporated in British Guiana. But I also told him that he might have included in his list of the places in which the company was not incorporated all of the countries in the world except the United States, which contains the State of Arizona in which the Company is incorporated.

At this point he sidestepped the whole matter by saying that if we would go back to Wilshire's office, he would send a reporter over to get all of the facts. He did so. The reporter saw the injustice of the publication, and, presumably, wrote an article in which he gave the facts. But the article was not printed. On the contrary, the *World*, the next day, printed a squib to the effect that "Friends of Gaylord Wilshire say he will hurry back to this side to meet his accusers"—something that no friend of Wilshire had ever said, because all of his friends knew he was earnestly engaged in London in trying to raise money with which to develop his properties.

A few days later Mrs. Wilshire telephoned me that the *World* was after her again with a demand for a statement and with the request that she comment on the *World's* report from London that her husband had sailed for America, and an alleged report to the post office department that he had sailed for British Guiana. She said the *World* reporter had assured her that any statement she might care to make would be printed, and asked me what I would advise her to do. In response to her message I went to her office.

I told her that I would first ascertain from the managing editor whether the reporter was authorized to promise that any statement she might make would be printed, and that if the promise were authorized, I would answer any question he might ask. I called the managing editor of the *Word* on the 'phone, and asked him if the reporter's assurance about the publication of a statement was authorized. He said that so far as he knew it was not. Wishing to put the editor under some sort of an obligation to play fair, I asked him what he would advise Mrs. Wilshire to tell the reporter. He said he would advise her to answer his questions.

In the meantime the reporter had returned to the *World* office, which is only across the street from Wilshire's office. In a little while he telephoned asking that she make a statement in writing, for which he promised to send. I knew the tricks of the crooked newspaper trade well enough to know what kind of a statement Mrs. Wilshire ought to send, and she suggested that I write, for her signature, such a statement as I had in mind. And, a cablegram having come from Wilshire within an hour, showing that he was in London, notwithstanding the *World's* wildcat reports of his various sailings to other places, I wrote the following statement, which Mrs. Wilshire signed and sent to the *World:*

Dec. 27, 1910.

To the New York *World:*

The *World* has more than broadly intimated that my husband is a mining swindler. The *World* has made the charge that my husband has sold shares of stock in a company that has no existence "save in his imagination." The *World* has made the charge that my husband has received from stock sales approximately $3.500,000.

These statements are either true or untrue. If these statements are true, proof of my husband's dishonesty exists. If proof of my husband's dishonesty exists, you can find it. I respectfully request the *World* to find such proof, or cease the printing of statements that it cannot prove. Is this not a fair invitation to the *World* to make good or cease libelling?

May I also ask that until such time as the *World* presents the proof that I challenge it to find, that it cease to trouble me with requests to confirm rumors that my husband has sailed from England to British Guiana or the United States, when the fact is that he is, as for weeks he has been, and as he will be until his business is finished, at No. 9, Queen Anne's Gate, London, S.W.?

Yours truly,

MARY WILSHIRE.

The *World* has not yet printed this statement, nor will it ever do so. Nor did it print anything about

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Wilshire the next morning, nor has it printed anything about him since.

Now the point I wish to make is this: Wilshire is not being treated fairly, either by the post office department, or by the New York newspapers that are attacking him. If the post office department's investigation showed him to be a crook, the post office department should have shut him up. If the investigation did not show that he was a crook, the post office department should have shut up. Any man's reputation can be seriously impaired if not ruined by the constant printing of reports that he is being "investigated." How long would any man's reputation last if the police department in the town in which he lives were to give out statements to the newspapers every few days that his house was searched, the night before, for stolen goods?

My only argument is that if Wilshire is a crook, the persons and newspapers who say he is ought to prove it. And my knowledge of the newspaper business causes me to know that when newspapers have proof, or can get proof of a man's crookedness, they do not content themselves with printing lies about him. Instead, they hand him all the proof they have.

As the *World* and the other New York newspapers have printed no proof of Wilshire's crookedness, I infer, and, with justification, as it seems to me, that they have nothing but lies to print. Therefore I suggest to Socialists—both to those who have invested money with Wilshire and to those who have not—that they be not stampeded by the attacks of a post office department that has never lost an opportunity to attack powerful Socialist publications, and a press that has been as diligent as the post office department in driving home the attacks.

I personally know that the charge that Wilshire has received more than $3,000,000 from stock sales is as foolish as it is untrue. I have faith in the Wilshires, and believe them when they tell me they have received no such sum. And my faith in them is renewed by a letter that I saw this morning from a Bishop Creek banker, in which he certified that his bank had handled more than $200,000 that Wilshire expended in the development of the Bishop Creek mine.

Comrades, suspend your judgment. Time will uncover the truth. If Wilshire is a crook, which I do not believe, you cannot get your money by joining in the capitalist attack upon him, and if he is not a crook, you can help him as well as yourselves by keeping your heads on your shoulders.

New York, January 7.

A Letter to the Postmaster General

From the* HON. JAS. GILFILLAN, *Ex-Treasurer of the United States

Colchester, Conn., Jan. 7, 1911.

Post Master General, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HITCHCOCK:—I understand that there are being made inquiries about the Bishop Creek Mine by your Department.

Inasmuch as I was the president of that mine until succeeded by the present head, Mr. Gaylord Wilshire, I feel that probably no one is better qualified to speak than myself, especially as I am now and always have been a large stockholder, having been one of the first to invest money in the proposition.

Before investing any money in the mine I made such inquiries that satisfied me that the property was a good one, and although it is now over five years since I was first connected with it, I have never yet lost any faith in the mine as a mine and, in fact, I would never have allowed my name to have been used as the President of the Company had I had the slightest doubt.

However, I must admit that had not Mr. Wilshire come to the rescue of the mine and provided something like two hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars ($265,000) to continue the development work, I do not think that the mine, even as good as it is, would have been developed, and there can be no doubt but that the original investors would have lost their interests.

After Mr. Wilshire showed his good intent by providing a large sum of money to carry on the work I insisted that he should assume the Presidency in my stead, and I can testify that he did it with reluctance. This was some four years or so ago.

I have never regretted that Mr. Wilshire became connected with the property and feel convinced that had he not done so I myself and all the early investors would have lost their money.

In every way he has acted honorably and with good business judgment as far as I am in position to see, and I know of no one more familiar with the whole situation than myself.

I am, yours very respectfully,

(Signed) JAS. GILFILLAN,

(Formerly Treasurer of the U. S.).

From a Stockholder who has worked two years on the Bishop Mine

To GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Esq.

Dear Sir and Comrade:—I thought a line from a stockholder and a man who has been working for the last two seasons upon the Bishop Creek mine might be of interest to my fellow stockholders, and I am writing this for you to use as you see fit.

I first went to work on the mine in the spring of 1909. I have seen all the great difficulties you have had to encounter in getting our shaft down to the second level, and I think if some of the stockholders were more conversant with these difficulties they would have more patience in their demand for progress.

However, there is now on the dump thousands of tons of ore ready for the mill, and the important thing is that a large body of ore has been uncovered, and that is all we wanted.

I believe the money spent on the mine has been judiciously expended in an honest effort to make it produce the maximum results.

In conclusion I would say that, as a stockholder, I am well satisfied after having spent almost two years in the Bishop Creek Camp.

Fraternally your comrade

W. F. BRAGG.

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TO those earnest and persistent reformers who for years past have held forth on the necessity, desirability and possibility of going "back to the land," the results of the thirteenth census give little encouragement. The drift from the rural districts to the cities has increased more markedly than ever, seventy-three per cent. of the entire increase being reported from cities having a population of 25,000 and upwards. Hundreds of rural counties in the east and middle west record a decrease in population, and the figures show that throughout the entire country the city populations are increasing more than three times as fast as the rural districts.

This result is of course in entire accord with the needs of our predominant economic system of capitalistic industry, and is simply a necessary result of its development and expansion. It is a tendency that exists in every country where modern machine industry is increasing, and is by no means peculiar to the United States.

The modern city is a direct result of capitalistic industry alone, as may be seen in the example of the city of Gary, Indiana, the direct creation of the Steel Trust. It had no existence in 1900, while to-day its population numbers some twenty thousand. The decision to erect a great steel factory on the site, called the city into being.

Despite popular notions to the contrary, most of the great European cities are also modern creations. Scores of the great cities of Germany and England were mere villages a century ago, and there is nothing ancient about them except the name.

Capitalism requires for its maintenance and expansion vast masses of human beings herded into small spaces where they can be always available for purposes of exploitation. While it remains with us, the drift to the cities must continue unchecked, a condition against which the cry of "back to the land" is but a vain and empty sound.

"BARBAROUS Mexico" is evidently not so far behind her "civilized" neighbors in the matter of suppressing information which the ruling class considers dangerous to permit the public to know. For the past two months a condition of affairs has existed in that country which, according to rumor and official report, varies between a revolution which is certain to sweep Diaz into oblivion, and a few trifling disturbances which can be and are being taken care of by the local police, with here and there the assistance of a small military detachment.

The American press, reluctant of course to alarm American investors in Mexican enterprises, publishes little or nothing regarding the situation, what little has been published so far being evidently intended to leave the impression that the existin grégime is secure enough, and that the insurrection is on the whole a trifling matter.

Despite this press censorship, however, reports which seem to have a fairly substantial basis declare that the revolution has attained such proportions that the overthrow of the Diaz régime is almost certain, and that the great American capitalistic interests which control the press of the United States are now "on the fence," so to speak, and show an inclination to desert Diaz, provided the revolutionists, if successful, will see that their property interests and investments in Mexico are protected.

This view is probably correct, at any rate it is quite in line with industrial and social development generally. The Diaz régime, a despotism based on peonage, or practically slave labor, must eventually give way to the modern wage labor system, under which property interests are quite as secure, if not more so. Though the change will be of little immediate benefit to the Mexican working class, it is none the less a necessary step in the progress of the nation, and will afford a more favorable field upon which to continue the struggle which will eventually lead to the abolition of the wage labor system itself and the final emancipation of the workers through collective ownership of the means of life.

IMMEDIATELY following Mr. Carnegie's gift of ten million dollars, to assist in "the abolition of international war," comes a revival of the Japanese war scare, and an alarm from government circles regarding the complete defencelessness of the country and the need for a fighting force ten times greater than at present. Which signifies that Mr. Carnegie's well-meant gift is met with a demand for more than ten times ten million dollars to prepare for the thing that Carnegie wishes to eliminate altogether. Four hundred times ten million dollars are expended for war preparations each year by the nations of the world, and even if it be conceded that money can abolish war, it is easy to see how far a pitiful ten millions can go when pitted against that immense sum.

It may be worth while to note also that if it were not for these vast expenditures for war purposes, Mr. Carnegie himself would have no ten millions to give for

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securing peace. A large part of his accumulations came from the manufacture of armor plate and other war equipment, as everybody knows from the subsequent investigations that followed the delivery of the goods.

Besides, the abolition of war, if it were possible by this means, would bring about an unemployed problem of such dimensions that it would be utterly impossible to continue our present system—the system by which Mr. Carnegie and thousands of other great capitalists have been enriched. Disband the armies and navies and throw the millions of men engaged in the manufacture of war equipment on the already overcrowded labor market, and the result can readily be imagined.

Ten million dollars would be sufficient to construct a moderate-sized "Dreadnought," and if the gift had been made for that purpose, Mr. Carnegie could have enjoyed the reputation of a "patriot," in addition to that of a philanthropist, for the theory that the best guarantee of peace is preparation for war is at least as sound as the Carnegie idea. Besides, the nations of the world unanimously regard it as much more practical, though of course Mr. Carnegie is fortunately rich enough to subsidize any visionary scheme that appeals to him, without much regard to the expense.

ON the 21st of the present month, Fred Warren, the fighting editor of the *Appeal to Reason,* begins a prison sentence of six months, his conviction being affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

This is the same body that decided a few years before that the kidnapping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, who were not fugitives from justice, was perfectly legal, even if it was brought about by the fraud and connivance of the Governors of Idaho and Colorado.

Warren merely proposed that a similar method be taken to apprehend an individual indicted for murder who was an actual fugitive from justice. The Supreme Court declared this to be illegal and criminal.

The cases are of course not exactly parallel. There was some difference in detail.

The Governor of Idaho carried out his design secretly and without attracting undue attention. Warren made his proposal public.

The Idaho authorities designated certain specified persons for the accomplishment of their purpose. Warren made his offer to any one who would volunteer to undertake it.

The Idaho authorities chartered a special train that the accused men might travel comfortably. Warren neglected to make any special arrangements for the conveyance of his fugitive to Kentucky.

The Idaho authorities made use of the privately owned telegraph service for the accomplishment of their purpose. Warren, on the other hand, had the audacity to use, or as it was afterwards discovered, "abuse" the public United States mails in furtherance of his. The Idaho authorities succeeded. Warren failed.

Had Warren succeeded in landing his man in Kentucky, doubtless the Supreme Court would have pronounced his action legal, even if his object was gained by fraud and connivance.

Had the Governor of Idaho adopted Warren's method of making the offer on postal cards, he would no doubt have been sentenced to six months' imprisonment and $5,000 fine, had the kidnapped persons cared to prosecute him in the courts. And doubtless also the Supreme Court would have affirmed the sentence if an appeal had been taken before it.

These important differences should be taken into account, and given due consideration at the thousands of mass meetings of protest which will be held all over the country when the prison doors close on Warren.

TWO British officers, who were recently detected by the German military authorities making sketches of fortifications, have been sentenced to a term of imprisonment as spies. Curiously enough, the British press declares the trial perfectly just and the sentences about what might be fairly expected. However, when the two prisoners are released, they will, on their return to England, not be regarded as men who have been rightly convicted of a dishonorable action, or as criminals of any kind.

Probably this is the first time such a statement has been publicly made regarding the spy, who has always been lauded as a hero by one side and execrated as a scoundrel by the other.

We hanged Major André, and his countrymen honored him with a monument in Westminster Abbey. The British hanged Nathan Hale, and we erected a statue to his memory in New York city.

From the standpoint of current "morality," the military spy has always been a perplexing problem, his justification being necessarily limited by the national boundaries of the country in whose interests his spying was performed. He does not fit into any comprehensive scheme of ethics. Patriot and sneak at the same time, "his honor rooted in dishonor stands," when his acts are considered from a general ethical basis.

However, he is by no means the lowest of his profession, and when compared with the labor spy employed in modern capitalistic industry, may be regarded as highly honorable. But both have a common reason for their existence as a necessity of the present régime of exploitation, an dboth will disappear with its disappearance. When capitalism and, consequently, war, have both become impossible, the military spy and his still more infamous complement, the labor spy, will find their occupation gone forever.

Socialism advocates government ownership—when the ownership is in the hands of the working class.

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BEWILDERMENT

By UPTON SINCLAIR

EIGHT or ten years ago, when I was first experimenting with novel writing myself, the late Prof. George Rice Carpenter showed me a manuscript by a friend of his named Robert Herrick, for whom he predicted a future. I read the story, the title of which I have forgotten, and my judgment upon it was that it was an excellently constructed piece of work by a man of culture, who had read Turgenieff and the French masters, but who had nothing very much to say. Thereafter I read each of the novels of this new writer as they appeared, and each time with increasing interest and surprise at the way he was growing. Finally, in "The Common Lot," a story of the career of a young architect in Chicago, who struggles in vain against the corrupting influences which surround him, this Robert Herrick becomes one of the most popular of our novelists. I have always felt a personal interest in his work, because of that early introduction to him, of which he probably knows nothing.

His next novel, "Together," a study of the matrimonial problem, was a very significant and impressive book. As in all his work, the method of it is that of realism; but in this case he seemed to be striving to get away from the perfect form of Turgenieff, to the larger models of the Victorian novelists, weaving into the narrative the experiences of half a dozen typical couples. I found the book commonplace in spots, and I was disappointed in its inconclusive ending. I picked up his new novel, fresh from the press, "A Life for a Life," expecting to find the same kind of thing. I had read only two or three chapters, however, before I realized that it was quite a different kind of thing. Professor Herrick has tried a new experiment; he has turned squarely about in his tracks, and has thrown overboard the method of the realists, upon which all his previous successes have been based. The subject matter of "A Life for a Life" is the same as that of "The Common Lot" and "Together," American social and industrial life of the present hour; but the method has become almost that of symbolism. The intellectual content, the ideas to be set forth, so far dominate the characters that the latter are left vague and shadowy, and we feel at times that we are reading a poem instead of a novel. The work is surcharged with emotion of almost lyrical intensity. It is perplexing to the reader to discover in the cold and somewhat academic professor, who has always preserved the orthodox aloofness from his characters, a prophet, full of mingled fervor and bitterness, and so much absorbed in his message as sometimes to forget his art.

The story of "A Life for a Life" may be quickly told. A young country boy comes to the city to seek his fortune. The city itself is a sort of symbol to us; we are never told its name, but, as we gradually absorb its poison into our blood, we know that it is New York. If the story had been told in Professor Herrick's old manner, we should have been a hundred pages or so in getting acquainted with the boy and his environment, and in following his gradual introduction to the metropolis; instead of which, in a few swift, incisive chapters we are hurried, in the person of the protagonist, into the very soul of our civilization. The boy lodges in a city garret, and there he sees a sign flaming out the word *"Success."* The sign belongs to a great correspondence-school, which is a symbol of the spirit of America. He is passing a factory, and is a witness of a frightful accicident; and so, in swift glimpses, we become acquainted with the inner life of modern industry. Present at the accident is a strange, bearded man, who carries the boy off to his rooms—the "Anarch," this man is termed throughout the story—who is, until the last few chapters, the voice of Professor Herrick's own burning protest. And then the boy carries his introduction to one of the great men of the city, Alexander Arnold, who is the capitalist of this story, and the embodiment of all the forces of cruelty and greed in our system of exploitation. With his daughter the hero develops a love affair; but it is not like other love affairs to which we have been accustomed in the novels of Professor Herrick. Let one compare, for instance, any of the love-scenes in "Together" with the following, which is the parting of the lovers in "A Life for a Life":

"My father!"

A new pride rang in her voice. "You would have me deny my father?"

"Yes,—him and his friends, your friends —all that has made *this!*"

His gesture swept the pleasant scene below them.

"Because?" She waited fearlessly for the coming word.

"Because they are thieves and murderers, each in his way!"

"Thieves and murderers!"

"Not upon the highroad. . . . But they live upon defeated hopes, unfulfilled lives."

"The foundling comes a pretty way to make love to my father's daughter."

"The Alexandra I love is not of the blood of thief and murderer."

"Again thief and murderer. . . . I am my father's daughter, and I love the world he has made into which I was born. I love the power and the luxury and the beauty, no matter whose blood is spilled in the getting. . . . I find it all good. Only the weak abuse it."

The daughter of Alexander Arnold answered the foundling's fire with fire—and taunt. They faced each other in silence for moments, while the leaves dropped stilly from overhead and fell at their feet.

"Then it is as it was meant to be," the man said slowly. "And I must go my way, alone."

Did ever people make love after that fashion in New York before? And did ever two lovers part after the fashion of this?—

"See." He crushed the soft fabric in his hand. "Silk with thread of gold. It is the tears. See." He touched her girdle with his hands. "Gold and precious stones. They are the groans. See." He put his fingers upon the golden hair. "A wreath of pure gold. Tears and groans and bloody sweat. You are a tissue of the lives of others, from feet to the crown upon your hair. . . . See." His hot hands crushed the orchids on her breast. "Even the flower at your breast is stained with blood. . . . I see the tears of others on your robe. I hear their sighs in your voice. I see defeated desires in the light of your eyes. You are the Sacrifice of the many—I cannot touch."

This, needless to say, is not the method of realism. It is a very fine method, however, and there are many such passages in the book. The whole work is conceived in such a fervor of protest as this. Such writing makes a great demand upon the reader; one gives himself up to such highly wrought emotion with hesitancy. I have read two early reviews of this book, published in what are, perhaps, our two most representative journals, and both of them damn the book with faint praise. I have taken some time to think the matter over myself, so that what I say may not be simply the flush of first enthusiasm, but a reasoned conviction. My conclusion is that the present book is far and away beyond anything else that Robert Herrick has ever done. In fact, I cannot recall any American novel

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which has made such an impression upon me since Frank Norris's "Octopus." Its method is very much that of "The Octopus." It uses symbolism in the same way, and it has the same social protest. It does not attain quite to the tremendous tragic moment that Norris's book does; but, on the other hand, it is far more perfect in form, and it is without all the tedious waste-places of Norris's big book. "The Octopus" was the epic of the wheat; Herrick's book is an epic of the whole of American political, industrial and social life.

It is unquestionably the most radical work which has ever been turned out by any of our respectable novelists—I use the word "respectable" in order to exclude my own work from this comparison. To one who, like myself, has been pounding away for ten years at the gates of the citadel of capitalism, a book like this brings a thrill of amazement. It is certainly a subtle kind of vengeance that it should come from a professor at Mr. John D. Rockefeller's university. If there has ever been a more bitter arraignment of our legislative machinery in Washington, or a severer indictment of our Supreme Court, than in the pictures Mr. Herrick presents, I do not know where to find them. And for the first three-fourths of the book the strange figure whom he calls "the Anarch" has the story all in his own hands. He plays the part of the chorus, through whom Mr. Herrick presents his meanings and lays bare his argument. He takes the hero with him upon a kind of pilgrimage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, surveying the industrial life of our country. It is less an actual journey than it is a vision—"the Devil taketh him up into a high mountain and showeth him all the kingdoms of the earth." It is then that the hero comes back to that unusual love-scene with the daughter of the master of Wall Street.

So much for the destructive criticism of the book, which is all that the bitterest Socialist could desire. But that, apparently, is as far as Professor Herrick is able to get—which is my reason for the title of this argument, "Bewilderment." I think I never got a clearer sense of despair and futility from any book in my life than this one. I wondered if it must not have been deliberate—perhaps Professor Herrick was unable to free himself from the tradition of the realists, who are not supposed to have any ideas about remedies, and to whom life must always be blind futility and inescapable suffering. Whatever may be the reason for it, Professor Herrick has carefully excluded every hint of hope from his book, except a few words at the very end, the absurdity of which is so obvious that we cannot take them seriously. His Anarch is thoroughly satisfactory so long as he is opening the hero's eyes to evil conditions; also he is bitter against the hero because he does not do anything—he always spells his word *"Do"* with capital letters; but when it comes to doing something himself, all he can think of is to leap into the automobile with the millionaire, Alexander Arnold, and whirl the old man to a horrible death. I have the pleasure of knowing a good many Anarchists, considerably more of them than Professor Herrick, I imagine; I have known revolutionists of many other brands of eccentricity; and on the strength of this acquaintance I will venture the assertion that there is not in America, nor anywhere else in the world, a social rebel who is capable of the penetrating criticism of this man, and who, even in his wildest moment, gives himself up to the mood of blind and wanton hatred which Professor Herrick has here portrayed.

And as it is with "the Anarch," so is it with all the other characters. The hero hurls himself at the System to no purpose—"The Blank Wall," Professor Herrick calls this chapter. He then attempts to appeal to the people, but gets even more disgusted—it is evident that Professor Herrick places no hopes in the "muck-raking" magazines. He then becomes a humble bank-clerk in the pay of the System, and devotes his time to voicing his agonized protest in a book—which book he ultimately burns. We are not surprised at this, for we have come by this time to realize that neither he nor his creator has any vital hope of redemption to offer us.

In the end the hero dies of cancer, and the author brings the San Francisco earthquake to New York, as a means of completing his symbolism and wiping out the other undesirable characters. In a kind of epilogue we are left with a view of Alexandra Arnold, the heiress of the dead capitalist, turning her magnificent country estate into a foundling asylum; and so we get the few feeble words of comfort which Professor Herrick is able to offer us: "The great end cannot come through political action, by theory or programme, by any division of the spoils, any readjustment of laws, but only by Will—the individual good will to renounce, working against the evil will to possess."

And as it is quite hopeless to attempt this with the adults, we are driven to foundling asylums as the hope of civilization. I remember some years ago reading a novel in which the solution of the problem of capital and labor was offered in the marriage of the capitalist's daughter and a promising young labor-leader, and I remember the ironic remark of a Socialist friend of mine, "If the capitalists and their daughters are willing, no doubt we can find labor-leaders enough to carry out the plan." I am tempted to remark of Professor Herrick's solution, that if the daughters of our great millionaires are prepared to turn their country estates into homes for destitute children, I am quite certain that the proletariat will be pleased to furnish a sufficiency of foundlings to fill them up.

What a pitiful thing it all is, and what an indictment of our civilization! Actually, it almost makes one despair of the mind of America. Here we are, almost at the very moment of the breakdown of our capitalist institutions, standing on the very verge, as it were, of the crumbling avalanche, and repeating blind and silly futilities like these! We expect such speeches from our political leaders; we have grown used to hearing ex-President Roosevelt traveling up and down the country and solemnly propounding them; but to come upon a really great novel such as this, written by a man of letters, who has leisure to think, and to familiarize himself with the vital movements of our time—and who can find nothing better than this twaddle to give to the people, as his gospel of social redemption!

I will not argue with you, Professor Herrick. I will simply tell you one or two facts. *Property* is the theme of the book which your hero writes and consigns to the flames. Property, property is the demon against the sway of which you cry out. You show the refugees from the earthquake and fire, streaming through the streets, and you call attention to their pitiful attempts to cling to their Property. You show how, as soon as the first wave of terror has subsided, the people pile back into the city, and begin quarreling over Property once more; and you cannot, apparently, imagine, why it should be so. I, for my part, can hardly imagine that it is necessary for me to tell you, but I perceive

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that I must. People need Property because in the physiological processes of their bodies they consume tissue and heat, and it is necessary that these should be renewed at regular intervals, if the lives of the individuals are to continue. Also, in our climate, they radiate heat very rapidly from their bodies, and it is necessary that they should wrap substances around them, in order to prevent this evaporation. And in order to keep these substances from being wet with rain and snow, it is necessary that they should erect shelters over their heads to protect them. It is necessary that they should have land on which to erect these structures, and on which to raise the foods which they consume, and the animals and plants from which they get the materials for their clothing. Upon the manufacturing and the transportation of these various substances all human life depends. Fundamentally, they are all derived from some form of natural wealth, land, coal, oil, copper, iron, etc. So long as these sources of natural wealth are cast out into society, to be scrambled for by all and possessed by the strongest and the cunningest and the greediest, just so long will you have cruelty and fraud and hatred and jealousy and oppression and misery and luxury and depravity on the earth; and you cannot remedy this by the plan which you outline in your formula, "It must be done singly, individually, each with himself and those nearest his influence." Any individual who attempts to do this simply consigns himself to the fate of our hero: he becomes a clerk for the System to use for its own evil purposes, and he dies of cancer in a garret.

Many men have died of cancer, Professor Herrick, and many of tuberculosis, and many of starvation, and many of a broken heart, but it has not helped in the least; and cities have been destroyed by earthquakes, and that has not helped in the least; and benevolent ladies have conducted foundling asylums, and that has not helped. There was never in the world more of all the evils you deplore than there is at the present day, and there will be yet more of them to-morrow, and yet more the day after to-morrow, and they will continue to prevail in the world and to dominate the lives of every individual in the world, until the victims have organized themselves to apply intelligence to the problem; that is to say, to take the land and the coal and the iron and the copper and the oil and all the other means of producing and distributing the food and clothing and shelter which are necessary to the existence of life upon this planet, and make them the property, not of the strongest and the cunningest and the greediest, but of the whole community, so that every individual may have access to them upon equal terms, and may receive the full value of his labor, with no deduction for rent to landlords, or interest to financiers, or profits to exploiting capitalists. And this, Professor Herrick, cannot conceivably "be done singly, individually, each with himself and those nearest his influence." It can be done only "through political action, by theory and programme, and readjustment of laws." There are in the world at the present hour some thirty million human beings who have made that discovery; eight or ten millions of them go to the polls and record that determination with their votes on every occasion that they get. There are half a million of them in this country, Professor Herrick; and can it be that there is not a single one of them in Mr. John D. Rockefeller's University of Chicago? There may be none among the professors, but surely there are a few among the students; and if not, then among the engineers and the janitors and the gardeners and the milk-men. Go to some of these, Professor Herrick, and ask them to tell you about the Socialist movement; for these men are the victims of the capitalist system and of the machine process; and my good friend Professor Veblen, who was once at Mr. John D. Rockefeller's university, but was turned out for being too keen a thinker, has shown in his "Theory of Business Enterprise" how it is that the machine-process holds the souls of men, accustoming them to deal with realities, to reason from cause to effect, and to adjust remedies to evils. As Kipling has phrased it in "The Sons of Martha":

> "They do not teach that their God will rouse them an hour before the nuts work loose,
> They do not preach that His pity allows them to leave their work whenever they choose."

These victims of the machine-process are not able to content themselves with irony, nor to fill their children's mouths with epigrams, nor to clothe their wives with poetical sentiments. They can get no manner or sort of comfort out of beautiful representations of failure and futility; they cannot make a cult out of pessimism. To them the evils of modern society are realities; and as realities they are learning to deal with them. Day by day the machine-process is educating them; they are parts of the machine-process themselves. And neither fiction nor poetry nor even sociology nor even religion can swerve them from the road upon which they are marching.

Another Pulpit Abandoned

While Socialism may not be "opposed to religion," it certainly has no friendly relations with the organized churches, a condition that Christian Socialists themselves are quick to recognize. Recently a Connecticut clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Loux of Meriden, announced his conversion to Socialism and his resignation from his pastorate at the same time, feeling, as he states, that his affiliation with Socialism is sadly incompatible with the position of the average New England church. Dr. Loux has written a work purporting to show that genuine Christian doctrine and Socialism are perfectly harmonious. It will soon be issued under the title of "Maitland Varne."

A number of people seemingly expect Mrs. Eddy to rise again, but the majority of us are more interested as to what the cost of living may do in that direction.

A Unique Calendar

From the press of *Political Action*, a Milwaukee weekly Socialist paper, comes an attractive calendar for the year. It contains sixty-five excellent portraits of Socialists holding public office in Milwaukee and the State of Wisconsin, and an allegorical drawing representing the road leading from the City Hall to the Court House, on to the State Capitol and from thence to the National Capitol at Washington, with Socialists steadily traveling toward the final goal. The calendar sells at 25 cents or $2.00 per dozen.

Resolutions of protest on the Warren case have been sent by the score to this office, with requests for publication. We regret that our limited space does not permit us to make use of them in this manner, and would suggest to the senders that the daily and weekly Socialist publications provide a much more available medium for such copy.

With the opening year a Socialist editor goes to jail for six months and a Socialist candidate goes to Congress for four years. Thus does the law of compensation assert itself.

While drafting New Year's resolutions one embodying a resolve to work steadily for Socialism during 1911, should not be omitted.

It hasn't been a particularly happy new year for Mr. Diaz of Mexico, who is threatened with the loss of the job he has held down for over a quarter of a century by killing all the other fellows that wanted it.

An oyster trust is said to be the latest thing in combinations for the control of food products, and the independent dealers have already reached the usual preliminary stage of viewing with alarm.

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Election Results in Great Britain

AS predicted in the last issue of this journal, the Socialist vote in Great Britain showed no increase in the recent elections. The returns, though as yet incomplete, even indicate that considerable loss may have been sustained. For this result, as explained in our last issue, the radical promises of the Liberal Party are responsible, both Socialist parties, the I. L. P. and the S. D. P., having apparently lost votes to them. Notably was this the case in Burnley, where H. M. Hyndman, the Social Democratic candidate, received some twelve hundred votes less that in the previous election.

Naturally the British Socialists, particularly the Social Democratic Federation, feel rather angry and disappointed at the result. As an editorial in "Justice" says, "the Liberals are our worst enemies; they travesty our ideas, and hold the place which, but for them, we should occupy," and concludes that while the Liberals play this rôle, Socialists should use every effort to down them, even by voting with the Tories, a suggestion which we think will hardly be acted upon.

One of the evil effects of overemphasizing the importance of the Socialist vote, is the discouragement that is sure to follow when the vote decreases, as it is generally certain to do when a bourgeois radical party is in the field, a situation for which we see no present remedy.

Still, there is no good reason for supposing that the growth of Socialism is really checked in consequence. One of the functions, or perhaps we should say, inevitable consequences, of a growing Socialist movement is to force one or other of the great political parties to assume a radical attitude and advocate measures of a Socialistic character. The leaders of such a party may be insincere, may make promises they do not intend to fulfil, and supplant the real Socialist party by spurious imitations of Socialist ideas, but this condition cannot be permanent, the people who are deceived by the travesty cannot be fooled all the time. Sooner or later, according to the growth of intelligence among the workers, the Liberal party will reach its limit, and once again the Socialist vote will increase, to either spur the Liberal party to further radicalism or compel it to take an attitude of open opposition. We think that no small part of the progress toward Socialism will be made in this manner, particularly in the English-speaking countries.

As for other results of the elections in Great Britain, there are none worth speaking of, for, though the Liberals have now a majority of 126 as against 120 before the election, it is hardly sufficient to finally settle the question of the House of Lords, though it perhaps may make the path of radical legislation somewhat easier.

Writing from England on this subject, Gaylord Wilshire says:

The elections in England came out about the way I had predicted, except that Hyndman once more failed to win Burnley, in fact he got less votes than he did in either of the two previous elections.

However, this confirms my idea that the Liberal Party is making so many promises that neither the straightout Socialists nor the Labor-Socialists can make headway against them.

The Labor Party gained two members of parliament, but this gain was only made by the Liberals refraining from running a candidate against them and risking losing the seat to the Tory. In fact as I pointed out both Lansbury and Snowden, candidates of the Labor Party and Socialists, were endorsed by the Liberal Party. Lloyd George having spoken for Lansbury and John Morley for Snowden.

This is almost as if Taft had spoken in favor of electing Berger for Congress.

However, while we may deplore the effect of the Liberal Party tactics upon the organized Socialists, we cannot but help admitting that this change of attitude signifies that Socialism itself is no longer considered the bugaboo it was a few years ago.

If a Cabinet Minister in Gladstone's time had endorsed a Socialist it would have meant his political damnation. Now it means a peerage for John Morley and the putting of Lloyd George in the first place of the running for the next Liberal Prime Minister.

It is not strictly true that in this country there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. It is the same law—with a different interpretation and application.

Money talks, of course, but while the nations of the world expend four billion dollars yearly on armaments, Mr. Carnegie's little ten million-dollar peace-fund won't rise noticeably above the general chorus of conversation.

Now that Mr. Carnegie has endowed a German "hero" fund, we suggest that the claim of "the cobbler of Köpenick" be given early consideration.

A student of vital statistics predicts that, by the year 2015, babies will cease to be born in the United States. It's about time for Mr. Roosevelt to break silence, by coming out and speaking his little piece on race suicide once more—lest we forget.

Now that Postal Savings Banks have been established, those workingmen who have been in the habit of storing their money in barrels in the cellar will have no further excuse for such unbusiness-like hoarding.

Crops to the value of $8,926,000,000 were raised last year in the United States, which is in itself a testimony to the general prosperity—if not of the farmers, at least of the capitalists who exploit them.

Though the figures are not yet available, we may confidently predict that in the year just past, they will show a general increase in murder, suicide and insanity, as they have in preceding years.

While it is true that the Warren case proves equality before the law a farce, it should not be forgotten that a multitude of other cases prove it rather to be a tragedy.

Milwaukee Catholic Societies have decided to make a special fight on Socialism. Every little movement of that sort has a meaning all its own.

We have not yet reached the stage where the proof of rural prosperity is based on the alleged fact that the farmers are buying three-fifths of the aeroplane output, but it will come, as it has with the automobile.

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Collier Gets Verdict Against Post

R. J. C.
416 West 13th Street.

December 6, 1910.

Gaylord Wilshire, Esq., Wilshire's Magazine, New York City.

Dear Mr. Wilshire:—You may remember that in October, 1907, WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE printed an advertisement of The Postum Cereal Company, Ltd., entitled "The 'Yell-Oh' Man, and One of His Ways," in which these sentences occurred:

"To call a man a liar seems rude, so we will let the reader select his own term.

"Some time ago the manager of *Collier's Weekly* got very cross with us because we would not continue to advertise in his paper.

"We have occasionally been attacked by editors who have tried to force us to advertise in their papers at their own prices, and on their own conditions, failing in which we were to be attacked through their editorial columns. The reader can fit a name to that tribe.

"We had understood that the editor of *Collier's* was a wild cat of the Sinclair 'jungle bungle' type, a person of curdled gray matter, but it seems strange that the owners would descend to using their editorial columns, yellow as they are, for such rank out-and-out falsehoods, as appear in their issue of July 27, where the editor goes out of his way to attack us, and the reason will appear tolerably clear to any reader who understands the venom behind it

* * * * * * * * *

"When a journal wilfully prostitutes its columns, to try and harm a reputable manufacturer in an effort to force him to advertise, it is time the public knew the facts. The owner or editor of *Collier's Weekly* cannot force money from us by such method.

"POSTUM CEREAL COMPANY, LTD."

As a newspaper man myself, I declined to take advantage of the courtesy of many publishers who offered to suppress this advertisement, if I considered it objectionable, or to pursue my legal rights against those who printed it without consulting me. I preferred to let the issue as to *Collier's* honesty and truthfulness be decided in court. Consequently, I brought suit against the Postum Cereal Company, Ltd., in the Supreme Court of New York. A trial of this issue was commenced on November 21st, in which the Postum Cereal Company, Ltd., pleaded the truth of their own statements and the falsity of the following which had appeared in *Collier's Weekly* on July 27th, 1907:

"Deception there is, in advertising, as in all dealings between the imperfect human animal and his equally imperfect fellow. It is lessening with the spread of intelligence. Some, that is still conspicuous in print, is necessary, and hence incredibly stupid. For example, take certain exploitations of 'Grape-Nuts' and its fellow article, 'Postum,' put out by the same concern. One widely circulated paragraph labors to produce the impression that 'Grape-Nuts' will obviate the necessity of an operation in appendicitis. This is lying, and potentially deadly lying. Similarly, 'Postum' continually makes reference to the endorsements of 'a distinguished physician,' or 'a prominent health official,' persons as mythical, doubtless, as they are mysterious."

For ten days the jury before which the case was tried, heard the testimony, and then awarded a verdict of $50,000 damages for *Collier's* and against The Postum Cereal Company.

I feel sure that your sense of fairness will impel you to print the statement which I enclose, in as prominent a place as you printed the original libelous advertisement which falsely accused *Collier's* of printing untruths in order to increase its advertising.

Yours very truly,
ROBT. J. COLLIER.

In October, 1907, WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, together with several hundred other papers throughout the country, printed, in its advertising columns, in the course of a series which had been contracted for by the Postum Cereal Co., Ltd., an advertisement entitled "The 'Yell-Oh' Man and One of His Ways." In this advertisement the Postum Cereal Co. alleged, in substance, that *Collier's Weekly* had printed an editorial hostile to Grape-Nuts with the purpose of forcing the Postum Co. to advertise in *Collier's*.

Immediately, Robert J. Collier, the owner of *Collier's Weekly*, sued the Postum Co. for libel. The case came to trial in the Supreme Court of New York on November 21. After ten days of testimony, the jury, on December 3, returned a verdict in favor of Mr. Collier for $50,000. This is the largest verdict ever given in a libel suit in New York, and probably in the country.

In the course of the trial it was shown that *Collier's Weekly*, in November, 1905, threw out of its columns the advertising of the Postum Cereal Co. on the ground that the company was advertising its products as patent medicines; that in July, 1907, *Collier's Weekly* printed an editorial in which the Postum Co.'s claim that Grape-Nuts would prevent appendicitis was described as "lying, and, potentially, deadly lying"; and that the Postum Co. published its libelous advertisement a few weeks later, in September, 1907.

Among the other facts brought out at the trial were these:

1. That Post has been accustomed to advertise "Grape-Nuts" and "Postum" as cure-alls for everything from consumption, appendicitis, and malaria to "Loose Teeth Made Sound by Eating Grape-Nuts."

2. That the passage of the national Food and Drugs Act has compelled him to drop from his Grape-Nuts package the assertion that "one pound of Grape-Nuts has as much nourishment as ten pounds of meat," and from the Postum package the words "Postum Food *Coffee*."

3. That the testimonials on which he built up his business were practically all *paid for*, and that they were *rewritten* in Battle Creek; when *Collier's* called for them at Battle Creek they were "in our New York attorney's hands," and when *Collier's* called for them in *New York*, the New York attorneys could not produce them.

4. That the only "famous physician" whose name was signed to a Postum testimonial was produced in court by *Collier's*, and turned out to be a poor old broken-down homeopath who is now working in a printer's establishment and who received ten dollars for writing his testimonial.

5. That the health officers of Michigan, Maine, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and other States, in their official bulletins, have for years been denouncing as preposterous and fraudulent the claims made by the Postum Cereal Company.

6. That the most dangerous thing in the world for one threatened with appendicitis was to eat any food whatever; that, notwithstanding he knew that danger, C. W. Post advertised Grape-Nuts, at fifteen cents a package, for those so threatened.

7. That C. W. Post, the chairman of the Postum Cereal Company, while practising "mental healing" at an institution called "La Vita Inn," where he claims to have cured a case of erysipelas in five minutes merely by looking at the patient, wrote a book called "I Am Well," in which he described himself as "the Son of Our Father"; that he subsequently elaborated this into "The Road to Wellville," and that his Postum and Grape-Nuts advertising to-day is a combination of mental suggestion and patent-medicine methods.

8. That Post spends nearly a million a year in advertising and relies on that to keep out of the newspapers the dangerous nature of the fraud he is perpetrating on the public.

9. That the amount of the verdict would be devoted by *Collier's* to *exposing fraud.*

A brief résumé of the testimony in the case of Robert J. Collier vs. Postum Cereal Co., Ltd., in which are contained some remarkable testimonials on Grape-Nuts from Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, the United States Government chemist, Dr. Robert Abbe, and others will be sent on application to *Collier's Weekly*. "There's a Verdict."

Wouldn't Stand for Graft

How pertinaciously the Englishman fights for what he considers his "rights" is illustrated in the action of a storekeeper in London who brought suit against the Marylebone Borough Council for extortion. He had erected a spectators' stand in front of his shop for the purpose of viewing the funeral procession of the late king, and the local Council charged him fifty dollars for a permit and fifty more for supervision. He claimed that other local Councils in London charged but ten dollars and, having substantiated his assertion, the Council was adjudged to return him ninety dollars. Over forty similar actions have now been commenced by tradesmen for the return of extortionate fees against the same local body.

A Silenced Boaster

"We have them knocked clean through the ropes and beaten to a frazzle," was Mr. Roosevelt's vulgar and grandiloquent announcement to his deluded followers on the eve of the great State elections just completed in America. One is reminded of the Mississippi raftsman, described by Mark Twain, who went around squaring up for a fight and shouting, "Whoo-oop! I'm the old original iron-jawed, brass-mounted, copper-bellied corpse-maker from the wilds of Arkansas! Look at me! I'm the man they call Sudden Death and General Desolation. . . . Whoo-oop! Stand back and give me room according to my strength! . . . Lay low and hold your breath, for I'm 'bout to turn myself loose." In the end this early prototype of Mr. Roosevelt was "knocked clean through the ropes and beaten to a frazzle" by a little black-whiskered chap who had got tired of his noise.—*London Paper.*

There is some doubt as to how Mr. Carnegie's ten-million-dollar anti-war-fund is to be expended, but it is safe to predict that none of it will be used in urging the workers of the world to refrain from fighting the battles of the capitalists.

Japan has yet to learn that nothing encourages the growth of Socialism so much as executing a handful of its advocates.

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Any book mentioned in these columns can be procured from the Wilshire Book Co. Unless otherwise stated, prices do not include postage.

ROADTOWN. By Edgar Chambless. Cloth, 172 pp. $1.25 net. Roadtown Press, 150 Nassau St., New York.

Among the many ingenious schemes for combining the advantages of country life with the conveniences of the modern city, Mr. Chambless' "Roadtown" idea is particularly worthy of notice. His book gives those complete details of the new way of living that are supposed to appeal so strongly to the "practical" man who wants to be shown. Briefly, the "Roadtown" scheme contemplates the abandonment of the modern city by supplanting it with a city of another kind strung out in one interminable street for hundreds of miles throughout the country, the street itself being a railroad of several tracks, surface, underground and elevated, by which all the communication and transportation of the "Roadtown" will be accomplished. On either side of the track and over it also, the habitations, offices and public institutions of the community are to be built, as is illustrated by the design on the cover. The author uses his hundred and seventy odd pages in elaborating all the particulars of construction, cost, advantages and conveniences of the scheme, and seems thoroughly certain that when the public understands its merit, its adoption is a foregone conclusion.

Mr. Chambless' efforts, it is said, have met with the approval of many experienced engineers, prominent sociologists and reformers, but as yet we have not heard that the necessary finance has been forthcoming. Mr. Chambless, however, is waiting patiently yet confidently for that indispensable factor to materialize.

The drift to the cities and the story told by the recent thirteenth census, have no particular meaning to Mr. Chambless, who is fully confident of reversing the current of population when his scheme has had the requisite publicity, and the stock company which he has formed to push the project gets started. He declares that Socialism is too slow, and that while he believes in it he wants to have it realized within a reasonable time, and for that purpose the idea of "Roadtown," he believes, is far superior to any other suggested scheme at present submitted to the consideration of the public.

SOCIALISM AND SUCCESS, SOME UNINVITED MESSAGES. By W. J. Ghent. Cloth, 252 pp. $1.00 net. The John Lane Co., 114 W. 32d St. New York.

This work, a collection of essays and articles written at different times and on various subjects, put into book form by the author, after careful revision, is by no means an unimportant contribution to the literature of Socialism. The fact that Mr. Ghent's writings convey the impression of one speaking with authority, may perhaps be resented by "some Socialists," for whom, by the bye, the author reserves one particular essay. But Mr. Ghent not only knows how to write but how to reason also, and his knowledge of Socialism is indisputable. The essays addressed to the "retainers" (of capitalism) and the reformers, are by all odds the best work of this special kind that have come to our notice. The one devoted to "some Socialists" deals with the senseless opposition exhibited in some localities to so-called "intellectuals," who in this country, at least, are correctly identified by the writer as simply Socialists of more learning and intelligence than ordinary. Mr. Ghent has had an unfortunate experience of this kind himself in New York, which in all probability explains the appearance of this particular article. It is not likely, however, to convince the special type of Socialist for whose benefit it was apparently written, who are mostly as pugnacious as Mr. Ghent himself, though much less intelligent. The reason, therefor, is clear enough. Most of these squabbles have a personal basis. If the individual characterized as an "intellectual" possesses some personal traits not approved by "some Socialists," if he be of a reserved and taciturn disposition, and blunt in speech and manner, and at the same time takes an active part in the organization and the shaping of its policies, the charge of bossism and intellectual snobbishness is certain to be heard. If, however, he is a good "mixer" and a skilful tactician, he may and very probably will, escape the charge. Illustrations of this fact can be readily recalled by many observing Socialists. However, to leave this subject, we may say that we heartily recommend a reading of Mr. Ghent's work to Socialists and non-Socialists alike.

IMPORT AND OUTLOOK OF SOCIALISM. By Newton Mann. Cloth, 336 pp. $1.50 net. James H. West Co., Publishers, Boston, Mass.

BARBAROUS MEXICO. By John Kenneth Turner. Cloth, 340 pp. $1.50. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Publishers, Chicago, Ill.

MAITLAND VARNE. By Du Bois H. Loux. Cloth, 396 pp. $1.50. De Thaumaturge Publishing Co., New York.

Many excellent schemes for harmonizing the interests of labor and capital will undoubtedly be evolved during 1911, but the class struggle will in all probability continue to do business at the old stand.

People usually get what they vote for. Last November, Milwaukee workingmen voted among other things, that their heads should not be broken by police clubs during a strike, and the first occasion of that kind has confirmed their expectations.

Berlin "Vorwärts," the Great German Socialist daily, has now over 160,000 subscribers.

"ENGLAND IN EGYPT"

A new and revised edition of Francis Adams' "Songs of the Army of the Night" has been issued by Mitchell Kennerley, of 2 East 29th street, New York City. The price of the work is $1.00 net. As a sample of Mr. Adams' work we reprint herewith what appears to us the most meritorious piece of verse in the volume:

ENGLAND IN EGYPT.

From the dusty, jaded sunlight of the careless Cairo streets,
Through the open bedroom window where the pale blue held the palms,
There came a sound of music, thrilling cries and rattling beats,
That startled me from slumber with a shock of sweet alarms.
For beneath this rainless heaven with this music in my ears,
I was born, and all my boyhood with its joy was glorified.
And for me the ranging Red-coats hold a passion of bright tears,
And the glancing of the bayonet lights a hell of savage pride.

So I leaped and ran and looked,
And I stood and listened there,
Till I heard the fifes and drums,
Till I heard the fifes and drums,
The fifes and drums of England
Thrilling all the alien air!—
And "England, England, England,"
I heard the wild fifes cry,
We are here to rob for England
And to throttle liberty!"
And "England, England, England,"
I heard the fierce drums roar,
"We are tools for pious swindlers
And brute bullies evermore!"

And the silent Arabs crowded, half-defiant, half-dismayed;
And the jaunty fifers fifing flung their challenge to the breeze,
And the drummers kneed their drums up as the reckless drumsticks played,
And the Tommies all came trooping, tripping, slouching at their ease.
Ah, Christ, the love I bore them for their brave hearts and strong hands—
Ah, Christ, the hate that smote me for their stupid dull conceits—
I know not which was greater, as I watched their conquering bands,
In the dusty jaded sunlight of the sullen Cairo streets.

And "Tommy, Tommy, Tommy,"
I heard the wild fifes cry,
"Will you never know the England
For which men, not fools, should die?"
And "Tommy, Tommy, Tommy,"
I heard the fierce drums roar,
"Will you always be a cut-throat
And a slave for evermore?"

No, I shall never see it with these weary death-dim eyes,
The hour of Retribution, the hour of Fate's desire,
When before the outraged millions, as at last—at last they rise,
The rogues and thieves of England are as stubble to the fire!
When the gentlemen of England, eaten out with lust and sin,
When the shop-keepers of England, sick with godly greed as well,
Face the Red-coats and the Red-shirts, as the steel-ring closes in
And hurls them, howling madly, down the precipice of hell!

But O, I *knew* that hour,
Standing sick and dying there,
As I heard the fifes and drums,
As I heard the fifes and drums,
The fifes and drums of England
Thrilling all the alien air!
And "Tommy, Tommy, Tommy,"
I heard the wild fifes cry,
"It is time to cease your fooling,
It is time to do or die!"
And "Tommy, Tommy, Tommy,"
I heard the fierce drums roar,
"It is time to break your fetters
And be free for evermore!"

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LEAFLETS AT ROCK-BOTTOM PRICES

Here is a proposal which no Socialist Local or agitator can afford to overlook.

We have decided to sell the leaflets and pamphlets mentioned below, and sell **them quickly.**

We want to get them in circulation where they will do their proper work, and we **need the** space they occupy on our shelves.

So we are offering them at unheard of prices—at prices that will barely cover the cost of handling—prices in fact much lower than cost.

In the last two years we have sold hundreds of thousands of them, and while no less than seven hundred locals have used them, they have given the most complete satisfaction. No better matter for propaganda can be procured for five times what we ask.

We suggest to intending purchasers that they order sufficient to warrant sending the packages by freight, as that is by all odds the least expensive method of delivery.

Now read the prices quoted below and realize the opportunity offered.

We expect to clear them out quickly, so get busy. First come, first served.

A TIP FOR THE JOBLESS MAN. By Jos. Wanhope, Associate Editor, "Wilshire's Magazine." Over a million copies of this popular leaflet have already been sold. Former price, 30 cents per hundred. Special sale price, **50 cents per thousand.** An eight-page leaflet.

CALAMITIES AND JOBS. By James M. Reilly. Former price, 25 cents per hundred. Special sale price, **30 cents per thousand.** A four-page leaflet.

THE DANCE OF DEATH. By Henry R. Kearns. Regular price, 25 cents per hundred. Special sale price, **30 cents per thousand.** A four-page leaflet.

THE DIVISION OF WEALTH. By Jos. Wanhope. A 24-page pamphlet containing a popular Lecture for the Magic Lantern. Replete with pictures and interesting descriptions of same in text. Regular price, 10 cents. Special sale price, **$1.00 per hundred.**

PANICS AND POLITICIANS. By Jos. Wanhope. A 20-page pamphlet which has had a large sale. Illustrated text. Regular price, 10 cents per copy. **Special sale price, $2.00 per hundred.**

NEW YEAR BOOK BARGAINS

NEW WORLDS FOR OLD. By H. G. Wells. Cloth, 333 pages. Regular Price, $1.50. Our Price, 90 cents. Postage, 12 cents.

MILITARISM. By Guglielmo Ferrero. Cloth, 320 pages. Regular Price, $2.00. Our Price, 75 cents. Postage, 15 cents.

Ferrero is universally recognized as the master historian of the present age.

THE SOCIETY OF TOMORROW. By G. De Molinari. Cloth, 230 pages. Regular Price, $1.00. Our Price, 40 cents. Postage, 10 cents.

INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM. By David Macgregor Means. Cloth, 248 pages. Regular Price, $1.00. Our Price, 40 cents. Postage, 10 cents.

THE TRUST; ITS BOOK. By James H. Bridge. Cloth, 255 pages. Regular Price, $1.50. Our Price, 40 cents. Postage, 12 cents.

MODERN SOCIALISM. By R. C. K. Ensor. Cloth, 396 pages. Regular Price, $2.00. Our Price, $1.50. Postage, 10 cents.

This book is indispensable for a Socialist library, and contains a vast amount of information on the subject of Socialism and the movement in every country of the world. Only a very small number for sale at this price.

AMERICAN COMMUNITIES. By Charles Nordhoff. Cloth, 431 pages. Regular Price, $4.00. Our Price, $1.50. Postage, 16 cents.

This work, the highest recognized authority on the subject, was issued at $4.00 and has ever since been retailed at that price.

CAN WE DISARM? By Joseph McCabe and George Darien. Cloth, 151 pages. Regular Price, 75 cents. Our Price, 25 cents. Postage, 8 cents.

SOCIALISTS AT WORK. By Robert Hunter. Cloth, 374 pages. Regular Price, $1.50. Our Price, $1.00. Postage, 12 cents.

BOSSISM AND MONOPOLY. By Thomas Carl Spelling. Cloth, 358 pages. Regular Price, $1.50. Our Price, 40 cents. Postage, 12 cents.

THE UPRISING OF THE MANY. By Charles Edward Russell. Cloth, 358 pages. Regular Price, $1.50. Our Price, 75 cents. Postage, 12 cents.

The author was recently Socialist candidate for Governor of New York, and this is one of his best and most suggestive works.

THE MONEYCHANGERS. By Upton Sinclair. Cloth, 416 pages. Regular Price, $1.50. Our Price, $1.00. Postage, 12 cents.

CAPITAL. By Karl Marx. Three volumes. Cloth. Regular Price, $6.00. Our Price, $4.50.

These three volumes constitute the complete edition of "Das Capital."

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. By Hon. James Bryce. Cloth, 298 pages. Regular Price, $1.50. Our Price, 50 cents. Postage, 12 cents.

Any work of the author of the great "American Commonwealth" needs no testimony from us as to its value.

WILSHIRE BOOK COMPANY

200 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK

"THE CLEARING-HOUSE FOR ALL SOCIALIST LITERATURE"

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XV. No. 2 NEW YORK, FEBRUARY, 1911 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

"Recoiling" from the Inevitable

"IT takes no deep student of affairs to see plainly that if the American people are to be confronted with this alternative—on the one hand, monopoly of selfish interests, and on the other hand, Socialism—they will take Socialism."

So said Senator Albert E. Cummins of Iowa recently when discussing "Interstate Commerce" at a luncheon of the Republican Club in New York City. His opinion was not only not attacked, but practically all the other speakers agreed with him. It was impossible to restore competition, they declared, and all admitted likewise that the Sherman Anti-Trust act had proven a complete failure, but nevertheless, all, like Senator Cummins, agreed that they "recoiled" at the alternative—Socialism.

It isn't either a logical or courageous attitude to decline facing a situation which you have proved inevitable, but courage and logic are two qualities which form no necessary part of the equipment of the modern successful politician, especially those who have, through industrial development, had some knowledge of economics thrust upon them. Such men, though not necessarily "deep students," cannot avoid seeing and recognizing Socialism as the final solution of the problems presented by modern industry. However, instead of accepting, they "recoil" from their own conclusions. Like the devils of Scripture, they "believe and tremble." And the irony of the situation is that these men are popularly regarded as leaders of modern political and economic thought, when they, like Senator Cummins, openly confess that they propose to wait until the people take the lead and accept Socialism, which they fully expect them to do.

And when this takes place it is no doubt the expectation of such "practical" politicians that it will be the easiest thing possible for them to cut across lots and head the procession once again.

But when the American people have learned the necessity of taking Socialism as the only alternative to monopoly they will also have learned enough of the psychology of the old party politician to distrust and repudiate his proffered leadership. Even now this suspicion and distrust is one of the most marked characteristics of the Socialist parties in all lands as well as in this country. And it is fully justified. It does not follow that because a veteran politician may easily turn his coat on some minor and unessential proposition of capitalistic politics that he can quite as readily transform himself into a leader in a social revolution which, after years of opposing, "recoiling" from and "viewing with alarm," he finally recognizes as clearly inevitable.

This, however, is of no particular importance so far as the political ambitions of individuals are concerned. When the American people become intelligent enough to demand Socialism they will not lack for spokesmen, but these will be developed by a process of natural selection and the elimination of the unfit.

Twelve years ago this journal was established for the particular purpose of insisting on the fact that Senator Cummins and some other politicians now admit—that monopoly cannot be destroyed, that industrial combination cannot be checked, that competition cannot be restored, and that the final solution must be found in Socialism alone. Not a single politician of any note agreed with this view. They were all, without exception, engaged in devising means to destroy the Trust, and all, without exception, believed it thoroughly possible. Now, taught by experience, they are being forced to abandon the impossible task and to recognize Socialism as unavoidable.

But in the meantime the masses of the American people have been also learning the same lesson and at a much more rapid rate than their politicians. They will take Socialism as Senator Cummins predicts—there is no alternative—but they have decidedly another alternative in the matter of accepting their would-be leaders. They can "recoil"—and they will.

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GAYLORD WILSHIRE
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JOSHUA WANHOPE.....*Managing Editor*

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Vol. XV FEBRUARY, 1911 No. 2

I AM not going to say that WILSHIRE'S with eight pages is equal to WILSHIRE'S with sixteen pages, but will say that I am going to try the best I can and make up for quantity by quality.

This month I am sending out two numbers, the February and March, within a few days of each other in an attempt to catch up lost time and have the Magazine hereafter reach its readers at a date approximating its date mark.

It's hard enough for a man to run a paper advocating Socialism under any circumstances, but when you must meet with covert attacks from the Post Office, the libelous attacks of the yellow press, the jealousy of "comrades" and the lies of your loving friends, it becomes a feat which the first man who crosses the Atlantic in an aeroplane would falter at.

However, I hope my friends and readers will judge the future by the past and remember that I have hitherto given good measure in print and paper, and that I will probably improve in the subsequent numbers.

THE comfortable theory of identical interests between labor and capital received a rude shock when the United Mine Workers recently decided that no person could be a member of their organization and the National Civic Federation at one and the same time, thus placing "the greatest labor leader in the world," Mr. John Mitchell, in the uncomfortable situation of having to resign from one or the other. It resembles to some extent the dilemma of the Hindu convert, who was both shocked and surprised on being informed that he couldn't be a Presbyterian and at the same time a Roman Catholic church member, and solved the difficulty by repudiating both communities and returning to his original heathen darkness.

However, the latter alternative is not open to Mr. Mitchell. In these days of strenuous class struggle it isn't possible to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds—to be hammer and anvil at one and the same time, and it's almost as impossible to be neutral, especially when one's reputation has been gained as a labor leader.

We notice that Mr. Mitchell is reported to have said that the growing Socialist influence in the Mine Workers' union was largely responsible for thrusting this choice upon him, and we have no doubt that he is partially correct. Some credit, however, should also be given to the National Civic Federation and the capitalist influence which pervades that body, and seeing that the Socialists have always insisted on calling attention to that fact, they are quite willing to divide whatever credit may be due.

IT IS stated on reliable authority that a publishing trust is in process of formation, with the object of securing control of several well known magazines and eliminating their "muck-raking" features. At the head of this trust is Mr. J. P. Morgan, acting through a Mr. Thomas Lamont, a new member of the Morgan firm, who is entrusted with the formation of the combine and will carry it through to completion. Magazines with a circulation of 2,000,000 copies, most of them of the "muck-raking" type, are to be gathered in and emasculated.

We cannot say that we view this procedure with particular dissatisfaction. "Muck-raking" has largely spent its force anyhow, and its disappearance will tend to the elimination of the "reformer" and other reactionaries, and give the capitalist and the Socialist a clearer field.

By this time every intelligent person should know that Mr. Morgan and his associates represent industrial tendencies whose progress it is simply useless to resist. Evolution has entrusted these groups with the necessary task of organizing and concentrating industry and finance, to the point where the need for collective ownership becomes imperative. Until this point is reached the less obstruction placed in the path of Mr. Morgan the more rapid will be the march of progress to the collectivist goal. "Muck-raking," it is true, has never actually blocked the path, but it was an annoyance that threatened some danger in arousing unintelligent discontent. Besides, the magazine industry, no more than any other, is exempt from the common fate of all in being trustified.

Nor have we any particular sympathy with the writers whom Mr. Morgan is declared to have "muzzled." It represents them as being nothing more than curs barking at Mr. Morgan's heels, diverting his attention from legitimate business and making themselves generally a nuisance. Any writer that Mr. Morgan can "muzzle" deserves his fate. If he feels that he must bark, he can slip his muzzle and bark for Socialism, instead of at Mr. Morgan, and if he doesn't choose this alternative it is better for the progress of society in general that he be compelled to hold his peace.

These editors and writers have familiarized the public with the statement that Mr. Morgan was an "uncrowned king." Let them now learn that, crowned or uncrowned, the king can do no wrong.

IN monarchical countries when a pardon is issued from the throne to some erring subject, majesty is always officially represented as being "graciously pleased" to grant it. Though a mere formality in many cases it has

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none the less a certain value even yet. It has a sort of soothing effect in some quarters, it displays a regard for good manners, and renders superfluous the necessity of an explanation.

The recent "pardon" of Fred Warren by President Taft shows how differently such matters are managed in this country.

Mr. Taft was neither gracious nor pleasant in his exercise of the pardoning prerogative, and took no pains either to conceal his anger, or the purpose of the pardon. It was the safety of capitalism that dictated his action, and in no sense a recognition that Warren had been unjustly dealt with.

In declining to confer the crown of "martyrdom" on Warren, Mr. Taft displayed a distinct intellectual advance in recognizing what the Socialists have long pointed out, that persecution has no effect in stopping the spread of Socialism, but tends rather to encourage it. He has yet to learn that Socialism can and will grow, even without the stimulus of "martyrdom."

With all this, some thanks are due Mr. Taft from the Socialists. In his own slow and ponderous fashion he has demonstrated what Warren and other Socialists have contended, namely, that the courts generally are the corrupt instruments of capitalistic class rule, and that the sentence imposed was inspired by the fear and hatred of Socialism instead of a desire to render impartial justice.

At the same time the comment accompanying the "pardon" shows its real purpose so clearly that Socialists will have no difficulty in appraising it at its proper value and utilizing it to advantage in their propaganda.

Had Mr. Taft denounced the verdict as unjust and declared the court prejudiced and biased its real object would have been much more likely of attainment. As it is, every one who reads his comment now understands its motive. It was issued not from a love of justice, but from the fear of Socialism, and Mr. Taft in effect says so.

There was no scruple in conferring "martyrdom" on Eugene V. Debs in 1896. But that was fifteen years ago, when hardly thirty thousand people were voting for Socialism. Warren is now denied "martyrdom" because there are between six and seven hundred thousand voting the Socialist ticket. And the sentence upon him was deferred until the capitalists had counted the votes. That is the explanation boiled down to figures.

WE are accustomed to regard Japan as a progressive country, but the recent execution after a secret trial of twelve persons who were reported to have conspired to take the life of the Emperor places Japan, in this matter at least, on the level of such reactionary countries as Russia.

Little was known of the principal figure in the butchery, one Denjiro Kotoku, but what was known showed him to be merely a Marxian Socialist, and his associates were probably the same, though announced to the world as "anarchists." The secret trial, however, tends to cast suspicion upon, if not discredit the statements of the Japanese officials.

The Japanese have been very generally credited with being a most ingenious people, and able to handle with great skill problems which the Caucasian nations find difficult if not impossible. In this matter, however, they have been able to devise nothing better than the European governments—suppression by brute force.

The probabilities are that the execution will merely create radical elements devoted to the "propaganda of the deed" in Japan, but it will not in the least arrest the spread of Socialism.

SINCE the last issue of this journal, death has been busy among the Socialists and radicals of this and other countries, many well-known fighters in the cause of industrial freedom having passed away.

Among the best known of these was Fred Long, a veteran Socialist of Philadelphia, who died in the early part of the present month after a long and painful illness. Long was well known as one of the most active and effective pioneers of Socialism, and his death, though not unexpected, is universally regretted.

Robert Bandlow, of Cleveland, Ohio, another veteran of our movement, also passed away about the same time as Fred Long. Bandlow was of German birth and was particularly active in the trade union movement.

Germany records the death of Paul Singer, a long time member of the German Reichstag and a tireless champion of Socialism, though a man of considerable wealth. One hundred and fifty thousand people, it is reported, attended the funeral, while half a million spectators lined the streets of Berlin on the occasion. The funeral was the largest Europe has seen since the death of Wilhelm Liebknecht.

Denjiro Kotoku and his wife and ten other Japanese Socialists were, after a secret trial, murdered by the Japanese government on the alleged charge that they had conspired against the life of the Emperor. Protests from all over the world against the execution were disregarded.

In England, Sir Charles Dilke, a well-known statesman and writer on world politics, also passed away. Dilke was a very able man, and though not an extreme radical, had distinct tendencies in that direction.

The well-known writer on sociological subjects, David Graham Phillips, was assassinated by an insane man who committed suicide immediately afterwards. Mr. Phillips lingered several days, but despite the effort of the physicians his wounds proved mortal.

The London County Council has just been fined $50,000 by the Parliamentary Board of Education, because it has not furnished enough teachers to keep the classes under sixty pupils to a teacher. There are some advantages in a centralized government.

If we had an effective parliamentary system in this country, or one that had authority to levy $50,000 fines on some of our niggardly school boards throughout the different States, we would not see the overcrowding in our public schools that now disgraces us.

It might be an invasion of the sacred rights of the sovereign States, but it would also be the means of compelling certain States and cities to properly educate their children.

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Socialist Fiction

By UPTON SINCLAIR

PERHAPS the most important symptom of the progress of Socialism in America is the flood of Socialist books which are pouring from the presses nowadays, books written by native-born Americans and dealing with American questions from American points of view. Not the least important among these are the works of fiction, for the novel has nowadays become a battle-field where the questions of the time are fought out. Personally I think a good Socialist novel is the best tool one can use to open the mind of the average non-Socialist, and so I watch with interest the appearance of Socialist or semi-Socialist fiction—such books as, for instance, Herrick's "A Life for a Life," and Kauffmann's "The House of Bondage." Three new novels lie before me, all of them written by Socialists, two of them Americans: "The Chasm," by George Cram Cook, "My Brother's Keeper," by Charles Tenney Jackson, and "The New Machiavelli," by H. G. Wells.

"The Chasm" is a first novel by a man whose name I have never before heard. By the "chasm" he means the class conflict. He has chosen as the characters to illustrate his theme the daughter of a great trust magnate in the Middle West and a young Socialist workingman, who falls in love with her. This is perhaps the most obvious of all the themes which Socialist writers have attempted to use. I could name offhand a dozen novels which I have read in which the idea has been used, and all these novels have failed for one of two reasons: either the writer is a Socialist, knowing the Socialist philosophy thoroughly, but knowing very little about the daughters of capitalists; or on the other hand he is a conventional literary man, knowing the conventional capitalist's daughter, but unable to portray a working-class fighter, except as a caricature. When I picked up this novel, I was wondering which of the two traps Mr. Cook would fall into; it was with delight that I found myself coming to realize that he was not going to fall into either.

Mr. Cook introduces his heroine coming home from Rome, where she has become engaged to a Russian count. In her father's conservatory she gets into a chance conversation with a young gardener, who little by little opens her eyes to a new philosophy of life. In the end she finds herself falling in love with him and she has to choose between him and the count, who is a prophet of the dispensation of Nietzsche. She chooses the count, and the second half of the book has its scene in Russia, where the count is a member of the Douma, swaying uncertainly between Liberalism and reaction—unable to choose because of his fear of the Socialists.

The new countess finds herself drawn step by step into sympathy with the revolutionary movement in Russia. The image of Walt Bradfield is always before her, and his ideas are always haunting her mind. Little by little she discovers the futility of her husband's philosophy, and the hopelessness of his attitude both toward Russian society and toward herself. In the end, when the countess and Walt Bradfield make their escape from Russia, you realize that the daughter of the trust magnate has become a revolutionist for life. And if you want to make revolutionists for life out of the novel readers you know, I advise you to get them to read "The Chasm." It is a real event for the cause when a book like this is published. If the publishers know that whenever they discover and produce a Socialist book worth while there are thousands of men all over the country who will buy it and boom it, there will be more and more Socialist books published every season.

The second book, "My Brother's Keeper," is also by a man whose name I had never heard before. He is mentioned on the title page as author of "The Day of Souls." His book is handicapped by an unbelievable plot and a forced and exasperating style, but even so, the power of the work shines out like lightning through thick clouds. Perhaps it should be called an Anarchist book rather than a Socialist book, but it is certainly a revolutionary book.

Its hero is a strange, solitary, cynical man who, after years of wandering, comes back to his home in Chicago, and encounters a group of people whose eyes he proceeds to open by his habit of proclaiming bitter truths without regard to circumstances. There is his father, a judge; a college professor, who is a prominent Socialist and reformer; his wife, who was once a Polish peasant girl, and her younger brother, who turns up in the course of the story, a miserable wretch, pursued by the police for having thrown a bomb which has killed several men in the course of a strike in the great Southern cotton mills which belong to the family. The complications of the story are such that the figures come to seem to one rather symbols than real human beings—all except the hero, a figure whom one does not quickly forget. It is an interesting sign of the times that the man whose character and view of life are torn to pieces before our eyes is represented as a prominent and radical social reformer of the time. America is moving rapidly, you see.

Picture to yourself the Anarchist fugitive, the "beast," as he is called in the story, standing in the palatial home of a great Chicago judge, Rand's father; the whole agitated and terrified family is trying to decide what they shall do with him.

The above two novels are by new writers; the third of my trio is by an old hand, a man whom I personally consider the greatest of English living writers of fiction, H. G. Wells. "The New Machiavelli," I believe, is his masterpiece, one of the most powerful of English novels. It can be called a Socialist novel, provided that the word is understood in its broadest sense; it is an appeal for sex freedom rather than for economic freedom, but incidentally it takes into its view the whole of the modern movement for the emancipation of thought. It is a tremendous and moving piece of work, and its publication is a great event in English literature. I am willing to risk the prophecy that it will be the most-talked-of novel of the present season.

"The New Machiavelli" recites in elaborate and comprehensive detail the life story of a rising young English university man, who goes into public life. He comes in contact with all the various forces which are struggling in English society at the present time, and ultimately becomes the founder of a movement for the advocacy of social reform within the Conservative party. He becomes a member of Parliament, and is well on the way toward a Cabinet position, when his career is wrecked upon the rocks of our

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present-day marriage conventions. We have had such cases, both in this country and in England, but here for the first time we see the story from the inside. We see the man's marriage, and understand the causes of its growing unhappiness; we meet the second woman, who proves to be—our "yellow" newspapers have made the word "affinity" almost unusable, but there is no other word that can be substituted. Wells's purpose is to assert the dignity and nobility of true passion, to vindicate its rights, and to set forth its meaning in the scheme of nature. The epoch-making quality of his novel lies just here: that one follows the story, step by step, and is irresistibly moved to understand and to sympathize. The latter part of the book is simply terrific. It gathers headway and moves like an avalanche; it has the inevitability and the tragic power of one of the old Greek dramas. We see the man fling his career to the winds, and turn his back upon England, with its Philistinism and its Pharisaism, going away with the woman of his love. Some eminent English bishop is on record as having said that he would rather inoculate his daughter with smallpox germs than have her read "Ann Veronica." I shall wait with interest to hear what assortment of diseases the bishop will select to express his disapproval of "The New Machiavelli."

Take Example by the Rat

(To those who think it wise to announce that they can no longer be silent about Wilshire, although his dear friends.)

The rat is a wise animal, also somewhat of a coward, but he is wise enough to stay by the ship until she is really sinking. He would hate to be so foolish as to be seen trying to clamber on board again when he discovered that she was not sinking after all.

He knows the ship never requested his ratship's company and that she can sail well enough without rats.

However, one thing a rat is not mean enough to do, and that is, utter an obvious lie in justification of his desertion. Neither does he apologize and slobber.

Louis D. Brandeis

Brandeis of Boston is one of the few able men outside the Socialist ranks in the United States that is truly giving himself up to the public service. Ernest Poole has an interesting sketch of him in the current *"American Magazine."*

THE POST OFFICE AND MINING STOCK

From "THE PUBLIC" Chicago, Ill.

Gaylord Wilshire, the Socialist whose paper was shut out of the American mails arbitrarily some years ago (vol. iv, pp. 418, 596), on a false pretense, and was restored when a New York printer wished the job of printing the paper and used his influence with Senator Platt, is now attacked by the post office authorities on the basis of a mining enterprise he is promoting. Of the merits of this enterprise we know nothing and care nothing. But Mr. Wilshire's complaint seems to us a fair one. Stating that he has seen clippings from the New York World and the Sun containing an attack upon himself and his mining ventures, he says:

"The peculiarity of this attack is that it is alleged to be based upon information derived from an investigation made of my mines and my business by the United States post office, and although the charges are of a most infamous character, yet the post office itself has as yet made no move in an official way against me. . . . It has merely sent out a large number of inquiry letters to my stockholders, asking them what has been the method of my dealings with them and requesting them to send to the post office any letters which have passed, together with the original envelopes. It then naively goes on to say that they shall in no way construe such an inquiry as in any way being a reflection upon me. It can easily be guessed that when a stockholder gets such a letter he will not have his alarm allayed by the cautionary phrase that no reflection was intended. However, these 'inquiry letters' have been so often used by the post office whenever it wishes to 'inquire' a man and his business off the earth, that I am only referring to them in order to call attention to the fact that the second step the post office has taken against me seems so very unusual and unprecedented that it should not escape the notice of those who value the liberty of the citizens of the American republic. I do not refer so much to the mere sending out of an inspector in order that the post office might be informed as to the value of the mine, although that in itself as far as I know is an extension of the functions of government quite unique. But I refer to the fact that the report made by their inspector has been given to the general public through the medium of the public press in an unofficial manner, and yet, inasmuch as there has been no disavowal of the report from the Postmaster-General, it may be taken as practically an official report. Now a report upon the value of a gold mine is a long, tedious, difficult task, and can only be made intelligently by a highly trained and experienced mining engineer. If the post office is to set out on the business of examining all gold mines whose stock is sold to the general public through the mails, then it is most important that it make no mistakes. But in my case the inspector was, I am informed, a traveling salesman only recently elevated to the function of post office inspector."

The Tricks of the Press

The above is the title of an excellent little book written by H. G. Creel, one of the editors of the Appeal to Reason, and for sale by the Wilshire Book Co. Price, 25c. postpaid. Paper covers, 90 pages.

Creel shows in a most interesting manner the devious ways that the American press has of blackening the character of those whom it dislikes, and at the same time cleverly escaping the law of libel.

Stone Crushes Roosevelt

If any Roosevelt hero-worshipper really wishes to know how much he may rely upon his hero carrying out his pledges he should read the Roosevelt article by M. E. Stone, Jr., in the February *Metropolitan Magazine.*

Bishop Creek Milling Co.

Bishop, Cal., Dec. 12, 1910.

You may be interested in the following assay that I had made from a big sample taken from the dump for an ore test. I had 1,000 pounds of the ore sacked and hauled down for this purpose. After it arrived in Bishop, while it was still on the wagon, I opened each sack and took out a handful of the ore which I threw in a box. Then I took this sample to Strong & Sherwin and had it assayed with a return of $17.32. While this, of course, is not technically representative of the actual value of the whole 1,000 pounds it is about as severe a test as has ever been made.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) PAUL E. LODGE.

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Annual Report on Bishop Creek Mine

December 1, 1910.

To Directors and Stockholders of
Wilshire Bishop Creek Company,
200 William Street,
New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN:—With the close of the year 1910 I have the following to report concerning development work to date on the mining property of the Wilshire Bishop Creek Company:

Work This Year.

In the brief period during which a full force was employed this past season the drifts at the Second Level were extended about thirty feet. The work was done alternately in equal amounts on the North Drift and South Drift. It showed the formation unchanged with values just about what they were at the time the last annual report was made and opened up just that much more ground for stoping purposes. As there was already ample stoping ground to supply a good-sized mill with ore for some time, it was decided to discontinue the work in this direction and to let the money that would have otherwise been required for it go toward providing for a mill. With the mine in its present state of development a fair-sized mill should supply funds for meeting all expenses, including those of carrying on development work looking to an ore reserve for the future, and leave a snug margin besides. The next active development work undertaken should be the sinking of another 100 feet of shaft, thus proving the ore body at further depth and securing the advantages of additional stoping ground. This only reflects the views of the mining men most familiar with the property.

A good deal of work has also been done in the past summer toward extending the water ditches both on South Fork and Middle Fork of Bishop Creek. Some 2,000 feet of open ditch was dug on South Fork, and about 1,000 feet in much harder ground, most of it through solid rock, on Middle Fork. This work keeps the rights good and puts these ditches in such shape now that a very small force of men could finish them easily whenever the development of the mine demands additional power.

Work done this summer in connection with the garden and orchard has been mentioned several times before and described so fully that further reference to it here is unnecessary.

Efforts in this direction have been more successful than ever before, and the practical utility of the work has been thoroughly demonstrated.

Since the last annual report on December 1, 1909, there has been expended in connection with the property through the mine office in Bishop a little over $15,000.

Work in Previous Years.

It may be of interest at this time to sum up the work accomplished in the four years since the property was taken over in the fall of 1906.

Shaft.

The shaft has now reached a depth of about 300 feet, measuring from the collar to the bottom of the dump below the Second Level. It is a double-compartment shaft, well timbered throughout with Oregon pine. At both the first level, 165 feet below the surface, and at the second level, 265 feet, there are roomy stations, and below the second level there is a 20-foot sump for catching the water developed by the shaft and drifts. The shaft for the entire distance was sunk through the hardest kind of rock.

Drifts.

At the first level the south drift is 159 feet in length, with two crosscuts, one of which is 64 feet in extent. North drift at this level has been driven 83 feet, with one crosscut 35 feet in length.

At the second level the south drift measures 110 feet from the shaft; north drift 95 feet from the shaft.

Diamond Drill Work.

Since the diamond drill was installed in the summer of 1907 eight prospect holes have been sunk with this machine, one of which reached a vertical depth of 482½ feet. Altogether the diamond drill work has amounted to something like 2,000 feet, and, while it has been expensive, it has been most profitable, for it is very largely responsible for the satisfactory way in which the ore has been reached with the shaft.

Surface Work.

There has been some 300 feet of outside rock work in the shape of short tunnels, open cuts and prospect holes, most of it done in compliance with the requirements of annual assessment work. It has cost $20 a foot or more for most of it.

Water Ditches.

In the development of water power nearly half a mile of open ditch was dug through solid rock in leading water to the present power house. To secure a constant flow, a substantial dam was built at the mouth of North Lake that stores 6 feet of water in this reservoir.

On the Middle Fork of Bishop Creek a trench has been dug for approximately 2,500 feet, most of it through solid rock at a cost of about $1 a foot.

On South Fork a little more than 4,000 feet of open ditch has been completed, much of it in loose ground, at a cost of something like 75c. a foot.

Road.

The Company has been fortunate in having most of the road to the mine constructed by other interests, but it has nevertheless spent considerable money in improving portions of this road and building bridges, etc. It also built an expensive trail to North Lake for the purpose of conveying flume lumber in installing the present power plant.

Camp Buildings.

There have been erected at the camp the following buildings:

Main Quarters Building, two stories, 32 feet square.

Two bunk houses, 16x32.

One boarding house, in two sections, each 16x32, with cellar.

One two-story stable, with shed.

Two small cabins.

The lumber for these buildings cost from $60 to $65 per thousand, laid down at camp, with roofing and other finishing material correspondingly expensive, a consideration of which cost will give some idea of the expenditures necessary to carry out the work.

Plant.

The buildings of the plant at the mine proper consist of:

Power house, 25x60.

Blacksmith shop.

Old shop, now used as storehouse.

Diamond drill shed.

Blacksmith shop at Tunnel No. 2.

Machinery.

The equipment in the power house consists of:

One five-foot Pelton Water Wheel.

One Replogle Water-Wheel Governor.

One 22x14x18 Duplex Sullivan Air Compressor.

One 14x16 Straight Line Two-Stage Leyner Compressor.

One 50-Light Dynamo.

At the Shaft.

One 6x8 Leyner Hoist, with full equipment of cable, buckets, etc.

One No. 6 Cameron Sinking Pump.

One 3½ "E 24" Sergeant Rock Drill, with spare parts for repairs.

Two Water Leyner Rock Drills.

One Sullivan "S" Diamond Drill,

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with full set of carbons and accessories.

One complete set of blacksmith tools.

In the Laboratory.

One Three-horsepower Water Motor, operating Crusher and Grinder.

One Case Muffle Furnace.

One Case Crucible Furnace.

One Analytical Balance.

One Button Balance.

One Pulp Balance.

Also a full assortment of all necessary chemical equipment for making cyanide tests, etc.

All parts of the camp are connected with an inter-communicating system of telephones and are lighted by electricity.

To this important and expensive equipment may be added a large number of other articles, such as wagons, tools, mine supplies, etc., necessary to carry on the work.

Other Items.

Forty acres of meadow leased from the National Forest has been fenced as pasture for the company's stock and a like amount is under lease for use as agricultural ground.

For fuel supply the company has so far got out about 600 cords of wood, costing, laid down at camp, between $7 and $8 per cord.

Freight transportation from the railroad to the mine is one of the heaviest items of expense. The first season, 1907, wagon freight from Laws cost us $22.50 per ton by contract. This rate has been gradually reduced until material can now be laid down at camp at a maximum cost of $17 per ton. Freight in small amounts hauled by the company's own team costs about 1c per pound from Bishop to the mine.

In the period from Dec. 1, 1906, to date there has been expended in connection with the property through the mine office at Bishop, and not including the expense of organization or any money paid out through the office in New York, in round numbers $208,000.

Yours respectfully,
(Signed) PAUL E. LODGE,
Local Agent.

Notice to Wilshire's Stockholders

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE is not sent free of charge to stockholders in the Wilshire Companies. If you wish the magazine there is but one way to get it, and that is to send fifty cents for a year's subscription or one dollar for a club of four subscriptions.

The receipt of a sample copy is an invitation to subscribe, and not a notice that you are on the complimentary list. The times are too strenuous just now to afford the luxury of a free list.

SCANDAL-MONGERS

In a recent letter to the London *Times* the Countess of Warwick writes:

Twenty-one years ago, at a Doncaster Race party, occurred what was termed the "Tranby Croft Scandal." The American press without exception published my portrait beneath the heading "The Babbling Brook(e)" (my father-in-law being then alive), accusing me of having at this house party revealed the facts of the scandal to the public, and saying that but for my indiscretion this affair might have been kept secret.

I have never been at Tranby Croft in my life. At the very time this party was held I, with all the members of my family, was in Scotland at the death-bed of my stepfather. The subsequent funeral and our deep mourning prevented me for a long time joining any social gatherings, so that I was among the last to hear of what at that time set society agog. Nevertheless, the American newspapers persisted in this story whenever my name was mentioned, and when written to replied that the facts had been sent them by their correspondent in London, "a lady moving in the best society."

From time to time during twenty-one years this story is reprinted, and, when in New York three years ago, my having managed to elude the interviewers did not prevent the reappearance of the inevitable portrait and the inevitable tale. In the course of time, if my obituary notice is mentioned in the American press, I have no doubt, the latest edition of a story for which there was not even a foundation will figure for the last time.

Lady Somerset also complains that the Hearst papers have signed her name to frivolous society tittle-tattle and refused to admit their mistake.

My recent episode with the New York *World* is also most illuminating as to American newspaper ethics.

First, the *World* came out in a big scare-headed article declaring that Wilshire had sold stock in an alleged company incorporated in British Guiana, and that there was no such company incorporated there, and that Wilshire had fled to London. To substantiate this story, the *World* published a facsimile of a letter stating that there was no such company incorporated in British Guiana.

Now this would have been more or less damning, except for the fact that I had always stated that while the mine was in British Guiana, the company was incorporated in the United States (Arizona) and that no pretense was made of a British Guiana incorporation. I proved to the *World* that it had made a mistake in the matter, and also that I had come to England months before their article to raise money on the mine for the benefit of my stockholders.

Would the *World* print a retraction or correction? Not a bit of it. It printed another lie; said that Wilshire's friends declared that "he would return to face his foes."

No one had told the *World* I would return; it was well known to my friends that I could not until I finished my work here. Then when I published the January WILSHIRE'S saying the *World* had lied originally and secondarily, the *World* has another article saying nothing at all of the original charge, but stating that Wilshire over his own signature had admitted that he was not going to return to "face his foes."

WILSHIRE BISHOP CREEK VS. BISHOP CREEK. WARNING AND NOTICE

The old Bishop Creek Gold Co. assets were sold out under foreclosure about a year ago and its assets are now owned by the present Wilshire Bishop Creek Co.

The stock of the Bishop Creek Gold Co. has absolutely no value, the company having no assets, and it will NOT be exchanged as has been represented by certain brokers, for Wilshire Bishop Creek Co. stock. This old Bishop Creek Gold Co. stock, while not worth one cent a hundred shares, is being foisted upon the public at from 3 to 5 cents per share under the false statement that it will be exchanged for Wilshire Bishop Creek Co. stock. This is a warning to prevent the unwary purchasing that worthless stock under a misrepresentation.

I have myself personally taken care of all those who bought stock from me in the Bishop Creek Gold Co. and any stock that is now being offered is merely promoter's stock and has no legal call nor equity for any exchange and none will be given.

I have already published this statement many times before, but there still seems to be some who are unable to understand how it is that Bishop Creek Gold Co. stock should be offered at 3 cents per share while Wilshire Bishop Creek is held at 80 cents per share.

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The work of Mr. Mann is faultless in style, and highly instructive both as to contents and the intellectual attitude of the author.

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Upton Sinclair, a most capable book reviewer, gives his opinion of Mr. Cook's work in the present issue of WILSHIRE'S.

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XV. No. 3 NEW YORK, MARCH, 1911 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

The Evolution of Parliament

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

WHEN the fathers of this country drew up the Constitution they did it with the prime idea of protecting the rights of private property from adverse legislation.

One of their methods was to remove the election of the President from a direct vote of the people to that of the Electoral College.

However, it was here, if anywhere, the Constitution utterly failed of its object, for it was not many elections before the Electoral College became what it is today, namely a mere recording machine to register the votes for the various Presidential candidates who may have been successful in obtaining a plurality of the votes in the several States.

For an individual member of the Electoral College to cast his vote for any candidate different from the choice of his party, while it would be perfectly constitutional, yet it would be regarded as so perfectly preposterous an act that it is probable that his vote would not be counted.

Public opinion would be stronger than the Constitution.

The British Parliament, the "Mother of Parliaments," seems to be following our Electoral College in the same course of degenerate evolution.

There was a time when a man elected to Parliament was expected to vote according to his convictions of what was right after having heard the issue debated in the House.

Today if elected as a Liberal or a Conservative he is expected to vote as his party leader indicates.

As a matter of fact the member is not allowed even to speak except by permission of the party leader. One member has just had the temerity to rise up in his seat and complain that during the whole of the last session he was not allowed to make one single speech.

Of course in our own House of Representatives the same evolution has also gone apace, but at any rate the member if not allowed to speak at least can get leave to have his speech printed as if read with interpolations of imaginary (loud cheers) applause which, as far as making a front to his constituents is concerned, is quite as effective and much less trouble than making the speech.

However much we may complain about the merging of all power into the hands of the House of Commons or into the Cabinet, it is in the natural order of things and it is something that cannot be prevented or avoided as long as the present system of private property continues.

The representative system has already passed away while we are debating whether it will live or not. A member of Parliament who simply votes as his leader tells him can by no stretch of the imagination be called a representative of his constituents.

The present system makes for efficiency and hence it is bound to survive, and those who would put us back to the days when there was a truly representative democracy, men like Belloc and Chesterton, are trying the impossible feat of turning back the hands of Time.

True, this declaration carries with it the admission that the hopes of the Socialist party to finally grasp the supreme power in the State by the orderly vote of a parliamentary majority is futile because such a majority would necessarily be determined the moment the election results were announced, and it is self-evident that the property-owning class would not calmly await the assembling of Parliament to see their property voted away as long as they were at the time de facto in control of the State and had the power to prevent such a vote by not allowing Parliament to assemble.

This may be, but if so, it is another story.

For my own part, I doubt very much if in America the capitalist class will even allow a strong *minority* of Socialists to be elected to our moribund and effete House of Representatives.

However, notwithstanding the Milwaukee result, with the facts of the wholesale selling of votes in poverty-stricken places like Adams County, and it is not a lone example of what the electors will do for present money in hand, I am in doubt if the capitalists have any great need of being in a hurry to determine upon a course of action when there are too many Socialists elected to Congress.

It is one thing to say that political action is the most efficient method of propaganda, and it's another thing to think that Socialism is to be introduced by a parliamentary majority in this country or any other country.

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ANY one who has lived in Canada—I did once because I had to—will never for a moment think that there is the slightest chance of Canadians being soon converted to the idea of being annexed to the United States.

In the first place the Canadians have a very strong national feeling as well as an intense fealty to Great Britain and the Empire. There is indeed exhibited more loyalty to the throne in Canada than there is in England itself.

The Canadians, it should also be remembered, are also largely descended from people whose forefathers were driven from the United States during the War of the Revolution because they were opposed to Independence, and the tradition of those days still remains anything but friendly to us.

Finally the Canadian Government, for all its forms of Royalty, is a far more responsive and democratic government in fact than our own Trust-ridden government, hide bound with its written constitution, and its irresponsible President with his active veto, and the Supreme Court with its additional veto, both active and irreversible. Not to mention our Senate of Millionaires which is a force for Conservatism quite lacking in Canada.

No, it's impossible to think of Canada being so unpatriotic or so foolish as to give up her individuality as a Nation in order to be dominated by the most autocratic plutocracy that the world has yet given birth to.

It's one thing to give Uncle Sam Reciprocity and it's quite another thing to marry him, especially when there is no chance of divorce.

Mexico, on the other hand, is almost sure to be sooner or later united to the United States. Taft is not quite so bad as Diaz.

I VERY rarely pay any attention to the individual delinquencies of our prominent politicians because I hold the theory that it's the social system which is fundamentally the cause of such departures. Moreover, when these individuals do go wrong it's not often easy to fix the guilt definitely and even when so fixed it has little or no effect upon the public estimation of the man.

For instance, it was proven by documentary evidence that Roosevelt, says the editor of the *Metropolitan Magazine* for February, when he wished to escape taxes swore he was not a resident of New York and a few months later when he wished to run for Governor he swore he was a resident. What difference did this exposure ever make to Roosevelt's popularity? None.

Now we have Ernest Poole in the February *American Magazine* telling how Louis D. Brandeis in his conduct of the Ballinger case proved that when Congress asked Taft for the documents in the matter which led him dismiss Glavis, that Taft sent Congress an important paper which he simply could not have seen when he dismissed Glavis, for the paper did not exist at that time.

The proof of such perfidy would ruin an English politician, whereas in this country it never causes a ripple. So what is the use of attacking our politicians? The people have no confidence in them, anyway, and it's wasted labor trying to remove what does not exist.

IT IS a significant fact that, until the entrance of a Socialist into Congress, the question of old age pensions was never publicly mentioned in that body as a matter of proposed legislation. To Congressman Victor L. Berger, Socialist representative from Wisconsin, has been left the initiative in this matter, and he has a bill prepared for that purpose for the next session of Congress.

The Berger bill provides that every wage earner over sixty years of age, who has earned less than $1,000 per annum and has been a citizen for sixteen years, shall be entitled to a pension of $12 per month. He estimates that about one million people would be included in the provisions of the bill and the yearly expense to the government therefore about $144,000,000, or slightly more than the sum now paid to military pensioners.

Berger contends that this sum is but a trifle compared to the vast and increasing annual expenditures on the army and navy, which while true enough, will hardly be considered an argument in its favor by its opponents, who in all probability will comprise the immense majority of members of Congress, both Republican and Democratic. We venture to predict, that if the bill can be introduced and discussed, the main objection will be its "un-American" character, and lack of harmony with our peculiar "institutions." The fact that Germany, France, England and other European countries have already enacted or propose to enact this legislation, will but accentuate this particular objection.

The policy behind the bill is a sound one. Besides being in the line of general social progress, it will give the Socialist movement much valuable publicity, when attention is called to the fact that it was left to Socialist initiative to propose it.

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The Proud Spirit of the Poor

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

O'GRADY, one of the Labor members of the House of Commons, offered an amendment to the King's speech to the effect that the House should express regret that no clause within the speech recited that it should be the right of the unemployed man to demand work from the State.

O'Grady, who is a Socialist and, strange to say, also a Roman Catholic, made an excellent speech in support of the amendment, calling attention to the fact that the present system of industry inevitably developed a reserve army of unemployed workmen, idle through no fault of their own. He said that inasmuch as this was practically admitted to be true by all parties, that it was but an act of humanity that this army should be either furnished the means of existence during such periods of unavoidable idleness or be gently put out of the way by a State lethal chamber. It was needless cruelty to slowly starve the army to death.

He was well supported by Clynes and Lansbury and other Labor members, but the amendment was one that was necessarily doomed to defeat because an acceptance of it would have meant the defeat and consequent resignation of the Liberal ministry.

It fell to the Right Hon. John Burns, Cabinet minister, to reply to O'Grady on behalf of the ministry.

Burns said that a right-to-work bill necessarily meant relief works instituted by the State, and that for workmen to rely upon relief work would destroy the "proud spirit of the poor."

O'Grady possibly did not make it quite clear enough that he intended that the workers should be guaranteed by the State the right of access to the land and the machinery of production, so that their co-operative labor might produce the food and clothing that they needed for their existence. It is certainly an economic truism that unless the State has such a plan of self-supporting co-operative work to rely on, that, as Burns says, the work the State must furnish in time of stress will necessarily partake of the character of "relief work," and relief work is admittedly but a form of charity.

However, even so, I doubt if there is any great danger of any breaking of the "proud spirit of the poor," simply because poverty itself is sure to have already broken the spirit. It is absurd to talk about the spirit of a poor man; he has none, proud or otherwise. Poverty and spirit are incompatible.

There was a time when Burns was not afraid of breaking the pride of the poor, when he led the dock strike. He then made a general levy upon the charitably inclined sympathizers to support the men while striking.

If there is one luxury a poor man cannot afford it is a proud spirit, and while from the economic side there may be much to recommend Burns's position, I see nothing from the psychologic side.

I think the sensible man, out of work, would chance filling his belly at the expense of losing his proud spirit. I would.

I doubt if Burns, with his $25,000 a year, thinks his proud spirit is broken by taking a job from the State.

THE English papers report that the most elaborate efforts were made to suppress in the American press any mention of Champ Clark's "inopportune" remarks in Congress to the effect that Canada would in time become a "part of the Republic." This is again an instance of how our press attempts to mould public opinion by coloring the news.

Those foolish Americans who pride themselves upon not forming their opinions from the editorials of our press because they read the news columns and then do their own thinking will some day get a shock. The difference between an editorial and a news item is merely that the editorial is *prima facie,* written by a liar, while the news item purports to be written by an unbiased man of truth. The managing editor has a closer watch over his *news* that he gives his readers than he does of his *views.* He knows they don't take his views seriously, whereas they may occasionally believe his news.

A Pointless Criticism

"Judging by the leading editorial of its January number, WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE (New York) labors under the hallucination that cities are not built on land, and that going 'back to the land' means going to the farm or the backwoods or the mines. Its editor might improve his economic perceptions by re-reading—no, by only just reading—the second chapter of the fourth book of 'Progress and Poverty,' wherein it is made pretty clear that, acre for acre, city sites are vastly more productive under appropriate use by labor than the most fertile soil."

The above criticism is from "The Public," a Single Tax publication edited in Chicago. It leaves our withers unwrung.

We don't know whether all the advocates of the "back to the land" panacea are single-taxers or not, but their propaganda literature leaves no doubt that the land they refer to means neither the city, the backwoods, nor the mines, but the farm. Such titles as "Three Acres and Liberty," "A Little Land and A Living," etc., etc., are themselves too plain to be mistaken. If the writers are really single-taxers, it seems to us that the recommendation to read chapter 2, book 4, of "Progress and Poverty," applies more fittingly to them than to the Socialist. As we agree with George in the superior productiveness of city land, acre for acre, we fail to see where any point is made. And as for the hallucination that cities are not built on land, we might possibly entertain it, if the rent collector didn't periodically discourage the formation of such an illusion.

Canada Reciprocity

The Reciprocity treaty may go through, it certainly has the best wishes of the great mass of the people of both America and Canada. However, in such matters it is not the mass that counts, the mass don't carry many guns, and what they carry are very light.

It's the fire from the heavy guns from the Trusts which counts. It so happens that apparently the Steel Trust is in favor of the bill, likewise the Harvester Trust, and these two interests should be enough to carry the day. The only opposition are the American farmers along the northern borders who don't want the Canadian competition, but farmers are not much of a political force nowadays.

Naturally the American newspapers are in favor of the treaty, for it means cheap Canadian wood pulp for their paper supply.

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The Socialist Ideal of Manliness

By ODON POR

MANLINESS under the competitive system means pugnaciousness. Manliness is an ability for fighting. A man is considered as manful when he can show some outward sign of a successful fight, like wealth or social position. Social circumstances have set man's mind in a direction in which he does not consider himself as living up to the notion of manliness unless he repays offense with offense. This attitude is the source of most obstinate prejudices that keep mankind in continual spiritual terror and bodily discomfort.

To crush and to destroy seems to yield, to almost everybody, a sense of personal satisfaction. Man is stimulated to fight and to carry his fight to a violent finish, by the social distinction which goes with victory. There is not much sympathy left for the defeated. To be defeated means to be declassed. Victory means ascendance in the social scale.

Modern man is preoccupied by the habit of victory. Even where a struggle is not conditioned by material circumstances he will rather choose the way of fighting than that of peaceful settlement. Fighting is regarded as a necessary factor in the game of life.

The romantic admiration paid to "hard fighters," and the tangible social advantages derived from a successful contest, have created a social morality which is most harmful in its consequences, for, fighting has come to be regarded as a deep human trait, an unavoidable passion, an integral part of manful personality.

The militant Socialist is a philosopher par excellence. His spiritual realm is in the future, his thoughts and feelings take such forms as if they were cast in the mold of the Socialist state of things. He judges people from the broad Socialist standpoint. When somebody has wronged him, he immediately sets his mind working to find out why the other person offended him, and realizing that he was hit by some material consideration, he will refer to the inevitable consequences of the capitalist system as the unavoidable reasons for the offense. When he is affronted by sheer pride in displaying power and superiority, he will ascribe it to the current social morality which his offender has fallen a victim to. He knows that this fighting morality operates despite the will of the man who abused him, that the offender, by virtue of his mode of living, could not but accept the morality of fighting.

When somebody has harmed the Socialist, by ignoring his merits and his vital interests, he once more will reach into the inexhaustible treasures of Socialist thought and will bring out another obvious justification for the unjust deed, he will say that the egotism of the other man was bred into him by his schooling, his environment and the economic competition in which he has to hold his own, and that it is far more easy and profitable to assert oneself, regardless of the interests and merits of the other fellow, than it is to do a work, yielding benefits for all concerned.

A Socialist, who takes such pains to discover the motives of the other man, will never pay back meanness with meanness, egotism with egotism, or fraud with fraud. He will try to avoid a disagreeable situation according to the Socialist code of honor. He will certainly refrain from the methods of the offender. His actions will seem, in the eyes of those who do not understand him, perhaps, effeminate and foolish. Those surely will call him a coward, whose notion of manliness is synonymous with the notion of pugnacity.

Our Socialist will not consider any mocking criticism. Those who stand outside of the range of Socialist thought never will grasp the spirit of the Socialist righteousness and the Socialist manliness. It takes more courage to act against one's own immediate interest by not repaying insult with insult. It takes more courage to face calmly the mockeries of the crowd than to fight brutally back. It takes more inward struggle, bitter, emaciating inner struggle, to reach a philosophical conclusion than to engage in a fist-to-fist fight.

One is not born a Socialist. It takes years and years of painful inward laboring to be reborn as a Socialist. Numberless acquired notions and prejudices must be erased, many old habits and attitudes must be thrown off, whole sets of unsocial passions must be downed, and an entirely new conception of life and living must be formed in one's consciousness before one begins to desire, to feel, and, most of all, to act, as a true Socialist. One may become a Socialist quite spontaneously, but it takes some time to wholly evolve the capacities enfolded in such a sudden mutation.

Though one may have arrived at this new Socialist conception, yet in every specially critical issue one is living the inward struggle over again, though this struggle may last but a second. The Socialist cannot act, always, quite unconsciously according to the Socialist attitude, because it is but negatively the product and calls for an entirely different organization of our material life. Under some circumstances this peculiar contradiction and conflict is more vitally felt by the Socialist and he has to fight within himself all the moral arguments rushing toward him from the actual world, and pressing against his conscience with immense material power. His shield against these forces is his Socialist consciousness, a mere conviction. He each time defeats matter, so to say. He defeats matter and its human representatives. Mutual consideration will become a quite unconscious attitude, when the material means of existence will be not only created, but also consumed and enjoyed socially.

But this moral victory of the Socialist is not proclaimed. No wealth, no higher position, no recognition of any kind is bestowed upon him as an outward sign of his victory. He, indeed, seems to be the defeated. He is defeated materially; spiritually, however, he is strong. He riveted another link to the chain which binds him to the future.

The Socialist form of fighting is a manly assertion in the highest sense. Assertion should be creative, never destructive. The asserting of the Socialist attitude is not merely individually creative, by establishing harmony within the Socialist who is asserting it, but it is socially creative as well, for it makes for peace amongst men, and makes, most effectively, for a new order of things. It is a manly assertion, though opposed to all current notions of manliness. It dares to bear humiliation and contempt, it dares to set itself against all prevailing powers. It is a manly assertion, because it expresses a decision which goes with a renunciation of all current honors and esteem.

When a man is solving a situation favorably to himself, then he will find many arguments for appeasing his conscience, and, though his decision be manifestly unjust, he will deem it honorable and manly to gain an advantage over another person. Deciding, however, against oneself,

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at the expense of one's own interest, prompted to do so by a moral principle, is undoubtedly a manly deed.

What is manliness after all? To do or to leave undone certain things, by setting your own forces against other forces. Manliness is, to hold on unshrinkingly, manly, to a set purpose. And the broader the aim for which we wage a manly struggle, the higher will be the quality of our manliness.

The Socialist aim is social. There is no broader scope. The manliness of the Socialist is as broad and as strong as the ideal he represents. But he is far from being a hero, he is merely a forerunner. Sooner or later, with the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth, everybody will unconsciously realize the spirit of the Socialist attitude. Indeed, under Socialism it will neither be advantageous nor compulsory to occupy another attitude. On the contrary, man's personal happiness will depend upon the degree of his sociability. In the future, to be social will mean to be successful.

Yet, the Socialist is not acquiescent. He is not inclined to give up his point. He does not believe in passive resistance, for, he is a man of action. Engrossed with the class-struggle, he merges his fighting power and his active resistance into the class-struggle. Here he is not obliged to fight any individual, he has neither to beat nor to kill anybody. The aim of his class-struggle is to socially benefit all.

With the increase in the number of militant Socialists, though this seems paradoxical, the dangers of wars and hurtful struggles are diminishing, for there is nothing brutal about the Socialist class-struggle. It is but the form, as determined by economic conditions, of man's struggle for a classless state of things.

The Socialist is not interested in his individual victory, therefore he seeks the social fight. All that he has to suffer from the attacks of individuals and from the evils of society, bring out in him a spirit of revolt. However, he realizes the futility of the eye-for-an-eye fight, and is forging collective weapons against the impersonal, collective evil.

Our socialist consciously disregards all personal offense. He well knows that if he were to indulge in personal petty fighting, he would impair the efficiency of his force, which he has enlisted in the collective battle. If he were indulging in personal retort, he never would make for social progress. The upright, manful class-struggle, with its organized and united forces, is, in the mind of the Socialist, the sole weapon wherewith to fight injustice and establish the realm of mutual consideration and mutual aid.

The Liars of the Press

HUGO MUNSTERBERG *in February "McClures"*

Is any one to blame? Certainly not the reporters. They are doing what the newspapers want. And certainly the newspapers are not to blame. They are doing what the public wants. And certainly the public is not to blame, for it does not take the matter seriously, but simply laughs about this heap of absurdities and gossip, of scandal and misinformation. And yet, is it really a tolerable situation? Where does it lead us? The newspapers themselves, and their reporters, must be constantly pushed forward on this downward path. The more the public finds out that most of the news is only half true or quarter true, the stronger must be the sensations created in order to hold the attention of the incredulous reader. The accents must become louder, the colors more glaring. The language of truth is not loud enough; it must be drowned by the noise of vulgar inventions. The immediate result is that the individual reporter must become more and more reckless; his boldness carries the day. He no longer reports events; he influences their course by turning the polite and moderate speech of a man into insulting attacks and violent statements, which naturally provoke heated replies. Instead of being the chronicler of his time, the reporter becomes, by the mere tricks of his trade, a demagogue who pushes public opinion in every matter to extremes. The public which has insisted on disregarding the editorials because it wanted to form its own opinion on the basis of facts must now see that it is faring much worse; the facts themselves become distorted in a way that makes the reader's own judgment a plaything of the reporter.

How does it work on the public? *Le roi s'amuse;* the public laughs. No one takes the trouble to correct any misstatement; no one defends himself, because every one instinctively feels that his neighbor does not take it seriously. It is amusing to hear the gossip, and to see even one's friends abused, and there can be no harm, as nobody believes any of it. But what is the social outcome? The necessary consequence is a universal state of indifference. The public becomes indifferent to the really important issues.

And with this goes an indifference to accuracy and correctness. If the average man is constantly reading pages and pages with the feeling that the writer does not care whether it was so or not, if he finds daily that the events of to-day prove that the reports of yesterday must have been incorrect and confused, his whole mental life loses the instinct for exact distinctions. If we always moved in the illumination of late twilight, the lenses of our eyes would lose their power of accommodation to sharp outlines. There can be no doubt that lack of accuracy is one of the most serious faults of our social mind. Our entire educational system suffers from its looseness. Children leave school without ability to be careful in their spelling and mental arithmetic. Instead of thoroughness, we have only dash, and all practical life is harmed by this carelessness. Can there be anything more dangerous than this systematic education for inaccuracy by the reading of misreporting newspapers?

And, finally, there must result an indifference to accusation which undermines public morality. If the reader becomes accustomed to see the sharpest accusations hurled against respectable persons, without any one feeling discomfited because no one takes it seriously, an ethical indifference must follow which is a most fertile soil for corruption and actual immorality. The work of the social reformer demands sincere criticism, but the important inquiries of the leading magazines have demonstrated that careful painstaking work is necessary to make such criticism valuable and helpful. The haphazard onslaught of hasty reporters, the sensational distortions and grotesque exaggerations of everything that may serve to stir up the reader, creates an atmosphere in which just accusation becomes ineffective. It becomes almost useless for serious investigators to study seriously actual social conditions, since the people have lost the power to discriminate between serious criti-

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cism and defamatory gossip. The time has come when a reaction must set in, when the public must insist on serious, accurate, significant information, and when the newspapers must stop the reckless reporter. If a complete overturning of our newspaper methods should take place, the better part of the population would be sincerely happy at getting rid of all this flimsy fabrication and cheap mass of trivial news. But the very first necessity is to recognize how badly we are served, and how that for which we are really striving is entirely taken out of our reach. A public opinion that laughingly allows itself to be constantly misinformed cannot be independent. It makes no difference whether it is misguided by a few great bosses or by ten thousand little reporter bosses. The case of the reporter has not yet found that attention which it deserves in the fabric of our public life.

The Banking Trust

Writing of the proposal to establish a central bank, the "International," a radical New York monthly edited by B. Russell Herts and Richard Le Gallienne, says: "The establishment of a central bank would place the control of all the deposits of the country in the hands of a coterie who receive their instructions from the offices of J. P. Morgan. * * * The idea would promote the tendency to put what Lincoln Steffens calls the "poor rich" class out of business. As it stands to-day all active promoters of any size are finally dependent upon the will of the redoubtable concern at the corner of Broad and Wall streets. But there are still some dozens of diminutive millionaires who go jogging along employing their own money in small enterprises without consulting anybody. These are never permitted to embark alone upon any scheme of national importance—they can never get sufficient loans—but their domination by the proprietors of Elbert Hubbard is not yet complete. The central bank is calculated to develop matters to the point of emasculating these middle-class millionaires and of dividing the population into two fairly distinguishable classes—kings of industry or multi-millionaires, and wage-earners or poor men. Under these circumstances the possessor of a "cool million" will be in such continual hot water, as to be forced, in order to conserve his capital, to convey it to the North Pole, or some equally retired atmosphere. Barring impediments in the form of some fundamental social change, it would only take a few generations to divide our entire population between the outrageously rich and the perfectly penurious."

The "International" sees "one hopeful probability in the whole affair," which is, that the people will vote on general principles against it.

Wilshire's disagrees. We can see nothing particularly hopeful in the attempt to prolong the expiring economic life of the "poor rich" class which the "International" itself recognizes as hopelessly doomed. There are yet "some dozens" of this petty element free-lancing in a small way in the financial world. Of what avail is it to attempt keeping them in the economic field? Already they have been reduced to "some dozens" without a central bank, and as their exit is certain anyhow, nothing is gained by delaying it. Let them be eliminated as soon as possible and the world will not have to wait "a few generations" for the "fundamental social change" alluded to by the "International." It is just such asininity masquerading under the name of conservatism that now stands in the way of the world's social and industrial progress.

Sir Charles Dilke

By Gaylord Wilshire

DILKE was the one man not definitely a labor member upon whom the labor members could always rely upon for sound advice, sympathy and support.

It was an unfortunate day when the puritanism of the English refused to allow Dilke his rightful place in the Liberal Cabinet. No one else in the Cabinet had the grasp either upon domestic politics or foreign affairs.

England is the only country which seems not to hesitate to throw her best men to the wolves upon account of their sexual aberrations. She has not in these days of keen international competition so many that she can afford to waste her Dilkes and Parnells.

Dilke's death was a surprise and a shock to all his friends. It was not many days ago when he and I lunched together and he then seemed in the best of health and spirits, in fact, he had just returned from a ride in the Park with Cunningham Graham.

Capitalism may be described as robbery of the workers, but the recognition that the majority of the latter consent to the robbery by voting for capitalism, should modify the definition somewhat.

Our government should have no difficulty in recognizing a republic in Portugal, when it has been so easily able to recognize one in Mexico.

Gold Returns of the Tassawini Mine. South American Gold Co.

Month.		
February, 1908	79	oz.
March, "	68	"
April, "	25	"
May, "	8	"
July, "	57	"
New plant erection	—	
Total for the year	237	"
January, 1909	137	"
February, "	426	"
March, "	323	"
April, "	502	"
May, "	733	"
June, "	1,052	"
July, "	977	"
August, "	615	"
September, "	655	"
October, "	534	"
November, "	372	"
December, "	440	"
Total for the year	6,466	"
January, 1910	157	"
February, "	538	"
March, "	308	"
April, "	160	"
May, "	310	"
June, "	241	"
July, "	88	"
August, "	219	"
September, "	372	"
October, "	224	"
November, "	75	"
December, "	247	"
Total for year	2,939	"

Grand total, ounces, 9,642, which at $17.50 per ounce makes $168,735, the worth of the gold bullion produced by the Tassawini mine from the day the machinery started, up to and including December, 1910.

Gold Bullion From Aremu

London, Feb. 14, 1911.

The fortnightly clean-ups from the Aremu Mine are as follows from March, 1910, to January 27, 1911:

Month:		
March	100	oz.
April	335	"
"	263	"
May	349	"
"	275	"
June	416	"
"	308	"
July	275	"
August	256	"
"	250	"
September	261	"
"	217	"
"	219	"
October	221	"
"	306	"
November	308	"
"	262	"
December	223	"
"	206	"
January	309	"
"	305	"
Total	5,664	

at $17.50 per oz. is $99,120.

The above amount of bullion was obtained. The extraction was only about 60 per cent. It will be increased to 95 per cent. by the new cyanide plant.

Gaylord Wilshire.

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A Letter From Eugene V. Debs

Waco, Texas, Jan. 30, 1911.

MY DEAR WILSHIRE:

For some time, since first I heard of your troubles, I have been wanting to drop you a line, but have had no chance. I know nothing about your mining affairs, but I do know you. If I were a miser and had millions I would entrust them all uncounted to you.

I do not think you have been wise in mixing Socialism and mining and inducing comrades to make investments in mining stocks, however certain you felt that you could make good, but I am not to judge you. As a general proposition I believe such a course is a bad one and in most cases I know anything about it has been fruitful only of very evil results. I know of some Socialists, aged and infirm, whose meagre savings of a lifetime have been swallowed up in schemes originated by Socialists and made to appear plausible and invested with seductive power by the magic there is in the appeal to Socialist comradeship.

But this is only incidental to the purpose of this writing. That you have acted in good faith all through I have not the slightest doubt, and if you have failed it is only after doing all that mortal could do in such a position to make good. I have not forgotten that when I was deep in distress and had scarcely a friend you came to me, a total stranger, and shared your substance with me, with a generosity that was all the greater because at the time I was not even a Socialist. I would be ungrateful, indeed, if I were capable of forgetting such an act on your part, under such circumstances, no matter what might have happened since of a nature to prompt your enemies to attempt to discredit you.

Nor have I forgotten that during the days of your prosperity you spent thousands upon thousands of dollars for Socialism. I never knew a man to spend as freely for the cause as you have done. If now you find yourself in difficulties growing out of business reverses or disappointments, Socialists ought not to forget that for twenty years your money was poured out freely to help the movement, and especially so at a time when such help was sorely needed to give the party its start in this country.

I know nothing of your actual situation except as I have read of it in the papers, and I earnestly hope it is not so bad as it is represented to be. If I were a man of means I would share my substance with you today as you shared yours with me sixteen years ago. I am in full sympathy with you, have absolute faith in your integrity, and hope with all my heart that you may yet weather the storm and come into port with your ship intact and your colors flying.

With love and loyalty to you and Mrs. Wilshire, I am,

Yours always,

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Bishop Creek

Copies of Letters From Socialists

R. J. HILLOCK, Johnstown, N. Y.

I have read your January number in regard to the New York *World*, and nothing pleased me better than to see them drop the case as they did, for it is an acknowledgment of their inability to prove any fraud. . . . With best wishes for the future.

Feb. 1, 1911.

JEFF A. CULLEN, 950 Rialto Ave., San Bernardino, Cal.

A few days ago I was shown a news item from the Los Angeles *Times* (which that old vulture had grabbed up as a luscious morsel because it was a fling at someone's character and incidentally a Socialist) about you and the Bishop Creek Aremu mine. Last September I took a notion to see the Bishop Creek Gold mine and spent two weeks of my time in doing so. I have been around mines of all kinds in the Rocky Mountains for the past twenty years and will say that in all the hundreds of mines I have seen I never saw one any better managed than the Bishop Creek mine. Now, most mines where two or three hundred thousand dollars are spent, there is always a great waste in buying machinery and tools that can not be used to the extent of several thousand dollars. At this mine I saw not to exceed $500 worth of material that was not suitable for the conditions there. And no man can tell by the ground on top how hard it is going to get fifty or sixty feet underneath; therefore the two light drills bought for the mine were found too small for heavy hard rock that was encountered. On the dump there must be five thousand tons of ore waiting for a mill. A hundred cords of wood all neatly piled, good houses for machinery and men. A good barn and large garden. What I call a model mine. I have nearly a thousand dollars in it and am sorry I haven't five times that amount more to invest. At Bishop I saw the stock belonging to the company: eleven head, including horses, mules and three cows, all in good condition and well taken care of in a good barn. Mr. Booth, the post office inspector, must have the disposition of a Pinkerton to act and write as he did, for I must frankly say I never saw its equal for a well managed mine from first to last. The company also owns several thousand horsepower in water rights that can easily be harnessed.

Feb. 7, 1911.

J. R. WHITE, Quitman, Texas.

I saw the *Social Democratic Herald's* version of the post office investigation, but as I had received a letter expressing your intent from you mailed before you "sailed," as they put it, I knew the whole thing was a tissue of lies. If I fail to see an apology from them soon, or if they fail to correct some of their false statements I will write them again and demand fair treatment. For one, I am willing that the proceeds of the mine, when it is equipped and makes good, be used to recover damages from the *World*.

Feb. 6, 1911.

ADAM HILZ, Milwaukee, Wis.

I notice they are after you about the Bishop Creek mine. I might say that two years ago I visited the mine (you can find my name cut in a tree near the office building) and I can truthfully state that I found everything exactly as you had advertised. I have the greatest faith in you, and if I had more money would gladly invest it in old Bishop.

Feb. 2, 1911.

E. M. RENAUD, Bishop, Cal.

I came to Bishop to look up and verify your statements about the Bishop Creek mine, and I found them as represented in every particular.

Feb. 3, 1911.

THOMAS ROWAN, 226 Gambier St., University Heights, San Francisco, Cal.

The postmaster in my district told me I was foolish to send you any money orders, as your mines were no good. However, although I had read the article in the 'Frisco papers, I did not credit his statement a bit. I know it is all a scheme of the post office to block your progress and try to make your mines a failure for lack of money, and make the people believe you are a Socialist crook. I wish you every success in your ventures.

Feb. 1, 1911.

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XV. No. 4 NEW YORK, APRIL, 1911 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

On the Mexican Frontier

WHILE the American public know little or nothing of the detailed reasons for the massing of thirty thousand troops on the Mexican border, there is an almost universal opinion that the move is dictated by threatened capitalistic interests, though just how is not positively known.

Mr. Taft's statement that the operation meant nothing more than "summer manoevers" was of course promptly recognized as the usual diplomatic lie, and as promptly discredited.

The belief that capitalistic interests in these days are practically the only reasons for war or the menace of war, is an unconscious absorption by the public, of a distinct Socialist position on this question, and may be rightly regarded as intellectual progress.

Whether the troops are being sent to crush the insurrection or aid it, perhaps matters little. In all probability they are there to act in view of "eventualities" without any definite attitude toward either the government or the rebels. If Diaz can preserve "law and order," that is, protect capitalistic property and assure the continuous production of dividends, they will merely patrol the frontier, prevent the "insurrectos" from receiving any aid from the American side and assist in their complete annihilation by turning them back in case the defeated remnants seek refuge on United States territory. Should the tide of battle, however, turn against the government, and the rebels can give what is considered an adequate guarantee for the safety of capitalistic property, nothing will be done to preserve the old régime from dissolution. And if in the course of events neither side can give satisfactory evidence of their ability in this direction, invasion will become imperative. At all costs, capitalist law and order must be preserved, whatever happens to any particular form of government.

It is not unlikely, too, that the prospect of war just now may be by no means distasteful to our ruling class. We have never really recovered from the industrial depression of 1907, and there has been no expansion of capitalist investment since then, or now in prospect, which promises a return of the "boom" years between 1900 and 1907. Just now, if war is to come, is perhaps the most desirable time, for an artificial stimulation of industry was never more needed than at present, from the point of view of the capitalist.

It need hardly be hoped that just because the majority of the American people recognize the capitalistic nature of the Mexican situation that they will refuse to provide cannon fodder in case the situation develops into a war with Japan. We have not progressed intellectually far enough as yet to act in that manner, despite the assurances of the press that we have reached the limit of our submission to Mr. Morgan. As the New York *World* says in a recent editorial on the massing of troops on the Mexican frontier:

> In the absence of satisfactory explanations the people are free to form their own conclusions as to what lies behind this masked proceeding. If their judgment shall be regarded by the President as severe, he has no one to blame but himself. We have submitted to a Morganized Wall Street, to Morganized industry and finance and to Morganized diplomacy. We shall not submit to a Morganized military and naval establishment or to a Morganized Monroe doctrine.

Brave words, to be sure, but we haven't noticed any particular determination on the part of the people that the army and navy shall not be used by Morgan and his associates. They may perhaps understand that the army and navy is being so used, but they haven't yet recognized that without Morgan & Co. the army and navy would have no reason for existence, and that if they can't be used by Morgan & Co. they can't be used at all.

The American people have stood for capitalism and they will stand also for the war that constantly accompanies it, despite the bluster of the *World*. They have no alternative, not having as yet reached the conception of Socialism that makes both Morgan and war impossible.

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IN a recent address regarding police interference with Socialist propaganda, Mayor Gaynor of New York in declaring for freedom of speech and assemblage made some very sensible remarks on the subject of the Socialist flag, which he stated to be an emblem of the brotherhood of man, and in no sense suggestive of violence or bloodshed. "That their flag," continued the Mayor, "is red instead of blue or yellow or green does not annoy or alarm intelligent people."

While we don't consider flags of any kind as matters of great importance per se, still Mayor Gaynor's explanation besides being correct was both appropriate and necessary, and he should be given due credit therefor. There are few people, however, who are really so unintelligent as to actually believe in the bloody significance of the Socialist red flag, but there are thousands who make that assertion as a pretext for assailing Socialism and Socialists. It is not so much a matter of intelligence as of intellectual honesty after all, and it often happens that an assumed ignorance is more expedient than intelligence to the opponents of Socialism. Mayor Gaynor is an intelligent man in many ways, but his honesty in this matter is much more noteworthy than his intelligence.

THE events in France which led to the resignation of Premier Briand furnish an excellent lesson to ambitious politicians who in the future may seek to use the Socialist movement as a stepping stone to public office.

Socialist parties of Europe have long ago agreed that no Socialist can accept any appointive political office from a capitalist government and still continue to serve the Socialist movement. The fall of Briand is but another instance proving the correctness of the position taken.

The acceptance of such a position means the abandonment of the class struggle theory, for the incumbent is bound to attempt the impossible task of harmonizing interests that are inherently antagonistic. There is nothing strange in the fact that Briand tried it and failed. It was exactly what might have been expected, and in fact was expected by the Socialists.

Briand's case is in many ways analogous with that of John Mitchell, who was recently forced to resign from the National Civic Federation, where he was being used as a "harmonizer" between labor and capital. Mr. Mitchell has been able to return to the union, however, while Briand has definitely ended his career with the Socialists of France, among whom the sense of separate class interests and class antagonism is much more developed than among the miners of this country.

THE Hague Conference, a tribunal which is supposed to arbitrate international disputes in the interests of peace, has just decided in the case of one Savarkar, a Hindu revolutionist, that a political refugee can be forcibly taken from a foreign country to which he may have escaped.

Savarkar, who was on his way from England to India in the custody of British police to stand trial for sedition, managed to escape from the ship in a French port. He was promptly handed back by the French police to his British custodians, and has been sentenced to life imprisonment since.

The radical elements of England and France and other countries raised such a disturbance over the matter that to preserve appearances the case was handed over to the Hague Conference for adjudication. It decided as above mentioned, law and international agreement to the contrary notwithstanding.

Possibly the only ground upon which the Hague Conference can excuse its disgraceful and infamous decision is that it was not really adjudicating a *dispute,* and that its decision was mutually satisfactory to both the French and English governments.

TWO years of strenuous work on the part of the Wainright Commission, assisted by a committee of trades-unionists and Socialists to establish as a law of the State a Workmen's Compulsory Act, has just been rendered futile by the usual "Unconstitutional" decision from the Court of Appeals to whom the employers had taken it.

It was enacted into a law and placed on the statute books last year and is now declared invalid because it deprives the employer of his property without due process of law, and therefore violates the Constitution—whose principal reason for existence is the maintaining inviolable of capitalistic private property.

The Socialists who co-operated with the Wainright Commission correctly anticipated this result at the time, and the decision of the Court of Appeals is no surprise to them. In all probability the members of the Wainright Commission also foresaw the result, though, of course, they did not publicly predict it. This leaves the trades-unionists as the only surprised element, and we believe Mr. John Mitchell has already voiced their disappointment in the press.

However, the result to them is a valuable lesson on the theme of "How Not To Do It." They overlooked the necessity of secur-

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ing power to keep the law on the statute books after it had been enacted. Had they reinforced their efforts by rolling up a vote for Socialism of two or three hundred thousand in the State—showing that they recognized the necessity of controlling the law-making power—the trained legal minds of the judges of the Court of Appeals would doubtless have been equal to the emergency of devising a method by which the law could have been declared constitutional.

If the trades-union members can learn from their disappointment the need of supplying this omission when they try again, the episode will not be without its compensatory features in the sense that knowledge is power.

FROM Indiana or some other portion of the central states comes a story of an ingenious hog-breeder who conceived the idea that by feeding his porkers on food specially prepared as a brain developer, they might be made to yield a better quality of hams and bacon. The experiment was tried and its success established by a verdict of experts who tested the product and declared it very much superior to the ordinary article from the uneducated hog.

We are not informed whether the hogs were sufficiently enlightened to protest against being transformed into food products themselves, but the inference is that the education given was not calculated to make that protest effective.

Most of the "brain-foods" recommended for human consumption are also of that character.

The education which the capitalists desire the working class to acquire is not unlike that given to the Indiana hogs, and is calculated to produce parallel results.

The "intelligent" American workingman, as the capitalist would have him, is the one whose intelligence is developed sufficiently to produce a superior amount of surplus value, but not far enough to protest when it is extracted from him. The Socialist workingman in this respect is a horrible example of over-education.

Still, over-education is a lesser evil than being eaten, whether you are a hog or a workingman. And there is also some consolation in the speculation that while it is doubtful that hogs can ever be sufficiently educated to enable them to save their bacon, it is different with workingmen. To avoid being eaten try Socialist brain food. It will succeed where "Grape-Nuts" fail. "There's a Reason."

Economics for Women

By Mrs. MARY OPPENHEIMER

LESSON IX—WOMEN IN THE PRESENT. Continued. Chap. VI. Pages 235-243.

During the last few decades and in all countries of civilization the economic life of society has assumed an uncommonly rapid pace of development. Our social relations have thereby been thrown into a state of unrest, fermentation and dissolution never known before. In the endeavor to do justice to the most opposite interests laws are heaped upon laws, but no old one is thoroughly repealed nor new one thoroughly enforced. Police, armies, courts of law, prisons, the whole administrative apparatus—all are enlarged and become ever more expensive. And yet neither external nor internal security is obtained, but rather the reverse. Gradually a large number of our municipalities are arriving at a desperate pass. They hardly know how to meet the increasing demands upon themselves. The budgets leap up from year to year for school buildings and street paving, for lighting, drainage and water works, for sanitary, public and educational purposes, for the police and the administration. Whatever the manner in which taxes are imposed the dissatisfaction increases. In the municipalities as well as the national field the need of a radical change is manifest. The struggle for existence in our economic life grows daily more gigantic. Profit is the sole regulator of human feelings. Demoralization and crime are heaped up and assume the most manifold forms. The ruling classes who do not probe matters to the bottom or do not wish to do so, seek to arrest the evil by punishing the product of conditions. Repressive measures, severe penalties and persecutions are deemed necessary.

LESSON X—WOMAN IN THE PRESENT. Chap. VI. Continued. Pages 243-255.

The basis of our modern state is the capitalist system of production. On it modern society rests. The capitalist buys the labor-power of the working man for the purpose of obtaining surplus wealth from the labor of the workers which he then pockets under the name of interest, profit, house and ground rent. This surplus wealth crystalizes in his hands into more capital, puts him in a condition to steadily enlarge his plant, improve the process of production and occupy increased labor forces. An unequal struggle between large and small capital spreads amain and as the cheapest labor power, next to that of children and lads, woman plays a rôle of increasing importance. Illustrations taken from the economic development of Germany. Overproduction and the crisis. Progress of capitalism in Japan, India, etc. The feature of our capitalist production is the concentration of property into ever fewer hands and into ever larger establishments. In distribution on the contrary an opposite current is noticeable. Whoever is stricken from the list of independent producers seeks, in nine cases out of ten, to squeeze himself as a dealer between the consumer and the producer and thus earn his livelihood. Hence the striking increase of the middlemen, dealers, hucksters, shopkeepers, etc. Most of these, among whom women are strongly represented, lead a life of worry and struggle.

CHOW.

By Grant Hervey in the *Sydney Bulletin*.

Mr. J. Havelock Wilson, general secretary of the National Seamen's Union, said that he must tell the Government that it was damned hypocrisy to howl about the Chinese in South Africa, and yet allow Chinese to be dumped into Great Britain. Drastic action had been taken in South Africa, but Chinese colonies were being founded in the chief ports of Great Britain.—(English papers.)

Are we dozin', are we dreamin'?
Far away, the British seamen
Rise and burst the heavenly welkin with a most almighty row.
Britain's ships are homeward veering,
'Tis the slant-eyed Chow that's steering—
Yea, the rich ship-owner person sacks the White Man for the Chow.

Oh! it's Chow, Chow, Chow—
Britain's sinking swiftly now,
And the anguished British sailor
Waxes just a trifle paler;
For his job has gone with Jonah
And his boss, the fat ship-owner,
Fills the fo'c'sle bright and early with the cheap and plenteous Chow!

Thus the Hempire's built and guarded—
Lo, the Briton is discarded,
And the Asian stink is mighty down in dirty Poplar now;
Shades of Nelson, Drake and Howard—
How the Chow has Bullward showered!
And the ships that fetch Bull's cargoes swap the white man for the Chow!

Aye, it's Chow, Chow, Chow,
What about the Saxon now?
For the seaman's job is going—
'Tis a dismal row he's hoeing,
And the prop of Britain's Navy
Sinks with Jones (whose name is Davy)
For the Owners earn their profits with the frequent, low-priced Chow!

Sailors' lives are bright and merry—
When they're in the cem-e-tery,
To the haggard joss of Cheapness doth the Cold Land make her vow;
"Only blessed Cheapness matters"—
So the Foreign-trader patters;
They will man the British Navy with the economic Chow.

Yea, the Chow, Chow, Chow—
He will show the Germans how.
'Tis a land that's mad and doting,
But the rich ship-owner, gloating,
Sacks the white man for the fellow
Who is very cheap and yellow,
And we find the Empire's bulwarks just consist of common Chow!

In the bitter days of battle,
When the big twelve-inch guns rattle,
Bull may curse the low-priced joss that he so madly worships now;
When his ships are sorely smitten,
Will the Chow defend old Britain?
He'll regret the British sailors that he bartered for the Chow!

Hail the Chow, Chow, Chow,
Britain's snagged in earnest now,
For the same old Creed of Cheapness
Leadeth swift to Ruin's steepness;
And the British sailor, swearing,
Sees the Empire graveward tearing,
While the stench goes up in Shoreditch from the numerous heathen Chow.

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Wants the Light Turned On

We reprint the following article from the pen of the editor of the *Woman's National Daily* of St. Louis, Mo.:

"JUDGE" R. P. GOODWIN.

By E. G. Lewis.

Judge R. P. Goodwin is the law clerk of the department of justice detailed to the postoffice department as its attorney and head of the postal spy system. He is, therefore, the head of the postoffice department's department of injustice. Any man, woman or institution in America can be deprived of the use of the mails (which is a "privilege" in this country) by Goodwin, or any publication suppressed in the same manner without even a hearing in their own defense, and no court in America can review his mandates. This man has a greater power than the head of the secret spy system of Russia. On secret "evidence" never known to the victim and given by secret accusers, millions of dollars of property are confiscated and destroyed, men and enterprises ruined, and all the public hears of it is that the postoffice inspectors under Goodwin have "suppressed another fraud." The victim's side of the matter is never heard, because no court can give him a hearing. Any magazine publisher daring to tell the truth of these matters would be hounded out of business. Judge Goodwin orders the inspectors to "investigate" whomever he pleases.

Until we got into the ring with this infamous system, Judge Goodwin's brother, the brother of this unreviewable judge who proclaimed himself as an "eminent federal lawyer," promptly offered his "services" to the victims ordered "investigated," at a schedule of prices nicely fitting the supposed offenses under investigation. We broke that up and exposed the matter to Cortelyou. Later, when Congress had adjourned, our magazines were suppressed with a scratch of the pen by Cortelyou. Two magazine properties having the largest circulation in the world, valued at millions of dollars, were suppressed without even a hearing for daring to tell the truth and refusing to shut up about it. It took nine months before we could get them back into the mails, and then they were completely ruined and a loss of millions of dollars had been put on us. Meantime the country had been flooded with pamphlets printed at public expense by Goodwin trying to justify this outrage by adding deliberate misrepresentation to it. We set about building up again the ruined business, but every step we have taken in all the years since has been hounded by Goodwin and the power he wields. Too cowardly to again attack us openly, according to the publisher of the Rural New Yorker, he has used him and his paper as an assassin's means of revenge.

We ask only to openly face this man and those behind him *before Congress.* We know that the terrible machinery of a great government is in his hands to drive us to ruin and, if possible, even to railroad me to the penitentiary; that hundreds of thousands of dollars of the people's money will be used as it was before in the effort to accomplish this; but the issue is now sharply defined and up to the people of this country.

Why does Goodwin and his department fear and so desperately fight against our having an open hearing before Congress?

Why is the whole power of the postoffice department used to prevent it?

Why does he and those with him fear an open investigation when for five years we have invited and submitted to endless investigations and have just put up ten thousand dollars to *pay* for an open investigation and audit of every concern we are connected with by public sworn expert accountants?

Help turn the daylight into these matters. Write President Taft and your Congressman. The open charges made in this article demand that President Taft see that they *are* openly investigated, and Congress will do well to do the investigating rather than leave it to its coming successor.

We openly charge Goodwin:

With an attempt to influence a federal judge in the midst of our trial;

Of using his power and office for personal revenge and persecution;

Of his brother's complicity in the traffic in "fraud orders";

Of lawless abuse of his power;

Of not daring to stand for an open meeting with his victims, who dare not tell their stories, being already ruined, for fear of swift and resistless revenge.

We charge that such an investigation guaranteeing protection would reveal corruption, oppression, graft and crime in Goodwin's department, and that of the system under him that would smell to heaven before the civilized world. He and those with him *do not dare* to ask for such an investigation.

We charge that because we exposed the plundering of the postal revenues of tens of millions of dollars by the express trust, demanding that the postal officials enforce the statutes prohibiting the express companies from carrying any mailable packet under four pounds in weight over any postal route, and when the officials refused to act we brought suit for the people, we and our institutions were marked for ruin and silence and the job given to Goodwin to do.

These things and more I charge, and I demand as an American citizen that I be not assassinated by indictment on secret evidence supplied by secret witnesses coached by Goodwin's emissaries or poisoned by his ally, but that having once passed through such an ordeal, suffering ruin and years of ignominy and then being vindicated when finally faced in the open daylight by my accusers, this time President Taft or Congress guarantee an open, fair investigation and hearing *first,* and I charge and demand these things in the name of the Constitution of these United States, which guarantees to every man freedom of speech and an open trial in his own defense before his property is confiscated and himself destroyed.

In the next article I will tell something of the source of Goodwin's power and why he holds his office fastened to its seat with express wax, and why the Rural New Yorker is protected by Goodwin in violating the postal laws in the effort to destroy our institutions.

I will sign this at the bottom as well as the top, so that there can be no question of who wrote it.

E. G. Lewis.

While foreign investments in Mexico are safe and profitable, those who benefit by them can easily afford to overlook the slavery and despotism by which they are secured.

As the majority of the American people still retain an interest in being humbugged, Trust prosecutions during the year will be staged with more sensational features than ever before.

It may be somewhat easier to jail a Socialist editor than a Trust magnate, but there is no difference in the results either to Socialism or the Trust.

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London "Truth" Makes Reparation

ON March 1st, London *Truth* published an article on the Wilshire mining enterprises, repeating in general terms the charges recently made by the New York *World*. The attention of the editor being at once called to the misrepresentation, the article printed below appeared in the next issue of *Truth*:

SOCIALISM AND STOCK-JOBBING.

(From London *Truth*, March 8, 1911.)

Mr. H. M. Hyndman, of 9, Queen Anne's Gate, has sent me the following letter with reference to the article on "Socialism and Stock-Jobbing" in last week's *Truth*:

I have always made it a rule never under any circumstances to combine Socialism and money matters. I have also, as you intimate, nothing to do with Mr. Gaylord Wilshire's business, though he is a friend of more than twenty years' standing. Nevertheless, before taking offices at this address last October he called my attention to many of the statements about his enterprises, which you now print, and suggested that I should examine into them. I did so, and I became convinced from the reports and evidence which I read that, although Mr. Wilshire had certainly been over-sanguine and had miscalculated the amount of time and money required to develop his properties, those properties were in themselves good. At the present moment he is engaged in a vigorous endeavor to put these mines into such shape that all who have embarked money in the ventures shall have no reason whatsoever to regret their investments, and in this I believe he will succeed.

I have also received a letter from Mr. Gaylord Wilshire, together with a number of papers relating to his mining enterprises. The letter itself is too long for publication, but I will endeavor to give as fairly as possible its salient points. In the first place, he says that according to American custom the Bishop Creek Gold Company's shares were not sold at their par value of $5, but at 50 cents; "hence the issue of the 4,000,000 shares represents only £400,000 actual capitalization," and "those paying 10s 5d received a bonus of four shares." A sum of over £65,000 has, he says, actually been expended upon development work. As to the inquiry by the United States Post Office regarding the use of the mails for the selling of the company's stock, Mr. Wilshire says that that department has been harassing him, as well as other Socialist editors, for many years past. He adds that the inspector sent out to Bishop Creek did not go within eighteen miles of the mine, but after interviewing some of the leading citizens at Bishop who are well acquainted with it, he made a report "conceding the value of the property," though (according to the New York *World*) he considered that Mr. Wilshire had exaggerated it. The mill to which reference was made was not erected, Mr. Wilshire explains, because it was thought wiser to proceed with development work. Mr. Wilshire offers to pay the expense of having a report made upon the mine by any London mining engineer of note whom *Truth* may designate as its representative; but I do not propose to call upon him to incur this expense—more especially as he furthermore says that there is not the slightest intention of selling Bishop Creek shares to the British public. With regard to the British Guiana mines, he states that both have been in profitable operation for over a year past, and proceeds:—

However, both mines are working at a disadvantage, and need further capital for adequate equipment, but no proposal of any kind will ever be made to the British public except over the report of well-known London engineers, with titles authenticated by highest possible authorities, and the organization incorporated under the English Company Act, with a London board of directors.

In addition to his first lengthy letter Mr. Wilshire has favored me with a series of supplementary communications, but there are, I think, only two further points which I need mention. He says that his "I do not remember" statements respecting the sales of Bishop Creek stock were not made in court or under oath, but in answer to objectionable and prying questions put to him by the plaintiff's attorney. As to the newspaper advertisement of the Aremu stock, it suggested that the dividend would be at the rate of 24 per cent. per annum upon the then purchase price of the stock, not its par value, and the reference to four months was qualified by another in regard to the cyanide plant being in operation.

It is, of course, with the interests of the British investor that I am primarily concerned, and, as I indicated last week, although some Bishop Creek shares were sold here three or four years ago, the bulk of them have been disposed of by Mr. Wilshire in America, largely through the medium of his Socialist periodical, *Wilshire's Magazine* Recent statements in other American Socialist publications have certainly suggested that Socialists who purchased the shares are dissatisfied with their investment. On the other hand, Mr. Wilshire himself still expresses unbounded confidence in the value of the property. Mr. Hyndmann remarks that Mr. Wilshire has been over-sanguine in the past, and that is undoubtedly true. It is to be hoped that he is not over-sanguine now, but that he really will succeed in his efforts to put things right.

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COLLIER'S WAY

COLLIER'S
The National Weekly.
416 West 13th St.
New York.
Editorial Rooms.

February 14, 1911.

Dear Sir: We thank you very much for sending us the copy of Wilshire's for January, 1911. I do not understand that as yet the mines you are promoting have made any returns to stockholders. If I am wrong, I should be glad to know it and to make whatever corrections of our statement are called for.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) J. M. OSKISON.

MR. GAYLORD WILSHIRE, 9 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W., London, England.

February 24, 1911.

Editor Collier's, New York.

Dear Sir: I have yours of the 14th instant; you ask if the mines I have been promoting have made any returns to the stockholders; I would reply yes, the South American Gold Company paid one dividend last year and has produced gold bullion of over $168,000, as stated in *Wilshire's* for January, and is to-day operating and producing.

However, I would say that inasmuch as I am frankly selling stock in my two principal mines, the Bishop Creek and the Aremu, for the express purpose of equipping those two mines to the point where they can pay dividends, it is manifestly not particularly a pertinent criticism to say that they have not paid as yet. True, it is, however, that the Aremu mine has produced to date since last March over $110,000 gold bullion, but until I get the plant enlarged and further developed with the capital I am now seeking it will not be a dividend payer.

As for Bishop Creek we have no mill there and of course it can produce nothing till we get one, it is, however, developed now to the point where a mill is justified. No one questions the value of Bishop Creek as a mine, even Booth, the Post Office inspector who went out there to inspect, now admits that the mine is all right, but that the financing was bad. He might have found out about financing in New York without troubling to go to Bishop.

If you are in any doubt about the value of Bishop Creek I will agree to pay the expense of sending out any engineer whom you may select to make a report if you will agree to publish the report he makes with the rider that the said engineer was selected by Collier's. In fact, I would not mind paying you advertising rates for the insertion in your columns of your own report.

It is the inuendo of your article that is objectionable, and it's hard to *correct* an inuendo; the statement that I have received $3,250,000 is a gross exaggeration, but even if true would not be objectionable in view of the fact that I claim to have three valuable gold mines.

Faithfully yours,
GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

SYSTEMATIC SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN AMONG WOMEN

(Woman's National Committee, 180 Washington St., Chicago.)

The Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party is preparing for an active campaign among the women throughout the United States.

They have prepared a series of twelve monthly programs, which will serve either as a lesson for home study, or for a public propaganda entertainment.

These programs consist primarily of a brief lecture, especially prepared for this work by Anna A. Maley, Woman's National Organizer. About this lecture as a center are grouped songs, recitations, and readings, selected from the best Socialist literature. Each month leading Socialist writers will contribute articles upon the subject under discussion, and these will be printed in the Socialist papers.

To assist in this educational work among the women, the Woman's National Committee has prepared special leaflets for free distribution, not only at these public entertainments, but from house to house. Each of these leaflets appeals to a distinct portion of the working-class women. One leaflet appeals directly to the girl in the workshop and factory; another to the teacher; another to the housewife, the domestic servant, the woman on the farm, and so on. In this way, hundreds of thousands of women will be reached during the next year.

Every Socialist local is vitally interested in this special campaign among the women. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party is sending out thousands of notices to the party membership, calling their attention to this activity among the women, and urging their hearty support.

From the Manager of the Bishop Creek Mine.

Cripple Creek, Colo., Feb. 5, 1911.

Mr. Paul E. Lodge, Bishop, Cal.

My Dear Mr. Lodge:—Your valued favor of the 26th, also papers, at hand. No; I have not happened to get hold of any papers that contained articles on the Bishop Creek Mine. Well, Paul, I have this to say about it all: The mine bears excellent promise and will some day, if properly handled, become one of California's good producers. You will know that no one has been in a better position to see for himself and judge its present conditions and merits than I have, as I had an assayer and every other available assistance with which to determine as the development progressed what we had or were passing through.

I am fully satisfied in my own mind that a most critical examination by any competent mining man or expert will bear me out in the above assertion. This may seem pretty strong talk, but the ore is there and the development convinced me that it goes down. What more can you ask for? I most sincerely hope that Mr. Wilshire will be able to get things moving this spring.

Very truly yours,
J. S. CHAPMAN.

From a Man Who Personally Examined Bishop Creek.

Clearwater, Idaho, Feb. 12, 1911.

Dear Wilshire:—Your letter of Jan. 24th came about the same time that I received the January issue of your magazine. I am glad, for your sake as well as my own, that you can see clear sailing ahead. The coyotes are yelping at my heels all the time, because I stand up for you and stoutly maintain that you are an honest man. They tell me that you are using my name to fleece the comrades so much more easily. And I confess that I was a little disappointed when you did not prosecute Morgan for his slur, because I felt that I was being injured by the muckrakers and that many comrades were beginning to look askance at me. However, as I have nothing whatever to do with the management of your mining enterprises, do not know anything about them, have had no other connection but that of a practical miner with you, and do not own any of the stock in your mines, I concluded that my championship of your character as a man and a comrade could not possibly be interpreted by any jury of comrades as a scheme to defraud any comrade. So I came to your conclusion, namely, that the coyotes are not worth the notice. Joe Wanhope strengthened me in this resolution by a recent letter which he wrote to me in reply to my inquiry as to how matters stood. You may rely on my loyal comradeship the same as ever.

With kindest regards to yourself, Leff and friends,

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

You are at liberty to *use* this publicly.

The Norwegian government loans money through an agency called the Bolig Bank, for the purpose of building working men's homes in the city of Stavanger. The result has been highly beneficial, the tendency to congestion in the city being diminished, while the city itself has spread over a much larger area than before. In the last twelve years the increase of population has been 28½ per cent., the most rapid growth being in the last three years, while in the same time the area of the city has increased 64½ per cent.

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WAGE EARNING WOMEN

A COMPACT little volume from which a large amount of useful information can be derived regarding the conditions obtaining among women in modern industry, is Annie Marion MacLean's "Wage Earning Women," which is issued by the Macmillan Company. The volume contains studies on women in the paper, shoe and textile industries of New England; in the clothing trades and department stores of New York and Chicago; in New Jersey silk and pottery districts; the coal fields of Pennsylvania, the factories of the Middle West, and the hop and fruit industries of Oregon and California.

The book ends with two chapters recounting the methods by which Social Settlements, working girls' societies, employers' welfare work and the Young Women's Christian Association are striving to raise the general level of industrial conditions for women, the final chapter being devoted to suggestions for still further improvement along similar lines.

It is perhaps needless to say that all that has been done or can be done by such agencies seems pitifully inadequate when measured against the power and interests of the system which has taken woman from the home and forced her to struggle for an existence in the competitive wage market. And of course there is not, as might naturally be expected, the slightest hint of the value of Socialism to wage earning women, though labor legislation and a shorter workday and higher wages are advocated as necessary and desirable.

Nevertheless, the work contains in a handy and accessible form much of interest and value to anyone wishing to make a study of the question from whatever standpoint. The reports of factory conditions are full and at the same time concise, and the work is plentifully supplied with tables giving a copious supply of information of all kinds relative to the women workers of the country, while there is also a bibliography of magazine articles extending over seventeen years, which deal with some special phase of the subject.

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* WAGE-EARNING WOMEN. By Annie Marion MacLean, Ph.D. Cloth, 198 pp. $1.25 net. The Macmillan Co., New York.

THE CONFLICT OF COLOR. By B. L. Putnam Weale. Cloth. $2.00 net. The Macmillan Co., New York.

Whether the white races will maintain their present supremacy over the black, yellow and brown, is the subject discussed by Mr. Weale, who brings to the task all the ability and comprehensiveness required from a student of world politics. The question is exhaustively discussed from every possible point of view, the general conclusion being that unless a solution is speedily found, a world revolution will ensue that will fundamentally change the social and industrial fabric of civilized society, a conclusion that will be generally acquiesced in by Socialists, for other reasons as well as the existence of racial problems. It is remarkable how to-day the investigations of world questions by political and sociological students invariably lead to this as the final stage. It is the spectre that looms up before the investigator of militarism, the world market and the Trusts also, all of which are inseparably bound up with the racial and other great world problems. Mr. Weale regards the race question as one in which the British Empire is predominantly interested in view of the fact that it dominates the political future of some three hundred and fifty millions of black, brown and yellow peoples. The work is exceedingly instructive though somewhat difficult to follow, owing to the multiplicity of angles from which the presentation is made, but the trained reader will have no difficulty in making a synthesis of the contents.

BOOKS RECEIVED

CHRIST'S SOCIAL REMEDIES. By Harry Earl Montgomery. Cloth, 433 pp., $1.50 net. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

THE PATHWAY OF ROSES. By Christian D. Larson. Cloth, 360 pp., $1.50. Progress Co., Chicago, Ill.

YOUR FORCES AND HOW TO USE THEM. By Christian D. Larson. Cloth, 329 pp., $1.50. Progress Co., Chicago, Ill.

INGERSOLL: A BIOGRAPHICAL APPRECIATION. By Herman E. Kittredge. Cloth, 545 pp., $2.00. The Dresden Publishing Co., New York.

OSRU: A TALE OF MANY INCARNATIONS. THE HISTORY OF A SOUL. By Justin Sterns. Cloth, 197 pp., $1.00. The Theosophical Publishing Co., 253 W. 72d Street, New York.

OUR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RELATIONS. By John F. Reihl. Paper, 31 pp. Distributed by the Author, Seattle, Wash.

THE AVERAGE MAN. By Henry Dumont. Paper, 52 pp., 15 cents. In cloth, 50 cents. Merle B. Haver, Publisher, 180 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

MONEY AND CURRENCY. By D. W. Ravenscroft. Paper, 47 pp., 50 cents. Published by the Author at Petaluma, Cal.

NEW IDEALS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SOCIAL SERVICE. By Clifford Kingsley Read. Paper, 31 pp., 25 cents. The Wesley Brotherhood, Publishers, Ridgefield Park, N. J.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By Karl Marx. Cloth, 314 pp., $1.00. C. H. Kerr & Co., Publishers, Chicago.

ONE BIG UNION. By W. E. Trautmann. Paper, 32 pp., 10 cents. C. H. Kerr Co., Chicago.

The C. H. Kerr Co. have also issued new editions of Spargo's "Common Sense of Socialism," Cloth, $1.00, and "The Communist Manifesto," Paper, 10 cents.

SCIENCE AND HEALTH. By Bruce Calvert. Paper, 32 pp., 25 cents. The Open Road, Griffith, Ind.

THE FASTING CURE. By Upton Sinclair. Cloth, 153 pp., $1.00. Mitchell Kennerley, Publisher, New York.

THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA. GETTING MARRIED, AND THE SHEWING UP OF BLANCO POSNET. By George Bernard Shaw. Cloth, 443 pp., $1.50. Brentano's, New York.

WHEN GOD LAUGHS. By Jack London. Cloth, ??? pp., $1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

THE NEW MACHIAVELLI. By H. G. Wells. Cloth, 490 pp., $1.50. Duffield & Co., New York.

INDIVIDUALISM. By Warner Fite, Ph.D. Cloth, 301 pp., $1.80 net. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

THE LABOR AMENDMENT: OUR NEXT GREAT JOB. By Alexander Schlesinger. Cloth, 222 pp., $1.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Sword of His Ancestors

Speaking recently at a Tory meeting in England, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, owner of extensive landed property, warned the Radicals of the danger of taxing his class too heavily. He declared that "if landlords were compelled to suffer much longer owing to the imposition on them by the Radical Government of extra taxes the time might arise when they would have to fight for their rights, and he would not hesitate when that time came, to use once more the sword presented to Sir John Owen, an ancestor of his, for risking his life for principles."

No particular alarm appears in the Radical press over this dire threat. Mr. Ormsby-Gore is descended from a very old family whose coat of arms represents a mailed fist pulling another man's leg, with the motto: "In this sign shalt thou conquer." This may be one reason, perhaps, for the indifference of the Radicals to the menace.

Census returns invariably show a drift from the rural to the urban districts, which is curious, considering the number of economic wiseacres who for the last ten years have been ordering the population "Back to the Land."

That proposal to dissolve the Sugar Trust can at least be defended on the ground that it is the duty of a government to provide harmless amusement for its people.

After the Window Glass Trust had been officially dissolved and declared nonexistent it came to life again long enough to reduce the wages of its employees thirty per cent.

Victor Berger goes to Congress as a representative of one of the great interests—in fact the greatest interest of all—the interest of the working class.

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THE NEW MACHIAVELLI. By H. G. WELLS. Cloth, $1.50 net. Postage, 12 cents.

Universally admitted to be the masterpiece of this celebrated author.

MAITLAND VARNE. A Socialist novel by a recent clerical convert to Socialism, REV. DUBOIS H. LOUX. Cloth, $1.50 net. Postage, 12 cents.

SOCIALISM AND SUCCESS: A SERIES OF UNINVITED MESSAGES. By W. J. GHENT. Cloth, $1.00 Postage, 8 cents.

Mr. Ghent's work is both critical and scholarly, and his essays in this volume are certain to stimulate interest and attention.

IMPORT AND OUTLOOK OF SOCIALISM. By NEWTON MANN. Cloth, $1.50 net Postage, 12 cents.

The work of Mr. Mann is faultless in style, and highly instructive both as to contents and the intellectual attitude of the author.

THE LABOR AMENDMENT—OUR NEXT GREAT JOB. By ALEXANDER SCHLESINGER. Cloth, $1.50 net. Postage, 8 cents.

A volume relating to the vexed question of the attitude of Socialism to the Trade Unions.

THE CHASM. By GEORGE CRAM COOK. Cloth, $1.50 net. Postage, 12 cents.

Upton Sinclair, a most capable book reviewer, gives his opinion of Mr. Cook's work in the present issue of WILSHIRE'S.

BARBAROUS MEXICO. By JOHN KENNETH TURNER. Cloth, $1.50. Postage, 12 cents.

In view of the present situation in Mexico this book is of special interest just now. It is complete, in containing the chapters which were discontinued in the *American Magazine* recently.

THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE. By REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN. Cloth, $1.50 net. Postage, 12 cents.

The most vivid picture of the "White Slave Industry" ever written.

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XV. No. 5 NEW YORK, MAY, 1911 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

State Insurance in England

SOCIAL reform in Great Britain, in connection with Lloyd George's latest plan for a universal insurance of working people against sickness and unemployment, is proceeding at a pace undreamed of five years ago, and is certainly calculated to astound and alarm the conservative and propertied classes of the kingdom.

While in this scheme five-eighths of the funds are provided by the employers and the State and the remaining three-eighths by the workers, it is expected that the contribution of the State will increase from $12,500,000 during the present year to nearly $38,000,000 by 1916. And this sum can be procured in no other way than by increased taxation of the property-holding classes.

The expected increase may be confidently predicted from the experience with the old-age pension fund, which, though not much over a year in operation, requires an ever-increasing amount to carry through its provisions.

It is a point worth noticing that all the sops of this kind thrown to the British working people of late years have but increased their appetite for more. The more that is conceded the more it seems is demanded. Concurrently with Mr. Lloyd George's plan came a demand before the house of Commons for a minimum wage of thirty shillings per week throughout the kingdom, and many other demands of like nature are being prepared for submission to that body.

Those Socialists who imagine that mere concessions from the capitalists will satisfy the workers and blunt the edge of their demand for Socialism, can certainly find nothing in the experience of Great Britain to justify their contentions in this respect.

Thirty years ago, Bismarck brought forward his schemes of insurance and other palliatives in order to divert the attention of the German workers from Socialism, and how completely it failed of its avowed purpose, the steady growth of German Socialism amply testifies. With all this, WILSHIRE'S is by no means prepared to recommend that Socialists should lay aside their work of propaganda to devote their time and energy to such schemes as those of Lloyd George. On the contrary, it is clear enough that the spread of Socialist propaganda is itself the most powerful factor in compelling these concessions from the propertied classes. The best way to get crumbs is evidently to keep on demanding the entire loaf.

It should not be forgotten either that reform crumbs are often disappointing, and fall far short of the effect intended. It is practically certain that the British employing and propertied classes will endeavor to recoup themselves for the added taxation by a general attempt to reduce wages, an attempt which, if successful, would simply nullify the expected effect of Mr. George's reform. In fact, while the competitive wage system exists, it is fairly certain that all reform of this kind will be largely futile. What the bourgeoisie gives with one hand it is almost sure to take away with the other. The idea of increasing the share of the poor by the taxation of the rich does not work very well while wages afford a margin that can be cut into.

As the New York *World* says in an editorial criticism of the scheme:

> If it alleviates misery and lightens the burdens of the poor, it will be money well spent, but Great Britain must be prepared to bear heavier taxes as requital for its philanthropic endeavors to better social conditions. The taxes must come from somewhere, and as a rule they have a way in the end of bearing hardest on the poorer classes who are now about to be relieved through new measures of taxation.

This is about as clear an admission of the ultimate futility of "social reform" as could well be imagined.

But even so, the alarm of the conservative and propertied classes is well founded. It is the fact that the demand for "more" is being insistently repeated by the workingclass Oliver Twist, that is the real ground for apprehension. And if, as the *World* declares, the cost of the reform can be thrown upon the poorer classes, there is nothing

(*Continued on page 4.*)

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Vol. XV MAY, 1911 No. 5

THAT definition of gratitude as a lively sense of favors to come, is well illustrated in the changed attitude of our American capitalists toward President Diaz, the "great and good man who made Mexico." All the eulogies which for years filled the capitalist press have disappeared, and the best they can give Mr. Diaz now is that "he owes it to himself and Mexico" to get down and out—to "beat it"—vamoose—Pronto!

Now there are none so grateful as to do him reverence of any kind. His past services are forgotten. Unlike "Poor Joe," that pathetic character in the Dickens novel who periodically visited the grave of his benefactor because "'E wos good to me, 'e wos," his one time beneficiaries are now dominated by the more practical consideration that he can't be "good" to them any longer. Like the shrewd countryman who attended the horse-fair with a view to purchasing, they "don't want a has-been, or a goin'-to-be. What they want is an izzer," and Madero—or at any rate somebody who isn't Diaz, seems to be "it."

Less than a year ago Porfirio Diaz was to them the one man who stood between Mexico and revolution and chaos. Now he is universally regarded as responsible for bringing revolution.

He held down Mexico in their interests for thirty-one years, and now goes down and out before a revolution that has not lasted six months. Whether the "catastrophic theory" has any place in social revolutions, may perhaps be an open question, but, taking Mexico as an illustration, it will hardly be contended that it isn't possible in political ones.

WHAT appears to be in some sort a repetition of the famous Moyer-Haywood case of five years ago is being set before the public in the recent arrest of several union men, officials of the Structural Ironworkers' Union, on the charge of having destroyed with dynamite the office of the Los Angeles *Times* last October.

The initial move, which according to the labor unions consisted of the practical kidnapping of the accused men from Indiana to California, was, as in the Moyer-Haywood case, carried out by a private detective agency. And again as in that case, Mr. Roosevelt has repeated his stunt of publicly denouncing the labor officials who are coming to the defence of their fellows. To follow the parallel still farther, the press, ever since the arrest, has been consistently engaged in promoting the impression that the accused are guilty.

As regards the truth or falsity of the charges, it is as yet too soon to express any very positive opinion, though the case bears many of the ear-marks of the "frame-up" which the labor unions declare it to be. On the other hand, the detective in charge as positively asserts that there is no mistake, as he promises the evidence will abundantly show, he having secured a counterpart of Harry Orchard in the person of one McManigal, who it is alleged has made a confession which will astound the American people when it is made public in the courts.

As usual, the working people and the capitalists have lined up solidly against each other, and the battle promises to be bitterly contested. The fact that the union with which the accused are connected has been generally considered as strictly orthodox and conservative from the point of view of such labor leaders as Mr. Gompers, has brought the entire strength of the American Federation of Labor into the conflict. Needless to say, the Socialists of the country are also ranged up with the labor unions in the coming struggle.

Whatever may be the ultimate finding in this particular case, it will most certainly widen and deepen the antagonism between capital and labor, an antagonism which has naturally been growing steadily as a result of the inherently opposed interests of both.

For after all, there is little to choose as regards "morality" on either side. The capitalists have never hesitated at the use of brute force and physical violence in their struggles with organized labor, and have never encouraged peaceful methods on the part of the unions, that is to say, methods at once peaceful and efficient. Whatever advice has come from their spokesmen on this question has always been tantamount to requiring that the unions should passively acquiesce. Armed with the law themselves, they have always seen to it that their opponents should be equipped with useless and obsolete weapons. Political action on the part of the workers, peaceful yet effective, they have constantly decried, strongly asserting on every occasion that Socialism would mean the destruction of the trade-unions.

Even if—which seems unlikely—the unions have taken to dynamite as a weapon in the struggle, the choice has been in a manner forced on them by their opponents, and there is no little reason to believe that they view with much more complacency the use of this senseless, futile and criminal method, than that of peaceful and effective political action on the part of the workers, as recommended by the Socialists.

THAT demand for a minimum weekly wage of thirty shillings for every adult British work-

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ingman, recently made in Parliament by a labor member of the House, is an interesting illustration of the changed attitude of the public mind regarding the nature of the wage system.

Mr. Crookes, the member in question, though his bill did not pass, and is not likely to pass, was, nevertheless, given serious attention; he was not laughed out of the House as he most certainly would have been not so many years ago.

There was no objection on the score that the bill traversed the eternal and fundamental law of wages. The opposition was rather based on the assertion that the country could not afford it. Evidently the dicta of the orthodox political economists is regarded with increasing indifference as a justification for capitalism.

And yet while the wage system exists, the orthodox political economists are without doubt correct.

Hundreds of years ago the embryo capitalists of Britain, alarmed at the rising wage scale, endeavored to enforce a law of maximum, just as Mr. Crookes now proposes a law of minimum. The effort failed, and its failure has always been ascribed—and correctly too—to the fact that wages were not governed by statute, but by economic law.

That this argument was not advanced against Mr. Crookes' proposal, is probably due to an indistinct perception, or perhaps feeling, that the wage system itself is drawing to a close, and that it is not prudent to proclaim too plainly its eternal duration when it may be on its deathbed. Such announcement would be much more likely to hasten its demise than to retard it.

If the workingmen of England cannot live on less than thirty shillings per week—and the wage system in its very nature cannot guarantee that sum—that is, guarantee life to the workers—then it comes to a show-down between the wage system and the workers as to which shall get off the earth. We will back the workers to stay, every time.

"PATRIOTISM" has long been recognized as an indispensable incentive to induce the workers to fight for their exploiters, but it has remained for an ingenious advocate of the new gospel of "efficiency" to discover its value as an incentive to work harder for the capitalist also. This shrewd exponent of the gentle art of extracting surplus labor is engaged in building construction, and his method is to employ gangs of workers of different races, and inform the foreman of each that whichever gang makes the best show as to work done, will have the flag of their nationality floated from the highest point of the structure. As to the success of the scheme he is thus quoted in the *Literary Digest:*

> The Swedes put forth their best efforts and soon their pride of country was gratified by the flying of the Swedish flag above the workers. The Russians then bent to the work and their flag soon displaced that of the Swedes. For some time the record of the Irishmen was low, but with dogged determination they set to work to raise it, and finally did so; and when their big green banner, with its harp emblem, floated high above the bridge, their foreman swelled out his chest and broke forth in this piece of Irish sunburstry:
>
> "Ah, me bys! There's the flag of Erin. Keep up yer licks and don't let any domned Protestant pull it down."
>
> And they didn't.

The late Cecil Rhodes, it will be remembered, declared the British flag to be a "commercial asset," but the expounders of "efficiency" have solved the problem of transforming any particular flag into a commercial asset. In this connection we notice that the Irish population of New York State are trying to have St. Patrick's Day declared a state holiday by the Legislature, but we have no hesitation in predicting that their efforts will not meet with the endorsement of the "efficiency" advocates. An Irish flag carried through the streets by men who have "laid off" for the day and thereby interrupted the process of production, is by no means as pleasant a sight to the exploiter as it is when waving from the top of a structure for the reason above-mentioned.

Latest reports show that the number of idle railroad cars in the United States amounts to nearly 200,000 and is steadily increasing.

PROTECTION

By W. E. P. FRENCH, U. S. A.

"I need and want protection," said the Whale:
"An 'Infant Industry' needs more 'n fair play
To grow to be a giant in these days.
These socialistic Jonahs would delay
'Benevolent Assimilation.' Nay,
Give ME more class-protection," blew the Whale.

"I need and want protection," said the Shark:
"The small fry are in ev'rybody's way,
And ought to be abated, don't you know?
Besides, I'm on the predatory lay,
And little fishes are my lawful prey.
What I ask is protection," snapped the Shark.

"I need and want protection," said the Bear:
"The only thing my sweet tooth's pangs allay
Is honey (tho my brother George likes coal),
And any bee's a pig to go and say
It's his, just 'cause he made it. He's a jay!
I'm looking for protection," growled the Bear.

"I need and want protection," said the Skunk:
"For my light meals I'm always glad to pay
(I BUY my chicken at 'steen scents per pound—
D' you s'pose I'd steal? 'The wise call it CONVEY').
This free trade drivel's hot air and decay!
I love protection's savor," sneered the Skunk.

"I need and want protection," said the Wolf;
"I need it in my business, night and day;
It's vital to my int'rests don't you see?
Suppose ferocious lambs should bite me—say,
The sheep's a darned fierce lot when it gets gay!
Protection's my salvation," snarled the Wolf.

"I need and want protection," said the Hawk;
"This fooling with the tariff would betray
My whereabouts, and cut my food supply;
Those silly hens within the coop would stay,
And furred and feathered game refuse to stray.
You bet I'm for protection," squawked the Hawk.

"I need and want protection," said the Man;
"How else am I expenses to defray.
And live in luxury without hard work?
How else am I to gather in the hay
Which fools have raised and cut—just hear 'em bray!
My trust is in protection," whined the Man.

Last year the municipal gas works of Sheffield, England, sold its product at something under 29 cents per thousand feet and still showed a surplus of over $30,000 for the year.

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Has Shaw Deteriorated?

By ANDRE TRIDON

SHAW'S latest plays, "The Doctor's Dilemma," "Getting Married," and "The Showing Up of Blanco Posnet," are now published in one volume, and we should be very sorry for it. They make up one of the least palatable books of the season. The plays alone would not fill well the space between covers, but G. B. S., who always had the Preface mania, has outshawed himself this time. The preface to "The Doctor's Dilemma" spreads over 92 pages, the play occupying 113 pages. "Getting Married," 112 pages in length, is preceded by 86 pages of talk. "The Shewing Up of Blanco Posnet" has 40 pages, and 85 pages of explanation are considered necessary to make this childish quip intelligible to the reader.

One of the three plays only is readable, "The Doctor's Dilemma," an uproarious farce. Several physicians are trying their professional skill on a consumptive artist. One of them is sure of having found "the cure," but, as he wishes to marry the artist's handsome wife, he allows a careless colleague of his to administer it, knowing well that in a bungler's hands "the cure" will speedily make the winning Jennifer a widow. And so it does; but little it avails him, for the widow has already selected a successor for the individual whom she considered as "a king among men," and who proved to be a shameless beggar.

This would be funny enough if the various physicians whose methods are "exposed" did not discuss the opsonin index for twenty solid pages. Let us submit a sample: "What the inocualtion does is to stimulate the ups and downs. I call the upgrade the positive phase and the downgrade the negative phase. Send a drop of the patient's blood to the laboratory and in fifteen minutes I'll give you his opsonin index in figures. If this figure is one . . ., etc." From the preface? No, sir; from the very dialogue of Act I. This is not a dialogue, it is a lecture, and a lecture by an incompetent lecturer at that.

For two reasons the present writer, who is personally a great admirer of George Bernard Shaw, thinks that this book deserves the severest censure. One of the plays "tends to prove" that physicians are an ignorant lot; the other "proves" that modern marriage and divorce laws are absurd. A play should not "prove" anything.

A play should not be a pamphlet. Pamphlets are in propaganda what bullets are in battle. Some kill the enemy, some graze a twig, some shatter a window pane. We keep on firing them and then forget all about them. A play is a work of art, a work of beauty. A play is not intended to "prove" that certain conditions should not interfere with human sentiments, but to show how human sentiments react against or are stifled by certain conditions. Man and his emotions are eternal; conditions are transitory. The problems of to-day will not interest our sons. A problem does not interest anybody after it has been solved. If Shakespeare had discussed lengthily the various medical misconceptions current in his time would we ever dream of performing his plays to-day?

Problems are welcome when they reveal a recondite character more completely to an audience. But the character is the thing, not the problem. If a discussion of prostitution throws light upon that wonderful type of womanhood, Mrs. Warren, by all means let us discuss prostitution. But when a set of anonymous puppets congregate and expatiate upon microbes or marriage customs by the hour we lose our interest.

The stage is the last place where scientific questions can be threshed out, and a playwright the last man to conduct such a debate. When Shaw contends that microbes are the symptom instead of the cause of disease, he may be right, but we cannot help betraying our weariness. Mr. Shaw would be rather embarrassed if asked to prepare some tissues for microscopic examination; I doubt if he could tell the typhoid microbe from the spizocheta of syphilis. If a poet undertook to criticize an experienced motorman for his way of running a trolley car, wouldn't we unleash our dogs? And here we behold a playwright dismissing with a sneer all the results attained by vivisection and solving with two puns the medical problem. This is regrettable levity or unbearable conceit or—mountebankism.

There was a time when G. B. S. in his struggle for recognition had to remember a principle of the survival of the noisiest. The cart and trumpet for him then. Nowadays the world is listening to him. He is clever and witty enough to always get his sayings reported and flashed over the cables. Why doesn't he adopt the methods of all well established firms which refrain from sensational advertising?

(*Continued from page 1.*)

more certain than that their future demands will become more comprehensive and menacing, and at the same time of such a character that the burden cannot be shifted on to the shoulders of those whom they are intended to relieve, by any capitalistic hocus-pocus such as the *World* alludes to. To quote the *World,* they will be so devised as to "have a way in the end of bearing" altogether on the shoulders of the class that it is intended shall carry them.

The one significant character of such reform as is now being carried in Great Britain, is that it leads directly to the vital question of who shall appropriate the product of labor, the workers or the capitalists. The game of appearing to give, and at the same time really withholding, is one that cannot forever be carried on without detection. The workers cannot everlastingly be fooled by appearances, and when they get wise to the trick they will demand straight Socialism, even more imperatively than they are now demanding "reform."

Under the accident insurance laws of Germany, nearly $40,000,000 was paid last year, which sum was distributed among 1,169,308 persons.

An automatic telephone system has been installed in Amsterdam, Holland, which will dispense with 95 per cent. of the help at the Central Station.

In Australia, the State of Victoria has opened a State coal mine, while the neighboring State of South Australia will erect grain elevators and go into the business of shipping wheat.

A smoke-consuming device, now in use on the railways of France, Austria-Hungary and Italy, saves 6 per cent. in fuel consumption and has proved of immense value in preventing destructive fires along the right of way from locomotive sparks. It is now being installed on the State railways of Bohemia.

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THE PRIVACY OF THE HOME

By EUGENE WOOD, Author of "Back Home," "Folks Back Home," Etc.

HERE of late the death-rate among our social institutions, whether of manners and customs or views and opinions, especially among what may be called "old residenters," has been astonishingly high. Some will think I ought to say "alarmingly high." But, then, I'm one of those inveterate optimists who think it's going to come out all right. Maybe I'm over-confident of the ability of Almighty God to direct the social evolution of man and do as good a job of it as He has done with the physical evolution of man; but, even so, I haven't lost faith in Him yet. So I will not say "alarmingly high" until I have to.

And, speaking of a frivolous matter like a high death-rate, I am naturally reminded of a funny story, or what is believed to be a funny story. It's about the farmer whose wife had just departed this life.

"Was she resigned to go?" inquired a sympathizing friend.

"Gash! She *had* to be," grimly responded the bereaved husband.

Now, besides being an inveterate optimist, I am also one of those who, when they hear a story like that, cannot help inquiring: "What did he say to that?" and "*Then* what'd he say?" and so on and so on, until the point of the joke is all whittled off, like a girl sharpening a lead pencil, and there is nothing whatever left for the imagination. And when, as in this instance, there is nobody to tell me, I just can't rest until I have dramatized the whole thing. As the upshot, it is borne in upon me that the widower was also resigned to have her go, and for the same reason: He had to be.

The way I look at it, she must have been bedfast for quite a spell, with the doctor coming to see her every day, and it doesn't take very long for a doctor's bill to mount up to $30 and even $35. And you know how unsatisfactory doctors are: ask 'em if they think they can cure her up, and they won't tell you "No" plumb and plain right out, so 't you needn't waste any more money on her, but they just keep you tantalized till the very last minute. You can't get it out of 'em how long she's going to last or what it'll likely cost—nothing. Now that's a very slack way of doing. That's not business. They ought, at the least, to give you *some* sort of a rough estimate.

And, it seems to me, the house must have looked like distraction for awhile before he could make up his mind that she was in for a siege of it, him trying to cook the meals' victuals, and get the children ready for school, and look after his work and wait on her, and all right in the busy season—no other time would do her to get sick abed in only right in the busy season—but things went somewhat better after he finally got in Aunt Libby Harmount. Aunt Libby is a first-rate hand in sickness, but she's a dreadful grasping woman, if the truth must be told. Wants her cash money right in her hand as regular as the week comes 'round. And independent as a hog on ice. She'd nurse Emmeline and give her the best of care, and be right by night and day to give her the medicine just like the doctor said she was to do, and she'd get the meals, and put up a piece for the young ones to take to school with them, and do the mending, and keep the house "redd up," but when it came to looking after the milk of nine cows, and doing the washing for that big family (she'd *help* with the ironing) and the scrubbing, and running out when he "hollered" for her to come open the big gate, so's he wouldn't have to get down off the wagon, and waiting on him hand and foot, like his dear companion used to do when she was up and out, she just put her foot down. No, sir, she wouldn't. And she told him things that he wouldnt' have stood from her for a minute if he hadn't been so situated, about how it was a wonder to her that Emmeline had borne up under it as well as she had, and all like that. A terrible plain-spoken woman, Aunt Libby was.

He must have got kind o' tired of it, especially along toward the last, when it became more and more apparent that Emmeline wasn't going to get any better—ever—or if she did that it would be a long time before she would be of much account. The fact of the matter was—er—er—well, to make a long story short, Emmeline had about outlived her usefulness. Of course, he kept that from her, because the doctor said she wasn't to be worried or distressed about anything, even going so far as to forbid holding a neighborhood prayer-meeting in her bedroom to the intent that she might be "prepared," but when he was allowed in to see her and cheer her up as she lay there in the pillows, so pale and hollow-eyed, and with the cords showing through the skin on the under side of her chin, it was only human in him to say: "Well, when it comes *my* time to go, I want to go quick and not linger along and linger along, a burden to everybody. . .

"I don't know what's going to become of us. I git so worried in my mind about things sometimes. Seems like I jist can't *make* that woman understand how I want my eggs fried. And the house is goin' to rack and ruin. Broke a plate yestuddy, she did. A good plate. Oh yes, she puts the good plates on every day now. Awful extravagant! My souls alive! Ten-cent coffee ain't good enough for *her!*

"Yes, I know, I know. Aunt Libby *means* well, but, laws! she *don't take no intrust.* Only what she's paid to, that's all. . . .

"It's be'n a lesson to me, Emmeline, seein' you layin' there and layin' there, not knowin' when you're goin' to git up, if you ever ever *do* git up, and under such heavy expense, it's be'n a lesson to me, I tell you, for me to take better care o' myself, and not overdo, the way you have. . . ."

Yes. I think he was resigned to have her go. And, I think, too, that he had even then begun to cast around in his mind for someone to be his "dear companion" after Emmeline had been laid away long enough, someone who would look after the milk of nine cows, and carry swill to the pig-pen, and run out and open the big gate for him when he "hollered" for her, and wait on him hand and foot, as well as do the housework for a large family. Not for cash money paid into her hand every week as regular as the week came 'round, like Aunt Libby, but someone who would take a real "intrust" in things for her board and keep—"for a home," if you like that expression better.

In "the airly days," in which it seems to me this story had its origin, so long as the widower was under 75 years of age and had 160 acres, free and clear of all indebtedness, he need not worry much about whether or not he could find

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another "dear companion." In those days, it was nothing uncommon for a man to have four wives —tandem, I mean, of course. Four abreast would have been immoral. They would have had too easy a time of it.

The more I think of it, the more I'm forced to the reluctant conclusion that there wasn't an over-and-above amount of story-book romance about the courtships and marriages of our great-grandparents in "the airly days" of this country. A fellow might think the world and all of a girl, and her face might be "aye the fairest that e'er the sun shone on," like it says in "Annie Laurie," but what if her bread was sour and soggy, and she a slack housekeeper? Likewise also, let the fellow be never so eye-filling, and every bit as good company as Robin Adair, but if his weeds were taller than his corn, and he a better man at a 'coon hunt than at a hog-killing, why, then, how about it? Romantic love is one thing, and victuals in your insides, clothes on your back, and a tight roof over your head is another thing.

I hate to use the expression "Economic Determinism." It sounds so dry and scientific, but seems like I simply have to. Our manners and customs, our views and opinions are what they are because of the way we live. Our economics determine such things for us. Our social institutions are sort of social tools with which we do our work. And the tool is as much shaped by the work as the work is shaped by the tool. (That's an epigram, if you only knew it.) There was a powerful lot of economic determinism about marriage and the home in "the airly days." There weren't then boarding-houses, and ready-made clothing stores, and gent's furnishing stores, and laundries and all that, so if a man expected to be taken care of he had to get married to the ablest caretaker he could find. Or he had to try to. And if he failed, and had to "bach it," pigging along in dirt and discomfort, he became the just butt of ridicule. He must have been dreadfully "bench-y," for 'most any kind of a runt of a man could get a good wife merely for the asking, since in those days there were no institutes for self-supporting females. (I use the word "female" so as to impart the atmosphere of the period. They were "females" then; later "ladies," and only recently have they begun to be "women.") To be an "old maid" was a mortifying shame. It was the same as being out of a job, a charge upon your folks.

So, in spite of what the hymn-book says—or *is* it the hymn-book?—

Needles and pins, needles and pins!
When a man marries, his trouble begins,

all the men and women that could possibly arrange it married early, and, if need be, often. It was the common fate, and they were resigned to it. They had to be.

When our folks (I know I am addressing an ever diminishing constituency) moved out to "the Far West" of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois in a covered wagon, they had only one small van-load for furniture and family, dishes and dogs. They settled in a spot in a howling wilderness, and no poetical figure of speech either. It did howl, what with Indians and timber wolves and catamounts and such. They chopped down trees, which is work that makes you grunt and stews the grease out of you; they trimmed them off, and broad-axed them into some sort of parallelism, notched the corners of them, and made them into a kind of box which they called a log-cabin; they stuffed the cracks between with mud and moss, roofed it with shakes, and floored it with splintery slabs; they erected a chimney of logs plentifully bedaubed with mud, and they made all their beds and tables and chairs and such like out of the green timber. They ripped up the new ground, full of stumps as tough as ropes, put in their crops, ground corn in a handmill, raised all their own flax and wool, hackled and carded it, spun it, wove it, dyed it, fulled it, cut it out, and sewed it up into garments. Nobody went around looking for work then. A new country yields that as riotously as it yields corn. There was a large plenty of it, for everything they put inside them or outside them had to be got from the woods about by the hardest kind of hard labor, by hand-labor, without a single modern convenience. There was no "hot and cold water, steam heat, electric light, telephone, janitor and hall service." No, no. Home was not then the refuge from the cares of life, an oasis in the desert of dusty Toil. Home was where the cares of life had their old stamping-ground; Home was the place of Toil. The Home was a Factory, where manu-facture was carried on.

If occasionally one of these settlers had twenty-eight children, fourteen by his first dear companion, and fourteen by his second, you can see the sweet reasonableness of it. There's where Economic Determinism gets in its fine work. There needed to be a plentiful supply of labor. But if you can see much Privacy in a Home that was a one-room cabin, with twenty-eight children and two parents in it, you've got better eyesight than I have.

Now, if you have a factory with all that number of hands employed, who have to lick into it from daylight till dark to make enough out of a stingy wilderness by hand-labor and clumsy methods, to keep them all going, it is plain that there not only has to be a foreman to lay out the work, but a foreman whose word is law, enforcible by pains and penalties. It occasions no surprise, therefore, to learn that in "the airly days" the first duty of a child was to "mind." He had to say "Sir" to his daddy as punctiliously as if his daddy were the captain of a ship and he a foremast hand. Peter Cartwright and the other circuit-riders of that era might have found the hardy pioneers wofully ignorant of other Scriptures, but not of these: "Children, obey your parents," and "Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands." They could say those precious, comfortable words without the book. Naturally growing out of them, and ancillary to the same, were:

"Spare the rod and spoil the child."
and
"A woman, a dog, and a walnut tree,
The more they're beaten, the better they be."

The dependability of the labor supply was further guaranteed by the Ordinance of Holy Matrimony, with its "obey," and its "Till Death us do part." Wouldn't it have been a pretty how-d'ye-do if, after a man had gone and picked out a first-class worker to wait on him, she had refused to take orders from him, and had claimed to have as much to say about the place as he? And wouldn't it have been a pretty how-d'ye-do if she didn't just fancy being hit a good clip, side of the jaw, to teach her to keep her mouth shut, and should have picked up and left, and gone and married the other fellow? And, lest she should sour on Marriage altogether, and undertake to make her own living, it was thoughtfully arranged that she shouldn't have any property of her own after she got married; that all went to her husband on her wedding day, and he might claim any earnings of

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hers. She was "his" wife; they were "his" children. He could even will away the disposition of her unborn child.

Now the sad part about laws and customs, institutions and constitutions and all other devices to make arrangements stay put, is that, no matter how plainly they say that one human being belongs to another human being to have and to hold from this time forward, ever so often the owned human being gets his or her back up and says: "No. I won't stand for it. I belong to myself." And then there's a grand row. And here's where the Privacy of the Home comes in. For instance, you might be going along by a house and you'd hear a woman or a child screaming like being killed alive, and you'd hear the hard, heavy blows falling, and a man saying, through his clenched teeth: "You will, will ye? You *will* talk back to me, huh? I'll learn ye!" it wouldn't be proper for you to push open the door, and inquire: "Hay! What's all this fuss all about?" You wouldn't want anybody to do that when *you* were correcting *your* wife or *your* children for being sassy to you, would you? Certainly not. So the thing for you to do would be to go right along minding your own business, and respecting the Privacy of the Home. If he half-killed them, why that was his look-out, not yours. It was "his" wife, and "his" children, and none of your put-in, whatever happened.

No doubt you, too, have read about how when the Indians left Ohio for good and all, they were obliged to render back the captives they had taken in all the long warfare with the whites. And when they were returned, how do you suppose they came? Most of them tied hand and foot. And they had to be watched like hawks, too, for a long time, or else they would run away, back to the Indians. No doubt you, too, have wondered why this should be. You'd think they would have been glad enough to get to their own people, to the Home and its sweet Privacy after their experience of savage communism. And especially you'd think the women would have been glad enough to escape the drudgery of a squaw's life. Yet they were just the ones that had to be tied hand and foot, and watched like hawks to keep them from running off. You must remember that these captives were not enslaved. Indians had no slaves, and those prisoners who were not tortured so that the old men and boys who couldn't go to war might have a little fun also, were adopted into the clans and made just as much of, and possessed as many rights as real blood-kin. And if an Indian woman's husband wasn't a good provider, and was mean to her, she could tell him to pack his things and git, and he'd have to git. And if the women-folks didn't approve of the administration of a chief, they didn't need to hoist a yellow banner and squall and squabble for "Votes for Women!" They had as much say as anybody, and they could "take the horns off" any chief, as the phrase went, and make him no more than a common warrior. And, as far as drudgery goes, the women of the white pioneers didn't have anything on the squaws. When you understand these things it isn't so hard to guess why captives had to be brought back to their own people tied hand and foot. There was right smart Economic Determinism in that too.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK REVIEWS

LOVE'S PILGRIMAGE. By Upton Sinclair. Published by Mitchell Kennerly, New York. $1.50.

Sinclair has certainly covered himself with the mantle of genius in his new book; his intimate description of things sexual is as daring as it is artistic.

I do not know of any writer, modern or ancient, that has attempted such a vivid narration of things so vital and yet so difficult to refer to without giving offense to the conventional.

Possibly Sinclair with all his delicacy and his portrayal of the beautiful in the intimacies of sex and birth will not escape the attacks of those who can see nothing in nakedness except shame.

But I have no fear, whatever the modern critics may say of Sinclair's book, that the verdict of the future is his.

My only criticism of the book is that it should have been confined to the delineation of what Thyrsis actually lived rather than what he wrote in his plays. Sinclair becomes too remote from life in his chapters delineating the story of the plays, and I think also the Socialism he interpolates is rather extraneous, too didactic. The letters with which the husband frightens off his wife's lover by offering him the wife are telling, albeit the sequel is so amusing.

On December 31, 1910, the population of the city of Buenos Ayres, capital of the Argentine Republic, was 1,314,163, thus constituting it the largest city in the southern hemisphere.

In the last three months the membership of the Socialist Party of America has increased from 50,000 to over 70,000.

Jerusalem is now being lighted with street lamps manufactured in Chicago.

From Here and There

There are now in India 3,456 city and rural co-operative societies with a membership of 226,958, and a working capital of about three and a half million dollars.

During the present season eggs are so plentiful in China that they are being sold for about two cents per dozen. American dealers are preparing to import large quantities, if they can get freight rates low enough.

There are some 22,000 persons engaged in the manufacture of paper boxes in England. The average wage is 5 cents an hour in the industry. Matchbox makers receive but 4 cents per gross for their product.

Rio Janeiro and Montevideo have recently been connected by rail. The distance is 1,907 miles, running time 112 hours, and first class fare, with sleeping accommodations, $76.

Chinese coolies are now being shipped in large numbers as laborers to the rubber plantations in the East Indies, the native labor having been found too expensive.

A large and increasing trade in Chinese pork and pork products is now carried on with England, the prejudice against the first shipments of two years ago having been overcome.

Several large factories for the production of celluloid have been started in Japan with private capital, though they will be practically under control of the Government, as the camphor industry is a Government monopoly, the celluloid production being dependent on the camphor supply.

A French contracting firm has just secured a concession from the Turkish Government for the construction of nearly 6,000 miles of railway lines throughout the empire.

Of the world's production of 1,200,000 pounds of tea annually, China produces about half, and consumes two-thirds of this amount at home.

For the first three months of the present year the output of cultivated rubber from Malayan plantations amounted to 4,736,238 pounds, as against about half that output for the corresponding period of the previous year.

The Japanese Government will extend its railroad system as far as the enormous sum of $676,000,000 will go. Five-sixths of the amount will be borrowed, mostly from abroad.

Last winter the Swedish government commenced operations in the experimental production of pig-iron by electricity, and the result has been that the scheme is now on the point of becoming commercially practicable. The water power of the country is being used to supply power for the process, and it is calculated that some 35,000 tons of pig-iron will be produced by the process during the present year. Tests have shown that the iron produced is of a very high quality.

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

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The Lloyd-George Insurance Bill

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

SHORTLY the bill provides that all workers must pay 8 cents per week and get an allowance of $2.48 per week during sickness. They will also get the same amount for the first three months of idleness owing to lack of employment, and thereafter at the rate of $1.86 per week.

The 8 cents of the premium for this insurance will be paid by the worker himself, and of the 10 cents additional the employer contributes 6 cents and the State 4 cents.

From the Socialist point of view of the workings of the competitive wage system, inasmuch as the worker gets but the minimum wage, according to his standard of life, therefore whatever he may contribute to the insurance scheme must sooner or later be shelved on to the employer by the automatic advance in wages which will ensue to meet the deduction, and therefore any system of compulsory State insurance is all to the good for the worker, no matter by whom the premium may be paid.

One interesting feature of the concession of British convention to more modern ideas of humanity is the provision of the bill allowing $1.80 per week for a period of four weeks immediately after child birth to all mothers, married or unmarried, provided they do not return to work during that period.

It is interesting not only because of the recognition of the claim of the mother to a reward for her contribution of a child to the future State, but it is also interesting because of the recognition that the child is a contribution whether the mother happened to have been married or not.

In discussing this special portion of his bill, Mr. Lloyd-George stated candidly that the payment was made not in respect of marriage, but in respect of maternity.

A few years ago Mrs. Grundy would have been more likely to wish to fine the married mother thirty shillings for giving birth to an unnecessary child, and to have added a month's imprisonment at hard labor besides if the child was illegitimate.

It is a most striking commentary upon the advance in public opinion upon the justice of the State taking care of its workers, when there is not a single British newspaper or politician of prominence of any party to utter any protest against the principle involved in the bill.

If such a bill were introduced in our American Congress, the only reason it would not excite our capitalists to a frenzy of opposition would be that they knew it could never pass the gauntlet of both houses of Congress, a reactionary President like Taft and, finally, an 18th-century Supreme Court.

No more perfect system was ever devised for hampering the will of the people than the American system of government, although in theory it is popularly supposed to have quite the contrary effect. So strongly do the American people hold to this palpable delusion, that under cover of it they have been practically stripped of all initiative in legislation without realizing the fact. And from all appearances it will be a difficult and tedious matter to rid themselves of this political superstition.

However, Labor Insurance by the National Government is coming for certain in America, and the certainty only means another blow at our medieval irresponsible form of government with its constitutional checks and balances which now result in the impossibility of any law being passed against the interest of the capitalist class.

How different the progress of such a bill is in England. The introduction of the bill in Parliament by Lloyd-George, a member of the cabinet, is practically equivalent to its enactment into law. There is no talk about a Supreme Court, or presidential veto, nor will the Lords venture to interfere.

The British form of government may have many bad features, but compared with the form of government in the United States it is perfection itself.

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WHAT will be the effect of National Insurance against old age, sickness and unemployment? This is a question which is now being widely discussed by British Socialists, and is certainly of interest to Socialists of other countries as well.

Some Socialists fear that the passing of the Lloyd-George bill will so overcome the workers with gratitude that they will never have the face to ask for anything more.

On the contrary, we think that the more economically independent the workers are made by having the right to demand aid from the State, the more likely they are to dare to think for themselves, and the more likely they are to have the courage to avow themselves Socialists and work for Socialism.

It's certain that there is no place where Socialism is so strong as in Germany, and in no country is there the social legislation that is found in Germany. The legislation may be the result of Socialism and it may be the cause; we should say that it was both a cause and a result.

THE condition of the organized Socialists in Great Britain is unsatisfactory. The Social-Democratic party, which holds the classic straightout Socialist position similar to that held by the Socialist party of America, after fighting away for twenty years is not much stronger to-day than when it begun. And to add to its disheartenment, there has recently arisen a schism over the question of the British Navy.

Hyndman and Quelch say that as long as the German Emperor insists upon building more and more Dreadnoughts every year, that unless England follows suit she will be in no position to resist being bullied into dishonorable submission. Herbert Burrows retorts that under no circumstances can a Socialist justify himself in advocating money being spent on a Navy; that the enemy of the British workman is the English capitalist, and not the German Emperor; that if worse came to worse, he don't see that the British workman would be any worse off than he is now, even if the British King were kicked off his throne by the German Kaiser; that to-day the German worker is probably better off than the British worker.

Hyndman retorts that England with all her kings and lords is after all the citadel of democracy in Europe, and if she were conquered it would be good-bye to the rights of the individual; as far as England may be from the Democratic Ideal, nevertheless she is far nearer to it than Germany, and therefore the conquest of England by Germany would be most disastrous to Socialism; that England to-day is the only safe haven for the political refugee, and that the only method by which the right of asylum can be preserved is by a naval equipment adequate to resist German aggression.

The whole amount of the matter is that this discussion is between the idealist, like Burrows, with *both* head and feet in the clouds, and the more practical idealist like Hyndman, whose head may be in the clouds, but who at any rate keeps his feet on *terra firma.*

There are practically no people in England aside from a few extreme pacificists who would have peace without honor and liberty. Nearly all would agree to the building of any sized fleet necessary to protect their country against an attack by Germany, if they thought that there was any real danger of any such attack.

If the vast majority of people of England were convinced that a fleet is not only necessary for England to hold her empire, but also to actually protect her from invasion, it may be accepted that there would be a fleet.

With the increasing dominancy of Germany in the industry of the world it would seem a foregone conclusion that this must be followed up by a tendency for Germany to likewise gain a world military dominancy.

We may deplore war as much as we will, but inasmuch as competition itself is war, it is logical that as long as competition remains in the industrial world that militarism must remain in the political world.

The question that England is *now* called upon to decide is will she continue building a competitive fleet; but that is not such a difficult question to answer, for she will as long as she can.

However, the question of the future may be: Can England build a competitive fleet? The answer to this will be found by casting up the relative financial resources of the two countries.

If Germany continues to increase in wealth and population faster than England, then undoubtedly the future will bring forth the day when England will be unable to continue the Naval race, no matter whether she may or may not wish to do so or not.

There is hardly any doubt but that one factor which caused the aristocratic party in England to accept Lloyd-George's labor insurance bill was their realization that such a bill will tend to help England keep up her birth rate and physical standard to recruit the British army.

Hyndman's Reminiscences

H. M. Hyndman, the veteran Socialist leader of Great Britain, and founder of the Social Democratic Party, has completed his reminiscences. The book will be brought out this fall by the MacMillan Co. at $3. It will be a book of the greatest interest to the English-speaking Socialists of the world, as it is a vivid story of the life of the greatest English Socialist. Advance orders will be received by the Wilshire Book Co.

Hyndman is now in his 70th year, but is still hale and hearty and in constant demand at public meetings. He is the greatest orator in Europe, and it is to be hoped that arrangements may be made to have this great Revolutionary leader make the grand tour of the United States. There will be no fear of his giving us anything but the straight doctrine, it will neither be Labor Slush Socialism nor Fabian Compromise Socialism, but simply straight Socialism.

The Chinese Government has decided to adopt models of German uniform and drill for its army and navy. Japan has appropriated $570,000 for war aeroplanes, and all through eastern Asia militarism is showing vastly increased activity. Even bankrupt Turkey has ordered two enormous Dreadnought battleships from English shipyards.

A bill prescribing a maximum of ten hours as constituting a day's work is being presented in the Legislative Chamber of Holland, with the understanding that it will provide also for a general eight-hour day after having been effective for eight years.

In Bremen, Germany, the common schools are now provided with bathing accommodations, soap, brushes and towels being provided free for the use of the pupils. Instruction in the English language is another new feature which is being introduced.

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Adieu to "Laissez Faire"

FROM our English exchanges we compile the following digest of the sweeping proposals of the Chancellor of the British Exchequer to secure the workers against sickness and unemployment:

Insurance against death is no part of the scheme, for there are already 42,000,000 industrial policies against death.

Over 6,000,000 people now make provision against sickness, but only 1,400,000 work people insure against unemployment.

The bill is in two parts, one covering sickness and the other unemployment.

The government plans will be national insurance evoking the aid of the State and the employer to enable the workmen to make provision for sickness, and, in precarious trades, against unemployment.

The sickness branch includes two parts—one compulsory, one voluntary.

The compulsory part is a deduction from the wages of all workmen earning a weekly wage of less than £150 a year, and there will be contributions from employees and from the State.

The Army and Navy are excluded, special provisions being made for soldiers and sailors.

Special provision is also made for teachers.

There is to be one class only in the invalidity scheme. The deduction from the ordinary wages will be:

Four pence per week for men and 3 pence per week for women, but people who earn less than 15 shillings will pay less. On wages of 2 shillings 6 pence a day or less, 3 pence per week. On 2 shillings a day and less 2 pence a week. On 1 shilling 6 pence a day, 1 pence a week.

In these last cases the employers will pay more than in the others.

Men now over 65 are excluded from the scheme.

Everybody between 16 and 65 may come in within twelve months after the act is passed.

Weekly contributions by the three parties to the scheme will be: Workmen, 4 pence; employer, 3 pence, and State, 2 pence.

There are special provisions for men unable to pay because of sickness and unemployment.

Unmarried women who are not employed as workers are excluded from the scheme.

In the compulsory class it is estimated that there will be 9,000,000 men and 2,900,000 women. In the voluntary class 60,000 men and 200,000 women; 800,000 workers under 16 to be admitted. Grand total, 14,700,000.

Thirty shillings benefit to cover doctors and nurses in maternity cases, on condition that the mother does not work for four weeks.

State help is to be given for crushing out consumption.

SICKNESS ALLOWANCES.

Men, 10 shillings a week for the first three months. After that, if broken down, a permanent disablement allowance of 5 shillings per week.

Women, 7 shillings 6 pence per week for the first three months. Five shillings weekly afterward.

No disablement allowance for women.

One million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds will be at once available for optional benefits, rising to £7,000,000.

At the end of fifteen and one-half years, the initial loss caused by the older persons having been wiped out, there would be £5,500,000 added to the income of the scheme. This would be applied to additional benefit, or they might be in sight of pensions at 65.

The act is to come into operation on May 1, 1912. In that year the cost is to be £1,700,000, rising to £4,500,000 afterwards.

The unemployment assurance will be applied to engineering and building trades, workmen to pay 2½ pence per week, and the employer 2½ pence per week, the State bearing a quarter of the total cost.

Benefit in engineering trade, 7 shillings per week.

No payment for strikes or lockouts, and no payments for the first week of unemployment.

No benefit until at least five weeks' contribution has been paid. This to keep out the loafer. Employers to receive abatements on system of contract. In the first year men will contribute £1,000,000, masters £900,000, and the State £750,000. The gross cost to the State for the first year under the bill would be £2,500,000, rising to £4,500,000 in the fourth year.

One of the most remarkable and significant matters in connection with this semi-revolutionary proposal is the reception it met with from the Tory press.

Here are some comments from the editorial columns of the London *Observer,* a pronounced Tory and Unionist organ. We may remark that the writer is a very clever Irish journalist named Garvin, who recently affiliated with the Tories and is now looked upon as the coming man in English political journalism. Garvin has all the agility in changing sides characteristic of the versatile Celt, and has evidently impressed his stupid Tory allies that their game at the present time is to not only accept the bill with the best grace possible, but actually lay claim to having a considerable part in its initiation—in short, to declare it a "constructive" Tory policy. He says:

There is not the slightest doubt as to the attitude that ought to be and will be adopted by the Unionist Party towards the greatest scheme of social reconstruction ever yet attempted by a single effort of legislation. It opens a new epoch of political thought and action. In spirit it transcends all partnership. It adapts and extends the creative principles of State Insurance founded just thirty years ago by Bismarck. It develops the constructive example set by Mr. Chamberlain. It fulfils the ideal of social order and progress foreshadowed by Lord Beaconsfield and repeatedly advocated in recent years by Mr. Balfour as the trustee for the true historic temper of Tory policy.

Having thus asserted for his Tory confrères their title clear to credit for the new policy, he further proceeds to enlighten them as to its real significance. Referring to the Chancellor's address, he continues:

But do the audience of that speech, or even its author, realize how completely it marked the definite hour of transition from one national epoch to another? When Mr. Lloyd-George sat down on Thursday, the spirit of laissez faire—still lingering up to then, though in the article of death—was definitely and forever extinguished, and a new age of national organization was as definitely opened. We have organized, more or less, Government, defence, education, production, transport. At last we are setting ourselves deliberately to organize the health and strength, the economic security and the vital efficiency of the mass of the nation. We are putting both hands to the work of building up a sounder people in a cleaner environment. We venture to predict that this passing of the last vestiges of the old Manchester Radicalism, this final transition from the age of laissez faire to the age of full national organization, will have even wider and better consequences than the majority of men on either side of politics now imagine.

Possibly Mr. Garvin himself also does not see wholly the "wider and better consequences" which he doubts that Mr. George or his audience perceives. But, be that as it may, he must be given credit for sufficient perception to recognize the inevitable and the political shrewdness to accept it with the best possible grace. His attitude is symptomatic of the reception the full Socialist program may expect when the time comes for its realization. The British bourgeoisie may be stupid in many things, but it has always been sensible enough to surrender with apparent cheerfulness when convinced that no other alternative remained.

From J. Stitt Wilson

Berkeley, Cal., May 4, 1911.

MR. GAYLORD WILSHIRE, 9 Queen Anne's Gate, London, S. W. Eng.

DEAR COMRADE:—I have paid little attention to these attacks on any of the comrades in the movement for any reason; and I think I always feel a little sorry for the man attacked, even though he be in the wrong. At any rate, whether you have made any blunders or not I do not know, but I certainly can never think of you other than a faithful and loyal Socialist comrade.

You are no doubt interesting yourself in the Socialist movement of England. They have some noble men in the movement there. Yours faithfully,

(Signed) J. STITT WILSON.

The largest crane in the world has just been erected at Govan on the River Clyde in Scotland. Its maximum load is 200 tons, and it can lift this weight to a height of 170 feet. The structure was officially tested with a load of 250 tons, the trial being completely satisfactory.

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Taft and Mexico

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

TAFT'S blunders about Mexico have been most amusing.

First he was convinced that the insurrection was a very trivial affair and that if he were to deploy the army along the Mexican frontier and prevent the insurgents from running into the country when hard pressed by Diaz, that he would soon enable his friend Diaz to crush the revolution and restore "order" (blessed word to Taft) in Mexico.

It was no use arguing with Taft that Diaz was a bloody tyrant, and that it was not up to the President of the United States to support Diaz merely because he kept order in Mexico. Taft is a lawyer and a natural friend of the powers that be, Diaz had been able to keep order in Mexico for thirty years, and Taft conceived it his duty to assist him to keep order, no matter by what means the order was kept.

If Taft had been alive when Washington was organizing the revolutionary war of 1776 he would have naturally been in the Tory camp with the other adherents of King George and of Law and Order.

However, Taft was much mistaken in thinking that the mere spreading of the American army along the frontier would end the revolt against Diaz. As a matter of fact, from the moment the troops were sent the insurrection took on new life and ever since has burnt with a fiercer flame, until now it is recognized by Taft himself that the resignation of his bloody friend Diaz from the presidential chair he has usurped for the last thirty years is the only possible end of the matter. By the time this reaches my readers the Diaz régime will be a thing of the past.

It is hard to realize that less than two years ago I was the sole organizer of a mass-meeting in New York City to protest against the condemnation of Carlo de Fornaro to a year's imprisonment in a New York jail for publishing the truth about Diaz. Harry Taft, the President's brother, was one of the chief instruments in procuring the indictment and conviction of Fornaro, and there is no doubt but that Taft himself was in full sympathy with the prosecution.

As indicative of how tepid is American interest in a free press and free speech, I might recall the fact also, that while I had the entire sympathy of the staff of the New York papers at the time, yet I could get no speakers for the meeting outside of the Socialist Party, and the greater part of the expense of the meeting had to be footed by myself personally.

I might add also that all this did me no good when it came time for Taft's post office to "investigate" the Bishop Creek mine.

There is more than one way of killing a cat.

May Day in London

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE

WHETHER the first day of May will ever develop, as it was hoped it would, into the one day of the year when Labor throughout the world will celebrate is an open question. Certainly the interest in the day seems to be dying out everywhere except possibly in Paris, and it would appear that unless some unusual stimulus were given to the celebration that in the course of a few more years May Day will go into the down-and-out club with the fireworks of the sane Fourth of July.

However, it is certainly to be remarked that those who remain faithful to the day in London are the old guard of the classic Marxian Socialism.

The demonstration was held as usual in Hyde Park, on the first day of May, a Monday, be it remarked, and not upon the first Sunday in May. The speakers were largely made up of those who inaugurated the Social Democratic Federation some twenty years ago. Tom Mann, Quelch, Hunter Watts, Herbert Burrows, Will Thorne. Hyndman was on the ground, but did not speak; the veteran is now in his seventieth year and, although seemingly as young as ever, he finds it advisable to restrict his open-air speaking.

There were about fifteen thousand or more demonstrators, and it was said that the strike of the printers for the forty-eight-hour week, which is still dragging on, was largely responsible for the presence of many of these, although it is a comparatively small number for a May Day celebration in a city as large as London.

The whole amount of the matter is that the old idea of a sudden world revolution of labor taking place on signal has completely died out, and with its death has come about a lack of interest in celebrating any given Labor day.

However, as said, notwithstanding all this the speakers at the May Day meeting were the ones who best hold aloft the Socialist ideal, albeit the political programme they are wedded to does not for the time being give any indication of being the brilliant success that we once hoped for it.

There can be no question that for the vast majority of the leaders of the American Socialist movement that their attitude upon Socialist politics and tactics is generally far nearer to that held by those who were seen celebrating May Day in London than to those of the Labor Party who have been so successful in gaining political victories and seating their men in Parliament.

However, this declaration does not necessarily mean that most of the same Americans if they had happened to have been born in England would not be in the Labor Party rather than in the Social Democratic Party. In other words, it is not so much a difference of men as of conditions that makes the difference in the attitude of the Socialists of the two countries.

Purveyors to the Gullible

THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER. By J. E. Rogers. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. For sale by Wilshire Book Co., $1.10 post-paid.

This is the most instructive analysis of the American newspaper that has ever been written, and it is hoped that we shall see more like it along the same line.

Mr. Rogers finds that the press is absolutely venal, that is to say, it don't exactly sell itself, but it sells the kind of opinions and news the people want. And it advertises itself after the manner of any other purveyor of cheap goods to the masses. It is vulgar and debasing, and finally there is no hope for improvement as long as the public wishes the kind of fodder now being supplied to it.

It's a common saying that nobody believes the newspapers except the most gullible. I have found this to be generally true, and yet very often the people whom I would have thought would be the last to believe a false story about myself have been remarkably thirsty in drinking it all in. Strangely enough, some of these very gullibles have had the most noxious and untrue stories told about themselves by the yellow press, and yet they are astounded that anyone could believe anything so bad about them.

Socialists are not as gullible as others when it comes to believing the press, but they are like the rest of the world in believing what they wish to be true whether it is actually so or not.

Last January a Belgian firm manufactured fifteen million rifle cartridges for the Mexican Government, and a second order for ten million more has just been received by the same firm. It is said to be first class ammunition in every way, but seemingly it didn't do much toward keeping Diaz in his job.

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THE PRIVACY OF THE HOME

By EUGENE WOOD, Author of "Back Home," "Folks Back Home," Etc.

(*Continued from May Number*)

I once heard the only grown-up male person in America who wears knee-breeches and a black silk apron outside of a masquerade ball, rail out upon apartment houses as not homes in any sense of the word "home." I won't go so far as that, but I'll admit they are not homes in the "airly days" sense of the word. The husbands and fathers in apartment houses do not chop down trees and hew the logs to build them shelter, nor chink the cracks with mud and moss to keep the wind out; they do not produce with their own hands all that goes inside of them or outside of them; they are not making an "independent living," for independence is a poor pitiful deformity, not a thing to brag of. No industry is conducted in these apartment houses, no butchering goes on there (unless you count in the pianos), no harness-making, no soap-boiling, no "battling" of the family linen on a flat rock down by the spring branch; no water is carried up in buckets and set handy to where the gourd hangs; no rag is stuck in a saucer of grease to make "the cheerful evening lamp"; no flax is hackled, no wool carded, and if there is a spinning-wheel, it is a curio, a fantastic ornament, which nobody knows how to run, not even Grandma. The home has ceased to be a factory, where things necessary to life are manufactured by wife and children with the husband and father as the foreman enforcing his authority by the methods of a bucko mate.

My own opinion (which I am ready to drop and run from at the least sign of a dispute) is that it's harder on the men-folks now than it was, but it's a whole lot easier on the women-folks, and that I won't back down from for anybody. About the hardest task that's left to them—at least you'd think so from their loud lamenting—is to find someone to do the few remaining chores that haven't been taken to where steam-power can do so easily by a whirling motion what used to be so hard for human muscles to do with a back-and-forth motion. Doubtless even in apartment houses may be found women who actually do for their own themselves, who cook, clear up the dishes, wash and wipe them, sweep, dust, make beds, and even sink so low as to wash and iron, though this is not a subject to bring up in a mixed company, and I feel myself reddening behind the ears for shame in mentioning it.

I suppose I ought to blame the women-folks that do not like to do slave-labor—it is something like "scabbing" on my sex not to put all the blame on women that I can. Father Adam showed us the trick, and out of respect for him we have never lost the hang of it, but I don't just see my way clear to prove a whole sex downright lazy and caring for nothing but to gad the streets and show off their clothes. Men do not like to do slave-labor, either (by which I mean useful, necessary labor), and the quicker they graduate into the ranks of those who make their living by doing ornamental work, such as writing deathless literatoor or painting foolish pictures, or useless work, or even destructive work, the smarter they're supposed to be. If every man had to cook for himself, and wash his dishes and his duds, and iron, and bake and sweep, and make his bed, and all like that, there would be a wild rush to get to water deep enough to drown in. What would be the use of living? And if, on top of that, they had to be alone nearly all the day with nothing to cheer or comfort them but the janitor whistling for the garbage, and the grocer calling up the dumb-waiter shaft for his order, and the laundry-boy coming for the clothes, and two or three peddlers, and the Salvation Army woman, and a book-agent or two, or somebody introducing a new kind of soap, or wanting to insure the furniture, and no real, human companionship, there'd be a new Declaration of Independence gotten out that would make the old one read as dull as a fifty-cent magazine. What makes good domestic servants so hard to get, either by marriage or the wages-system, is the Privacy of the Home, which in this case means the Lonesomeness of Housework. Conditions in the factory or shops may lack little of cold-blooded murder for money, but they'll have to lack less to be as terrifying as solitary confinement in a flat or farmhouse. No use talking, we're social beings. Deprive us of companionship and our way leads straight to the lunatic asylum.

But solitary confinement in a flat has points of difference from solitary confinement in a farmhouse. It isn't quite so solitary. And I say this, well knowing that farmers get telephone service for a dollar a month when we get stuck for three at least. And, in passing, I may say that rural telephones are not the factor in the social uplift that they're cracked up to be. When you can call up folks and talk to them on the 'phone, it doesn't make for hitching up and taking a drive in your best clothes and manners, fetching your Battenberg along and staying to eat of other women's cooking (a civilizing congeries of actions). And, furthermore: Being out of hands' reach is a great incentive to call up people and tell them just what you think of them and all their snippy ways.

Just as a good bright light at night is a far better protection for property than locks and bars, so living in a flat house, resonant as a drum from the basement where the hot water comes from to the roof where you hang out the wash, is more protective to the rights of women and children than many counsels that it is wrong to lick a lady. Though the father has long ceased to be the foreman of a factory, he feels it to be only his just due that he should boss the family. As the poet has truly said: "It isn't the coat that makes the man, it's the pants." And as a man, it is only right that he should wear them, figuratively as well as literally. The phrases of the ancient day spring naturally to his lips: "Don't you talk back to *me*" (me who has all the say) and "Jump when *I* speak to you" (the constant service of the antic world) and "'Why?' Because *I* tell you to. That's 'why.'"

But let him try that on in an apartment house. At the first loud angry word he knows that every ear, all up and down the air-shaft, will be a-cock with interest, and the eager whisper rustle through the house: "Keep still a minute, can't ye? They're at it in the third flat east again." He knows because he's listened just that way himself. And when the quarreling lasted past the interest-

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ing stage and became a nuisance, he himself has rattled the resounding rope in the dumb-waiter shaft and bawled: "Ah, for heaven's sake, stop chewin' the rag!" secure of the applause of his other fellow-sufferers. It is a chastening and gentling influence upon creation's lords who live in these egg-crates with tessellated entrances, and a separate set of "improvements" in each box, to know that if he carries "Wives, submit yourselves in all things to your husbands," and "Children, obey your parents," to its logical extreme of complete enforcement with the heavy hand, the men who meet him on the stairs with an unseeing nod, and wouldn't know it if he took sick and died, will cry aloud: "Go call the cop!" and "Send for the Gerry's!"

In that respect, at least (thanks to the apartment houses which the prelate from up the river in his black silk apron and knee-pants says "are not homes in any meaning of the word"), the motto of this country is ceasing to be "Mind your own business," and is becoming "The injury of one is the concern of all." It takes a saint, like the good Francis de Sales, to live as "recollected" a life in his cell as in the common room, and few of us are saints. We let down in our morals and our manners, when we get by ourselves, from our high standard when folks can see and hear us. Graft in public business is soon found out and a ballyhoo ensues, but private business goes on and on with more graft sticking to it than there are flies on a hog in a mud-wallow, and all that comes of it is a sly wink, or if it is particularly scaly, a cluck of the tongue, a head-shake and an expressive "Gee!" If, for example, Uncle Sam hired girls to sew ribbons on men's hats, and made them buy the silk to sew them on with, wouldn't there be a holler? There is little Privacy of the Home in Shinbone Alley, and a wife-beating there gets the police court in a lamb's tail's shake, but you and I know of plenty of detached houses with spacious grounds around them that are habitations of cruelty, where temper that verges upon homicidal mania rages for years and years without an interference. We have an old saying, "Street angel and house devil." Those so described loudly advocate the Privacy of the Home. A man's house should be his castle, and all that. Sometimes that privacy is rudely broken into, when, for example, a boy of sixteen who has seen his mother beaten ever since he can recollect, rebels at last against "Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands in all things," and shoots his father dead, and the coroner's jury comes in and sits gingerly upon the richly upholstered chairs.

Though we look back upon "the airly days" through glasses of rose-color, though we admire the hardy heroism that conquered the howling wilderness, though the names of those courageous pioneers are written on our history in letters that can never fade, yet, if they took us back to then, they'd have to tie us hand and foot first, just as the Indians did when they returned their captives to the whites. Not one of us but what would sooner die than live the cruel life that children had to endure then: the wife and mother softened it the best she could, but it was hard and cruel for her too. It was she that was the dearest. "Father" was respected, when it was possible, but, in the trinity of sacred things, "Mother, Home, and Heaven," she came first. And yet I feel kind of sorry for him, too. He did the best he knew how. There often was a real affection underneath the harsh, unbending tyranny expected of the household's head, affection it were weakness to display too openly. You remember Cowper's lines:

"Behind a frowning Providence
He hides a smiling face."

That was an earthly pattern for earthly fathers. They ought really to be kind, but they ought also to seem to frown.

It had to be that way, I reckon, when the Home is, first of all, a factory and after that a home, if there is time for it. But when the steam-engine started in to do the world's work, and do it with a whirling motion ninety-six times as plenteously, on the broad average, as the human muscle of those days could do it with back-and-forth motion, the self-sufficing commonwealth of the children who toiled for father, the mother, who not only toiled for father, but who bore him slaves until it killed her, and the lord of all, who, if he were not a *Legree*, had every legal right to be so, if he chose—all this had to pass away. That world in little turned clear over, and is now, I think, nearly right side up. That is, it is we that toil for the children nowadays, and not they for us. Which is as it should be, I believe. It was the recognition that that's what we're here for that put Publicity of the Schools in place of Privacy of the Home, though the reactionaries, then as now, yelled "Murder! Watch!" when the mechanics and laborers of the early nineteenth century banded together for the common welfare and forced "the better element" to grant free education.

They would have been right with Silk Apron and Knee-breeches in denouncing apartment houses as "not homes in any meaning of the word." They would have "viewed with alarm," no doubt, as he does. But what are you going to do about it? Abolish hot and cold water, janitor service and modern improvements, on which the apartment house depends? And if an apartment is not a "home," what is it? What would you call the place, be it ever so tucked up, in which a man lives with a woman on the third finger of whose left hand there is a plain gold band? whose mutual choice is twenty times as likely as in the old days to have been made, less because he was a good provider and she a first-rate cook, than because each saw in the other the makings of that pure glow of high and holy love that should shine steadily long after the flare of passion's kindlings had burned out—what do you call that, my lord of Albany, if not a home? Eh?

Whether we are resigned to have it so or not makes little difference. We're in the fix exactly of the farmer's wife. And if the old-time Home and all its Privacy slip from our grasp, though we grasp it never so firmly, though we cry aloud wth poor King Lear, "Cordelia! Cordelia! Stay a little!" and all in vain, shall we then lose faith that it is somehow going to come out all right? Is that Stream of Tendency that makes for righteousness going to dry up forever because its channel changes with the changing years? Will there be an end of single-hearted love that grows deeper and sweeter though the wrinkles come and the almond-tree of whitening hairs shall flourish? Will there be no more of life-long companionship and comradeship of the wife and husband though neither be afore or after other in authority, no more twining of children's arms about our necks, no more fond pride in them or fatuous questioning, "Do you see any young ones any place as nice as ours are?" Do you really fear that?

Ah, gwan!

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POLITICS AND THE PARCELS POST

AN argument must be judged on its merits no matter by whom it is advocated. While politically speaking Mr. W. R. Hearst is correctly regarded by Socialists as a very doubtful character, there is no disputing the argument that appears in a recent editorial from his *N. Y. American* on the parcels post, the express companies and the post office. We therefore willingly reproduce the following extracts:

"Given the Parcels Post, the producer would get more for what he sells, the consumer pay less for what he buys. The express companies would get nothing—the express companies which lap the cream from every man's pan of milk!

"As measuring that cream-lapping, consider a leaf—not two years old—from the records of one of these express companies. The Adams is neither the largest nor the hungriest of these corporations. And yet, in excess of the regular dividend of full 20 per cent., it declared an extra dividend of 200 per cent. The money aggregate of this extraordinary dividend was $24,000,000. If one express company can split up $24,000,000 over and above its usual dividends among its shareholders, what should be the extortionate figure for them all?

"From whom were these tremendous riches drained? From the country's producers and consumers. Every pocket between the oceans was bled to make up those express company millions. They represent a tremendous leak; and a leaky pocket, mind you, is as bad as a leaky ship. To stop and staunch this leak is the purpose of the Parcels Post.

"As showing the effects of a Parcels Post, you have but to consider our treaty-made postal arrangements with such nations as England and France. England and France have long had the Parcels Post. In our postal compacts with these countries we take cognizance of the fact. As a result you could, via the mails, send a parcel at a lesser charge to one living in London or Paris than to a neighbor in the next street.

"About the halls of Congress the express company influence sets its hungry face like stone against a Parcels Post. Do not underestimate the power of that influence. It has thus far been easily equal to controlling in the premises Congressional action. It has been easily equal to making private compacts with candidates while those candidates were making public promises to you.

"The Rural Free Delivery service is equipped of wagons and horses. The average load of each wagon as it leaves the office to carry the mail along its route is twenty-five pounds. Let us have the Parcels Post and make the load not twenty-five, but twelve hundred and fifty pounds. The post office would then reap a profit, not register a loss, and a political Postmaster-General no longer be able to use a deficit in his department as a club for the oppression, not to say suppression, of publications which criticise the administration."

Mr. Hearst advises his readers to write their representatives urging them to pass a parcels post bill or never show their faces to their constituents again. It is not likely they will do it of course, but we could hardly expect Hearst to advocate the Socialist argument against exploitation. However, he has at least the credit of putting the conditions clearly before them.

U. S. POST OFFICE, ATTEND!

THE following taken from the London *Observer* is such a perfect exemplification of the Russian methods in vogue in the United States that it should be used in the text-books for those who would pass the Civil Service examination for employment in the detective service of our post office. However, I don't suppose that Russia can teach us very much along the line of graft and blackmail.

An instance of how bribery works has just been made public in Moscow. Here it is!

M. Filatoff is a well-known man of business who supplies armor plates to the Russian Admiralty. The other day the chief of the detective department received information from one of M. Filatoff's *dismissed employees* to the effect that several tons weight of armor plates belonging to the State were in that gentleman's possession, and that the means by which he had obtained them were illegal. Detective Ragoolin was accordingly told off to make the preliminary investigations and adopt such measures as the occasion demanded. Thereupon, Ragoolin's friend, Detective Afanassieff, called on M. Filatoff and said: "I have a momentous communication to make to you. I am Detective Afanassieff. Let us talk it over quietly in the tea-house hard by." And thither the two betook themselves.

Detective Afanassieff then opened to the man of business the accusation levelled against him and the fact that a stringent investigation was beginning. "I have not been instructed to carry it out. My friend and colleague Ragoolin will see to that. But would it not be better for you to have the thing hushed up at once? You know what a deadly effect a charge of that kind has on a business man's affairs. Well, I am ready and willing to ward off those unpleasant consequences by stifling the matter at the outset. Of course, there will be some expenses in connection with it. You know yourself how these things have to be worked. We did not originate them. Neither can we put a stop to them. One thousand roubles will square everybody. Are you prepared to spend it? It is not much when you think what is at stake."

Credit is a delicate thing. Sometimes a mere breath of calumny will blight it. And M. Filatoff, fearing the effect of a full and formal police investigation on his credit, closed with the detective's offer. "Very well. Be it as you wish," he answered. "To-morrow we meet here and I will hand over the money to you."

THE DETECTIVES DETECTED.

On the following day the dealer in armor plates appeared at the trysting-place, and found not one but two detectives awaiting him. Afanassieff and Ragoolin were both present. The former spoke, and said he was very sorry to announce that as things now were, he could not carry out his promise for less than two thousand roubles. "You know yourself how such things are engineered. I find that the expenses are greater than I foresaw. My friend, Ragoolin, here, who is charged with the investigation, will bear out what I say. Let it be two thousand, then. Eh?" But M. Filatoff's back was up. He had brought the stipulated thousand unwillingly, but he refused to double it, and when the detective pair resorted to suasion and covert threats, he said he would talk with the Chief of the Detective Department. And he did. When the two detectives were apprised of this fact, they determined to punish him condignly. Accordingly, they had the tea-house in which he was sitting, surrounded by police and detectives, as though a desperate band of highwaymen were within. Filatoff was arrested with extreme ostentation and publicity. All Moscow, all Petersburg, knew of it. He was carried off to the police-station, and confined in a cell. It was not until one o'clock at night that the chief of the police, hearing what had taken place, set him free.

The two detectives have been relieved of their duties. But they are not a bit worse than their colleagues. The system is poisonous.

The Chilean Government railroad builds its own locomotives, the first having just had a successful trial. Ten others are in course of construction.

Tobacco growing is a new industry started last year in Ireland which promises successful results. The average of 102 acres planted in 1910 was 1,100 lbs. per acre, the maximum yield being 1,600 lbs. A government subsidy of nearly $30,000 was given in aid of the experimental growers, and it is expected that the industry will become of great importance as the general quality of the product is exceedingly good.

Welding metal with acetylene gas is now practised in upwards of 12,000 plants in Germany, the new process having displaced old methods of welding which were more than five times as expensive as the new device.

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
Editor

Vol. XV. No. 7 NEW YORK, JULY, 1911 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

The Coronation of King George V.

IF any of my readers may have thought that since I was in England during the Coronation that, therefore, I would be able to give a first-hand account of the show they will be disappointed. I fled London two days before the event and will not return till two days after it is all over.

This doesn't mean that I am such a stout republican that I wish to discourage further coronations by marking them with my disapproval by my absence. Not at all; I think any great free show that amuses the multitude just so much to the good in these dull gray times. However, in my own case the interest was hardly strong enough to induce me to get up at four o'clock in the morning in order to be sure of paying $25 for a seat and there to sit for five mortal hours waiting for King George to drive by.

If I had never seen Barnum's circus parade I think I might have made this much exertion. Elephants and camels and such like walking through the streets still have a great fascination, but mere men only distinguished by being sons of their fathers, well, no four A. M. for that.

And after all, what is the coronation to attract all this notice? There must be some significance in this gathering of the wealth of the world in London to see the crowning of a king who not only has no more power after the ceremony than before, but of a king that has no power anyway. The English king is but a mere figure-head.

The significance of the coronation is purely social, exactly as our horse show is the great event of the year, and an event far transcending the inauguration of a mere president.

The coronation is the great fashionable event of the international season and has no more political significance to the fashionables than a Bradley Martin ball. This don't mean the day of kings is passing, for it is not, or at any rate not rapidly.

There are two reasons among many making for the life of kings. First, the growing concentration of capital and its accompanying autocratic cast finds its natural reflex in a king. A republic of to-day is representative of the old-time competitive days of democratic industry, and as that type of industry is passing that sort of a republic is also passing. While Taft is called President, nevertheless he exerts far more power both executively and legislatively than any potentate in Europe or any prime minister for that matter and, moreover, it is an irresponsible power, and to all intents and purposes he is even more than a king.

The constitution never contemplated that the president would develop into such an autocrat, but on the other hand the constitution never thought of a railway trust, for there were no railways when the constitution was written.

It was especially arranged by our forefathers that the president should not influence legislation and yet the presidents of to-day are coming to be almost the whole thing as to legislation. Look how Taft advocated and worked for the Canadian reciprocity matter and how he practically forces both houses to obey his will. I am not criticising him for this or saying that it's a bad thing. As a matter of fact I think it a much better thing that we have one man legislate for us whom we know and to that extent can make morally responsible, than it is to have a horde of unknown and irresponsible grafters log-roll bills through a Congress.

As long as we have a Morgan in finance we naturally must expect to see a Taft president, and we are lucky to have as good a man as Taft. Not that he is anything to be especially proud about. His letter at the time of the Warren pardon disclosed a far weaker man than I had thought, weaker and smaller. However, he is not so bad as Teddy.

In Europe there was a marked movement toward republicanism some thirty or forty years ago, but it has all died out. It has been crushed between Socialism on the one hand and the concentration of capital on the other.

The workers see that there is no use of wasting their energies attacking the feudal kings who have little or no power, when the industrial kings, who have a great and growing power, are the real enemies.

(*Continued on page* 3.)

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UNDOUBTEDLY the most significant occurrence of the past month concerning Socialism is the suggestion of Judge Gary at the Steel Trust investigation, to the effect that the Government should regulate the prices of steel products and generally supervise and control the industry. It had a most alarming effect on the local capitalist press, which correctly saw in it a distinct suggestion of "State Socialism." Gary, however, escaped denunciation, probably for the reason that those who were willing to denounce him could suggest no alternative.

This is the sort of "Socialism" which its enemies insist Socialists desire to bring about—slavery to the State, with the State as capitalist. It is this conception that is responsible for all the drivel that has been written and spoken about the "tyranny of Socialism."

What is remarkable about it, however, is that it is now suggested not by Socialists, but by capitalists. The incident, like a hundred other examples, merely goes to show that all the objectionable measures and things imputed to Socialists are in reality brought about by capitalists, or suggested by them, as in this case.

No Socialist paper or writer has acclaimed or even endorsed Gary's suggestion, a fact which is sufficient evidence that he has not suggested anything that Socialists want.

But they have explained the forces that compelled him to offer the suggestion, and these forces are driving society unerringly toward ultimate Socialism, of which the "State Socialism" of Gary is a necessary stage. Judge Gary may not and likely has not concerned himself with any Socialist theories on this subject, and probably has no conception that his suggestion has any relation thereto whatever. Practical business men of his type do not trouble themselves with theories or isms of any particular kind. They are individualists and opportunists incarnate.

What Gary proposes is a very different thing to the motto which this journal has adopted. WILSHIRE'S says, "Let the Nation own the Trusts." Judge Gary says, "let the government regulate the trusts and the capitalists own the government."

But none the less, it leads toward ultimate Socialism. To the millions who really imagine that the government as now constituted, represents the community, it will make the next step appear much simpler and easier. Capitalist government ownership actually changes nothing of the present relation between exploiters and exploited, but it simplifies the problem for the latter. They have but to take the government from the capitalists, and the industries go with it. And that is the one merit that "State Socialism" possesses.

It is a perception more or less clear, of this danger, that impels the capitalist press to view with alarm such a proposal as Gary's, and their alarm is justified.

When conditions develop to the point where other great capitalists of the Gary type see the necessity as he does, we are going to have his suggestion realized, despite all protests. What the Morgans and Rockefellers and Garys want will become a national want and will be represented as such. They have had their way in the past because of their possession of economic power, and they will have their way in the future, with still more certainty, seeing that their economic power is increasing, not diminishing.

What Socialists want or desire just now counts for little when their trifling power is considered. It is the capitalist's move, and as they move toward Socialism, we explain why and wherefore, and prepare the workers for the next move, when the capitalist class has reached its "State Socialist" limit.

IT is not so many years ago when most people, and especially Americans, looked for the comparatively quick and positively certain dissolution of the British Empire. Australia, it was promised, was to be a completely autonomous nation like the United States, while Canada could wish for no greater glory than to be admitted as one of the States under the starry flag of our grand country of liberty.

If the Coronation has done nothing else it certainly should have completed the awakening from this dream of the theorists, for if there was any one sentiment upon which all Britishers and Colonials were agreed, it was the necessity of making the present coalition of Great Britain with her Colonies a permanent one.

There was not one voice raised to suggest that there would be ever a time when any single Colony would think the time had arrived for it to make its own hive. All were devoted to the idea of a great union of free and equal autonomous states under one flag.

While it was recognized that there was no feeling of the right of the King to rule this Empire from any "divine right," it was equally recognized that pending some other plan there was nothing as simple to unite the different peoples of the Colonies and the Mother Country as the person of a King. Therefore the King was and is accepted as a political necessity, although paradoxically Royalty is felt to be an anachronism.

Of course sooner or later there must be formed a new body, the present British Parliament must have within it representatives from the Colonies. This is not as easy a solution of the difficulty of how the Colonies are to be represented as might be at first glance thought, because being represented in Parliament naturally diminishes the very thing now most jealously guarded, autonomy.

However, you can't have your cake and eat it too. Sooner or later the Colonies must surrender some of their autonomy in order to get the complete benefits of Imperial Federation.

I say "Imperial" because "Imperial" is the word now in use in this connection, but at the same time I know that the final federation will be fully democratic and be without either King or President.

We may have to wait for this however until we have the "Federation of Man."

Walter V. Osborne, the railroad porter who gained some notoriety recently in England by his action against the Amalgamated Railway Servants, which resulted in the famous "Osborne decision," has been given a position in the office of the British Constitution Association, a conservative institution. The decision forbade the use of Trade Union funds for political purposes, but is likely to be repealed shortly, owing to the fight being put up against it by the labor bodies of Great Britain.

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The Coronation of King George V.

(*Continued from page* 1.)

The capitalists are recognizing the usefulness of a king to them and to their business. He gives stability and a center for them to rally about. A king also means a court, and a court means fashion. Therefore, the wives of the rich are especially strong supporters of a monarch. This is especially marked with the rich American women who are making Europe their home. A court gives them a chance to exhibit their wealth ostentatiously far better than a republic. It is well known that Paris has lost much of its vogue as a fashionable Mecca since the downfall of Louis Napoleon. At one time the rich American's heaven was Paris. Now it is London.

The second reason for a king exists in the method of working the parliamentary system with a responsible ministry.

In order to have a successful working of the system you must have a prime minister, responsible to and chosen by a king, a minister who can command a majority of parliament. When the king chooses a man who is the leader of the majority party it's a comparatively simple matter, but sometimes there is no majority party. In most of the parliaments of Europe there are more than two parties, and no single party has a clear majority. In France, as we know, there is often a rapid succession of prime ministers chosen by the president, who takes the place of a king, and it's a toss-up how many days the chosen one can command his majority made up from the different parties in the chamber. While he holds his majority, however, the prime minister is the autocrat of France and his creator, the president who has chosen him, being merely a figure-head. Inasmuch as it is recognised that there is necessity for a figure-head to do the choosing of the prime ministers it would seem that the general custom in Europe to have a hereditary man fill this office has advantages over putting into the place a more or less of a nonentity, as the French president is sure to be.

In England and the other countries too, for that matter, the prime minister appoints his cabinet ministers, and he and his cabinet constitute the real governors of the nation.

It is this feature of the parliamentary system with its natural tendency to a cabinet oligarchy which calls for maledictions from the Chestertons and Bellocs, But while I can see the force of their argument I must confess that I can see no other outcome for the parliamentary system except the incorporation of the initiative and referendum, and that does not seem to be a solution viewed with much favor by anyone in England outside of the Tory party. It is most probable, too, that the Tories will cool off in their ardor for the referendum as soon as the passage of the Home Rule Bill will prevent them from seeking the opinion of the country upon the only question that they oppose which would possibly not command a majority vote of the electorate.

Until England and the other parliamentary countries decide to adopt the initiative and referendum there is a necessity for some man outside of parliament selecting a prime minister, and it is probably about as simple to have this man, who will also act as the national figure-head, be a hereditary king as an elected president.

In the United States we have no responsible prime minister and the result is that we have our king and prime minister rolled into a Taft.

Therefore there are real reasons in Europe why, as things are as they are, the continued existence of kings and therefore the coronation of King George cannot be viewed as the last flicker of the candle by any means.

The people must have a figure-head to speak for them if they do not have the initiative and referendum. They must have a Taft or a king.

Let Australia Own Her Trusts

THE remarkable thing about the referendum vote in Australia upon the question of "Shall the Nation Own the Trusts" was not that two-thirds of the people voted against the proposal, but that one-third should have voted affirmatively.

There was little or no time for the education of the people upon such a very revolutionary proposal, and it is not surprising that they refused to endorse it on such short notice.

The labor leaders all are strongly of the opinion that when the proposal is again submitted that it will command a majority vote.

Once settled affirmatively and the Trusts taken over, then the question will be settled forever, for no one would ever dream of transferring them back again to the private owners.

We wonder when the American people will have a chance to a referendum vote upon the question of "Let the Nation Own the Trusts"?

Nationally Owned Telephones in England

HAVING tried private ownership of telephones for a long number of years and found it a failure, the British Government has decided to take the business over and run it as a branch of its Post Office department.

The transfer will be completed next December and involves the payment of something like $30,000,000 to the private companies, and the taking over by the State of the employment of over 18,000 operatives.

The United States is the only nation to-day that does not own and operate its own telegraph lines. It will soon be the only one that does not own its telephones.

Britain's Beer Trust

INCREASED taxation of the brewing industries of Great Britain, it is claimed, is necessitating centralization of the industry. The great firm of Allsopps, Limited, capitalized at an enormous sum, is now seeking combination with other brewing firms and has started by consolidating with the hardly less extensive concern of Ind, Coope & Co. Allsopps' chairman stated that this was but an initial step and when the combinations were complete the result would be the most enormous brewing concern England had ever known.

The New Cookery

"PAPER bag cooking" is the latest thing in the culinary line, and seems to be all the rage in England at present. Millions of specially prepared paper bags are being sold, and can be used either in boiling, baking, stewing, frying or roasting equally well. Food can also be steamed in them by the ordinary method of cooking. The bags are sold in various sizes from sixty cents to two dollars. The innovation will doubtless reach this country shortly.

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The Value of National Health

WITH Mr. Lloyd George as spokesman and director, the tide of social and industrial reform in England is in full flood. In a remarkable address at Birmingham recently, the Chancellor of the Exchequer after declaring that the National Insurance Bill would be enacted into law within three months, went on to develop his ideas of future legislation. He summed up the problem as follows:

The evil in this and in every old country in the world is that they have, side by side with great and most extravagant wealth, multitudes of people who cannot consider even a bare subsistence as assured to them, meaning that minimum of food, raiment and shelter which is essential to keep human life in its tenement of clay at all.

The speaker then dealt with the subject of preventable illness, especially tuberculosis, which he declared carried off about eighty thousand people annually. He continued:

"As a rule, it is the worker who is attacked. As one man said: It rarely attacks a man who pays income tax. I do not suggest that as a remedy. But you have industries in Birmingham and in the surrounding district which are peculiarly liable to it—your brass working, some of your iron working. Go to Sheffield—your cutlery, file-making. These trades are peculiarly liable. Now, a man clings to his work as long as he can, because he knows if he gives it up there will be no one to provide for his family.

"What do we do in the Bill? We open a new prospect for that worker. We plant all over Britain cities of refuge to which we can flee from this avenger of life. We are setting a million and a half aside for the purpose of building sanatoria throughout the country. There will be a million for maintaining them. The worker now will be able to command medical attendance. He will discover the disease in time. He will be taken to these institutions in a few months. The bulk of the cases that are taken in time are cured. He will be restored to his health, restored to his workshop, a fit, capable citizen, instead of being a wreck.

"Now, that is one thing that we are doing. What next? We have a provision for maternity—an allowance of 30s., which, I think, is one of the most valuable provisions of the Bill, and we are going to see that the money is spent for the purpose for which it is designed, in spite of one or two protests we have had from friendly societies. The money is meant for the mother—to help her in discharging the sacred function of motherhood by proper treatment and fair play, so as to put an end to this disgraceful infantile mortality which we have got in this country.

"What else have we got? It is no use sending men to sanatoria, it is no use even giving them free doctoring, unless you relieve them from anxiety about their households. So we are making provision for the maintenance of the family during the time a man is under the doctor's hands, when he is fighting his struggle with the angel of death. We look after his children for him. Let him have both hands free to fight with the help of a doctor, and he will pull through.

"The allowance we are making is not a sumptuous one to begin with, but it will grow. It will grow without a single addition or charge upon employer or employed. One of the advantages of our scheme is that it will expand, it will fructify, it will bear more fruit. This is the beginning—and the beginning of a good deal more, before we have done. We are not done with fighting poverty and misery in this land.

These statements were interrupted with tremendous applause from the audience. The Chancellor, after again emphasizing the need of preserving the national health, then took up the subject of protection of property and contrasted the care and attention it received with the neglect of human life. He declared that in the future the latter would receive equal attention, and added that unsanitary property would not be permitted to menace the health of the community. On this subject he hit straight from the shoulder, and there was no mistaking his meaning. He declared:

"There is no city or town—nay, not a village—but you have got the reek of insanitary property. I want to see the law protecting property. Yes, but I also want to see it protecting the workers' home. I would treat the man who received rents or ground rents, from insanitary dwellings which kill little children, I would treat him as I would treat the receiver of stolen property. (Loud cheers.) They won't have very much to say in the future.

"Look at the minuteness with which the most insignificant property is protected. Take the game of the land. Why should not life and health be protected with the same ruthlessness, with the same remorselessness, with the same care? That ought to be our concern. If we are going to make this land greater than it is, if we are going to make it worthy of the splendid Empire of which it is the centre, if we are going to make it worthy of the position in the story of humanity which it ought to achieve, then the first thing we ought to do is to cleanse Britain of the foul habitations which spread corruption, disease and death in our great cities."

These declarations, so different in aggressiveness from the platitudes of the average reformer, were received with storms of cheers.

Before leaving the platform, the Chancellor let it be known plainly that all he had said was but a beginning—that there was much more to follow. "I never said," he concluded, "that this bill was a final solution. I am not putting it forward as a complete remedy. It is but one of a series we are advancing on the road, but it is an essential part of the journey."

Mr. George did not speak in detail of the final solution, but he said enough to give the impression that it would be found in Socialism alone.

One can imagine the alarm that would be raised if an American statesman as powerful and influential as Lloyd George delivered such an address on this side of the Atlantic. His denunciation as an open revolutionist and demagogue would follow as a matter of course.

And yet Lloyd George is very far from being a revolutionist, and certainly does not consider himself as such. His declarations are of the very essence of that "paternalism" which our capitalists presumably hold in utter abhorrence, and which they use continually as an accusation against Socialism. It is one of the ironies of our absurd industrial system that its upholders should now be driven by force of circumstances to inaugurate that very "paternalism" they have for decades denounced as the essence of Socialism. For it is certainly not the conscious, deliberately formulated demand of the British workers that is responsible for the Lloyd George proposals. On the contrary, Mr. George in all his public addresses plainly states that these measures are designed to help the helpless, he assumes that the workers have not sufficient sense to demand them or power enough to enforce their demand. In the very address from which the above extracts are taken, he emphasizes this position by comparing human beings to horses and machines. The latter he says are property, and are therefore recognized as valuable, and in consequence taken care of. The workers are quite as valuable, more so in fact, but the sense of ownership in them is not developed in the propertied classes, therefore they are neglected. He wants the change made on this showing, and plainly states that the workers are assets—property—like horses and machines, only really more valuable.

Nevertheless, his ideas are in accord with social progress, even if they ignore the initiative of the workers. That will certainly come later, and it is only fair to Mr. George to admit that when they are ready to put through the final solution, he will be with them. He is not advocating social revolution—possibly from the reform standpoint he is correct in not advocating it—but he certainly does not fear it, and explicitly says so.

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Post Office Inquisition

WHEN a Socialist says that he is being persecuted by the post office and driven to Canada as I was ten years ago and interfered with in my private mining business to-day, nobody much believes him. However, when the post office commences to attack the big magazines and the agricultural press, then there appears to be something doing, as is instanced by the following editorial from Hearst's "American" of May 9th:

When the Post Office Department sought a law advancing postal rates on magazines it was something more than mere gossip that the motive was to punish the popular magazines for criticising the Administration, or to stifle such criticism by holding over all magazines a threat—like some suspended sword of Damocles. If that were the motive, investigation should discover it and Mr. Hitchcock be impeached.

The publishers and editors of our great magazines—names can be given—declare that while in Washington, laying before Congress their opposition and the reasons of it, to the Hitchcock programme, they were everywhere "shadowed" by departmental sleuths. They assert that their mails were plundered, their letters opened. If this be true, or any part of it be true, investigation should show it and some one be impeached. Such methods would disgrace a tyranny, heap infamy upon a despotism. To countenance them would be to stamp as failures both Yorktown and Bunker Hill. In that case we might better have remained an English province, since England would not support such scoundrelisms.

What follows came to the Post Office surface about a fortnight ago.

Mr. Myrick publishes an agricultural magazine. Last November it spoke harshly of the Administration and advised its readers to repudiate it. Mr. Myrick, through his weekly, urged the farmers to help elect a Democratic Congress.

Immediately thereafter Mr. Hitchcock's agents began poking about, in person and by letters, among Mr. Myrick's subscribers. Mr. Hitchcock's agents wound up their pryings and peerings, their pokings and sleuthings by reporting that Mr. Myrick's farm weekly was not a magazine, but a mere advertising vehicle. They recommended that it be refused place in the mails as second-class mail matter. It should be accepted—they said—only as third-class matter and pay first-class rates.

The Post Office Department, Mr. Hitchcock in command, was about to proceed in accordance with these findings and recommendations, when Mr. Myrick demanded a hearing. The hearing before Third Assistant Postmaster-General Britt was held on April 15th.

Mr. Myrick was present and sworn. He said that his magazine was seventy-five years old. If the magazine were third-class and not second-class matter, why had the Post Office authorities been so long blind and deaf and dumb to that important truth? asked Mr. Myrick.

On the question of his magazine being not a magazine, but a mere advertising medium, Mr. Myrick has this to say: His magazine devoted but 40 per cent. of its space to advertising. Other magazines, tamer and more tepid politically, with which Mr. Hitchcock found no fault, gave up to advertising as much as full 70 per cent. Why make fish of him and flesh of the others? asked Mr. Myrick.

The difference between first-class and second-class matter, Mr. Myrick explained, would be in his agricultural case a deadly difference. That postal difference would figure into a total of $18,000 a week. To exact it was to kill his publication—to annihilate it. Was it the Post Office purpose, Mr. Hitchcock at the head, to destroy Mr. Myrick's property? His magazine was worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. Was it to be struck down at one Post Office blow?

If so, why? asked Mr. Myrick.

It was here the unexpected came to pass. Ten Senators—no one knew why—had decided to be present at the hearing. At the query, Why has the Post Office Department taken the trail of Mr. Myrick's farm magazine? Senator Stone became inquisitive.

"Is it not a fact," asked Senator Stone of Mr. Myrick, "that you issued an extra edition on November 1st, which advised your million subscribers to vote the Democratic ticket? The edition was called the 'New Taft Tax in a New Form.' And isn't it a fact that you believed that in certain sections of the country this edition had the effect of returning Democratic Congressmen to seats that had been filled for years by Republicans?"

"Yes," replied Mr. Myrick.

"This Post Office investigation into your affairs was started shortly after that extra edition, was it not?"

Mr. Myrick replied in the affirmative.

"Do you think that the extra edition was the real cause that started the Post Office Department on your trail?"

"I would rather not answer that question," said Mr. Myrick.

And the cat was out of the bag.

Senator Lodge turned upon Assistant Postmaster-General Britt. Said Senator Lodge:

"What right has the Post Office Department to go prying into a man's affairs of this kind? Can you quote the statute from which they derive the authority?"

"It is a matter of postal regulations, and I do not know that it is founded on any statute," replied Mr. Britt.

At this Senator Gore broke in with: "Has this department re-established the ancient Inquisition? I had no idea that the inspectors were used as they have been in this case. One would think this man was a criminal instead of the editor of a magazine."

Mr. Britt, acting for Mr. Hitchcock and the Post Office Department, "reserved his decision." Congress, however, should not reserve its action. It should light the torch of inquiry and go into Post Office Department methods. If somebody is using the department as a party club, that somebody should be impeached. Also, the power to say what is and what is not second-class mail matter should be taken from the Postmaster-General and given to the courts.

Resting When the Work is Done—For Landlords Only

IS there anything remarkable in a man resting and eating after his work is done? No.

Is there anything more remarkable in the community doing so? No.

Is there anything more remarkable in *part* of the community doing so?

Most certainly there is, would be the reply of the London "Westminster Gazette," if one is to judge by the following note taken recently from its columns:

The agricultural laborers near Montpellier, in the South of France, have exacted the right to work from their employers. A few days ago they were informed by the farmers that for a space their labor would no longer be needed in the fields. The crops were growing beautifully under the warm sun, and all would be well, said the farmers, if they were left alone until the harvest. But the laborers wanted to work and maintained that they had a right to their wages. So they went into the fields every day as usual, and at the end of the week they demanded their wages—with threats. They were refused, until they began to carry out their threats of breaking everything they could lay hands on, and then the farmers seem to have paid up. A French paper suggests that if this demand for the right of work is once conceded it may have some startling results. The cabmen will force wayfarers into their cabs on the ground that they have a right to their fares; the publican will wait outside his inn and compel the passer-by to drink. The same journal draws an alarming picture of twelve domestics forcing their attentions on the poor householder, who will be compelled to give them work. A dozen motor-cars will wait on us in the morning to take us for a ride, that their chauffeurs may be employed, and half a dozen tailors will demand their right to cut half a dozen suits for us in the name of the law. We fancy that we have also heard of a Bill for the right to work in this country. We can't help feeling glad now that it did not pass into law. We had no idea at the time that Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had such dreadful ideas in their heads.

The point the "Westminster Gazette" does not notice is that what these men really wish is not to cultivate crops already well cultivated, but to gather in the reward for the cultivation that they have already done.

Is it not absurd to say to the peasants, "you have worked so hard and well that your work is finished, therefore you must starve to death because the crops are so abundant. If there is any resting and eating to be done, the landlord is quite able to do that job for the whole community"?

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Democracy for British Empire

AT the recent "Council of Empire," held at the Foreign Office in London, Mr. Asquith, Premier of Great Britain, in his opening address made the following significant remarks as to the evolution of ideas regarding the policy of the Empire:

There are two things in the self-governing British Empire which are unique in the history of great political aggregations.

The first is the reign of law: wherever the King's writ runs, it is the symbol and messenger not of an arbitrary authority, but of rights shared by every citizen, and capable of being asserted and made effective by the tribunals of the land. The second is the combination of local autonomy—absolute, unfettered, complete—with loyalty to a common head, co-operation, spontaneous and unforced, for common interests and purposes, and, I may add, a common trusteeship, whether it be in India or in the Crown Colonies, or in the Protectorates, or within our own borders, of the interests and fortunes of fellow subjects who have not yet attained, or perhaps in some cases may never attain, to the full stature of self-government.

These general considerations, gentlemen, familiar as they are to all of you, may not be wholly out of place when we are contemplating in advance the work which is set before this Imperial Conference. In the early Victorian era there were two rough and ready solutions for what was regarded, with some impatience, by the British statesmen of that day as the "Colonial problem." The one was centralization—the Government, that is, except in relatively trivial matters, of all the outlying parts of the Empire from an office in Downing Street. The other was disintegration, and the acquiescence in, perhaps the encouragement of, a process of successive "Hivings off," by which, without the hazards or embitterments of coercion, each community, as it grew to political manhood, would follow the example of the American Colonies, and start an independent and sovereign existence of its own. After seventy years' experience of Imperial evolution, it may be said with confidence that neither of these theories commands the faintest support to-day, either at home or in any part of our self-governing Empire.

Making all allowances for differences between theory and practice, this declaration of the Premier certainly points to an ever widening democracy in government, and leaves the way clear to unlimited peaceful change. Unhampered by an absurd Supreme Court and an antiquated constitution, as we are on this side, it is altogether likely that Great Britain and her colonies will finally achieve complete political and industrial democracy, with much less friction and rupture than we can make similar changes. In theory at any rate the British Premier is certainly progressive. He sees clearly enough that social coherence between peoples can only develop through the development of democracy, while on this side our government steadily becomes more autocratic and despotic. It certainly is one of the ironies of history to observe a monarchy and a republic thus headed in different directions.

THE "STREET CAR HOG."

(From *The Public*, Chicago, Ill.)

Every now and again the department of "Letters to the Editor" in some one or another of our newspapers blooms out with verbal assaults upon the "street car hog"; and occasionally the weary editorial writer, for want of a better subject, takes up the refrain. Who is it that they call "street car hog"? Not the man that sprawls over seats. Not the man who obstructs passageways. Not the man who elbows himself into a car already overcrowded. Not the man who pushes into cars ahead of women or weaker or older men than himself in order to grab a seat. The "street car hog" seems to be the man who, having paid for a seat (after waiting for it, possibly, while one crowded car after another went by), is discourteous enough to retain it, though women or his elders of his own sex who have come aboard after the seats are all taken, have to stand.

He *is* discourteous, of course. No one would do in a drawing room what he does in a street car. But then drawing room seats are not bought and sold. Where seats are bought and sold, the rule is a rule of property rather than one of courtesy. Is a man a "theatre hog" if he keeps the seat he has paid for while later comers stand? Is a man an "automobile hog" if he doesn't get out and walk in order to let some one without an automobile get in and ride? Is a man a "holiday hog" if he keeps the seat on the reviewing stand which he has paid for while older men and women of all ages stand on the curb? Certainly not. Then why is any man—or boy, for that matter—a "street car hog" because he doesn't politely give up the car seat he has paid for? It is his property for that ride as truly as if it were worth five dollars instead of five cents. If he gives up his property to another, just as matter of good feeling, we may applaud his generosity; but if he prefers to keep his property, who has any right to complain? Surely not the person who wants it.

True enough there is somewhere in this matter a responsibility to women and old men. But a little reflection will place the responsibility not upon owners of seats who refuse to give them away, but upon street car officials who do business on the Yerkes theory that "the money is in the straps." When the street car business is so conducted as to call upon seat owners to give up their property to other passengers every time they buy a seat, no one is a "hog" for keeping the seat he buys. If the street car business were fairly done, and the appeal to courtesy were occasional, we are sure that few persons would sit while weaker or older ones stood. The real "street car hog" is the manager who so conducts the street car business as to pack passengers, instead of seating them.

Where Canada Beats Us

ALL comparison between the economics of Canada and the United States, says A. J. Nock in the American Magazine, must be determined by four fundamental differences.

I. Canada has no Constitution.

II. Canada has no Supreme Court.

For these two great blessings, Mr. Maclean tells me, Canadians thank God daily—especially when they see how the progress of democracy is hampered in the United States. When a measure is enacted by the Canadian people in their Parliament, it goes into execution forthwith; whereas the acts of the United States Congress have to pass the scrutiny of nine gentlemen whose knowledge of law is profound and whose acquaintance with democracy (bar one—Justice Harlan) is extremely casual and uncertain. There is no such thing as "government by injunction" in the Dominion of Canada.

III. In Canada all the powers not expressly conferred upon the Provinces inhere in the Dominion Government at Ottawa.

In the United States it is the other way around. All the powers not expressly conferred upon the federal government at Washington reside in the several States.

The Canadians profited by our blunders, you see: Canada will never have to waste any blood or treasure over State sovereignty.

IV. Canada has a responsible Ministry.

Not a star-chamber like our Cabinet, a closed corporation, safe from scrutiny and question. The heads of departments in Canada are on the floor of the House, subject to interrogation by any member of the Parliament at any time, on any subject connected with their job. They have to answer too—that is what they are there for. The recent melancholy experience with the investigation of Mr. Ballinger shows how far Canada is ahead of us on this point. Imagine Mr. Ballinger at the outset of his secretaryship, with no kid-gloved partisan committee pecking at him daintily, but on the floor of the House, with the Insurgents and the Democrats pitching questions into him, day after day—Mr. Murdock, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Champ Clark—well, one just can't imagine it. Imagination recoils on itself at the attempt.

A Fowl Combination

The establishment of a $700,000 corporation, to be known as the Home and Foreign Poultry Farms, Limited, is reported from England and the Continent. Poultry farming in all its branches is to be operated and the concern promises to drive the little poultry farmer out of the business, which was always considered as peculiarly appropriate for the owners of petty rural capital, as thousands of articles advising the starting of small chicken farms attest. The new concern estimates its profits for the first year at over $200,000, and the business will be extended as rapidly as possible. The importation of poultry and eggs into England last year exceeded $40,000,000, and Germany imported in excess of $55,000,000, a fact the company points out in its prospectus as guaranteeing its future success. A large feather business is also provided for, and the little poultry raiser is now confronted with a competition that will bring out the best that is in him—and add it to the trust.

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Book Review

WAR—WHAT FOR? By George R. Kirkpatrick. Cloth, 350 pp. $1.20 post paid. Published by the Author at West Lafayette, Ohio.

At last reports more than twenty thousand copies of this work had been sold, and the demand was steadily increasing. To our knowledge it is the first real anti-militarist work ever published in this country, and while it may not be the last, it looks as if the writers on this subject who come after Kirkpatrick will be working in a well-gleaned field. We have never seen so much information packed into 350 pages as this book contains, not hearsay or rumor, but reliable information from official sources. Kirkpatrick makes out his case against war from the admissions and statements of the upholders of and apologists for war.

And what a case it is! The material was gathered and arranged carefully and laboriously, and how it looks after presentation by the master hand of the author and compiler is simply beyond our power of description; we have seen many eulogistic reviews of this work, and can only say that the best of them fall far short of doing it justice. We do not like to use laudatory adjectives to excess, so will simply observe that it has never been our fortune to meet with such a powerful, vivid and irrefutable indictment of war and the system that causes it, in all our reading.

It has been said that the work is not "artistic," a remark which is undoubtedly true in the conventional acceptance of that term. But the merit of the work lies in its tremendous power and hideous reality of description. Were it "artistic" in the sense of the word as used by the ordinary book reviewer, its value would be largely destroyed.

The claim of the Russian painter of battle pictures, Verestchagin, to be considered an artist has been disputed, and in the same way Kirkpatrick may be denied that title. But Verestchagin painted war as it really is, and Kirkpatrick writes it as it really is, and therein lies the merit of both. And if hell can be depicted artistically, both have succeeded. Like the Russian's pictures, Kirkpatrick's book is horrifying, but invaluable. And there are millions who need exactly that sort of information presented in exactly that way. It is a commonplace saying that war is hell, but most people have to be taken by the heels and hung over the brink of the pit before they realize the actual sense of the expression; and that Kirkpatrick does.

The book is admirably suited to the needs of the "young person" of the male persuasion, who, with a head full of romantic notions of patriotism and the glory of war, feels inclined to offer himself for cannon fodder in the military or naval services, and who aspires to fall like a "soldier" on the field of battle wrapped in Stars and Stripes, union jacks and tricolors, etc., according to his preference in flags. Kirkpatrick shows such deluded youth that the fall in question is, not to put too fine a point upon it, a highly unpleasant experience and not at all up to the specifications required in romantic militarist literature.

Twenty thousand copies sold may be considered satisfactory enough until one reads the book. Then the need for ten times twenty thousand becomes apparent. And especially are there a hundred thousand young men in the military and naval service here who need Dr. Kirkpatrick's specific as a prophylactic much more than that now served out to them as a safeguard against sexual disease. For Kirkpatrick has rendered humanity a service in writing this work, and we confidently predict that it will not be forgotten until the curse it is aimed at has perished from the earth.

Books Received

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. By J. Ramsay Macdonald, Chairman of the British Labor Party. Cloth, 252 pp. 75 cents net. Henry Holt and Co., Publishers, New York.

THE SOCIAL EVIL AND THE REMEDY. By J. H. Greer, M. D. Paper, 64 pp. 10 cents.

HOW CAPITALISM HAS HYPNOTIZED SOCIETY. By W. Thurston Brown. Paper, 30 pp. 10 cents.

THE ROSE DOOR. By Estelle Baker. Cloth, 202 pp., illus. $1.00. C. H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago, Ill.

Tory Socialism

AS illustrative of the movement in England toward the idea of its being the duty of the community to care for its members, the following from a recent speech by Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Tory Party, is interesting:

"There is no more hearty or genuine supporter of social reform in this country than I am myself. (Cheers.) While I acknowledge its extreme difficulties, while I recognize that hasty and ill-considered measures brought forward with the best intentions may sometimes do more harm than good, I yet hold firmly to the faith that in these days the idea that the Legislature and the Government are to stand aside from all social problems and leave these to work themselves out at their own sweet will, that those who hold that belong to a school which has long been exploded, which never was the school of the party to which I belong. It was indeed the school of the Radical Free Traders, and which even they have now abandoned, and which I do not think will ever again be professed or acted upon by any great party in the State."

Profits Will Accrue

THE current belief that municipally conducted industries are unprofitable is completely exploded by the following table issued by the London County Council, detailing the returns from London municipalities in which electric undertakings were operated by the municipalities. The boroughs listed showed profits in Pounds sterling for the year 1909-10 as tabled below:

Battersea	£7,733
Bermondsey	1,205
Fulham	5,621
Hackney	2,243
Hammersmith	6,582
Hampstead	1,031
Poplar	7,653
Marylebone	36,087
St. Pancras	3,173
Shoreditch	2,078
Southwark	718
Stepney	4,816
Stoke Newington	417

Only in one municipality was there a loss on municipally supplied electric power, the borough of Woolwich showing a loss of £4,798. The total number of electric units supplied through these municipalities for the year amounted to 75,115,968.

The real objection to municipal undertakings lies in the fact that the profits do not go into the hands of private individuals, but into those of the community, so the falsehood is invented that there are no profits whatever.

From a Socialist Visitor to Bishop

1789 Third St., San Diego, Cal.
June 4th, 1911.

MR. GAYLORD WILSHIRE, London England.

Dear Mr. Wilshire:—I arrived at Bishop May 9th, and after an interview with Mr. Lodge I called on a number of prominent business men, including some of wide experience who had visited the mine and taken samples of the ore from different levels and had them assayed by competent and reliable assayers, and, in every instance, they verified all statements made by Mr. Lodge on the values and approximate cost of extraction of the bullion from the ore.

A few days after I reached Bishop, Mr. Lodge took me up to the mine, thus furnishing me with an opportunity to see with my own eyes the buildings, machinery and other equipment. I found that the buildings were commodious and well put up, and the machinery the very best that could be obtained for the requirements connected with the development of the property. Practical miners afterward told me that, so far, it had been the best managed mining property in Inyo County.

I am well pleased to inform you that I am perfectly satisfied with my investment, and believe that ultimately you will prove to the world that when you stated that Bishop Creek Mine was the World's greatest gold mine, you were not exaggerating in any sense of the word. With best wishes for your future success, I am,

Yours truly,
F. W. TAYLOR.

P. S.—You are at perfect liberty to publish this report, if you feel that it will be of any use to you. F. T.

A Menacing Military Chant

PARIS *Figaro* of recent date contains a significant item on the tendency to revolution existing in the French army. It says:

"A dispatch from Dijon relates a deplorable incident which occurred during the recent night march executed by the 57th territorial regiment.

"A halt was ordered during the night and as it was prolonged for more than an hour and the weather was very cold, discontent at once manifested itself among the men. It began with murmuring and finally the murmuring was transformed into the revolutionary chant of the *Internationale*.

"The officers, says the dispatch, intervened immediately. But was it to impose silence upon the malcontents? No. But they calmed them by giving them permission to go on singing.

"Those who conduct themselves in this manner are surely demented. The *Internationale* is rightly considered the most dangerous of songs to be allowed in the army. This conduct, however, accustoms the soldiers to regard it a perfectly appropriate, especially when encouraged in this manner."

The *Internationale*, it may be explained, is the national Socialist song of France and has, to a large extent, displaced the "Marseillaise" as a revolutionary anthem. Its stanzas contain passages urging in the most plain words the direct physical overthrow of the capitalist régime. It is not strange, therefore, that *Figaro* should take the alarm over such an incident. Possibly the officers decided that it was impossible to suppress its singing on this occasion or, worse still, may have actually been in sympathy with it.

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Every one who sees one of these handsome pins wants one, but many as yet do not know how to obtain them. We offer the following special inducement to make these pins known to your friends and comrades:

To any one sending an order for five, we shall not only make the rate of five for one dollar, but will present the sender with an extra pin, free of charge. You can easily induce your friends to make up a club of five.

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Now that the MacNamara case recalls the famous Moyer-Haywood trial of five years ago, it has caused a brisk demand for Friedman's exposure published by us at the time—**THE PINKERTON LABOR SPY.** Copies of this famous work, beautifully and substantially bound in cloth, 50 cents each.

We have yet on hand a few hundred copies of the late Comrade Hanford's splendid propaganda work, **"FIGHT FOR YOUR LIFE."** Strongly bound in paper covers, with portrait of Hanford. Single copies, 15 cents; ten copies, one dollar. A most appropriate volume at this time when Labor is literally forced to "Fight for Its Life."

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XV. No. 8 NEW YORK, AUGUST, 1911 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

Two Constitution Busters — Roosevelt and the Supreme Court

ALL thinking men know that our Constitution is so ill adapted to our present-day ideas that it's but a short time before it must be changed. On the other hand, the question of how to change it is only slightly less difficult than how not to change it.

While the Constitution itself provides methods of amendment, yet they are so complicated and require such unanimity, it is generally conceded that the smallest minority can prevent a change. Since the changes that must be made are sure to evoke sufficient opposition to make amendment impossible, therefore we must look for a method of change not set down in black and white within the Constitution itself.

The decision of the Supreme Court on the Standard Oil case has, as Justice Harlan points out, opened one new way of amendment and that is for the Court to decide that the offending paragraph of the Constitution is "unreasonable," and that, therefore, that paragraph is null and void. Congress passed a law making all monopolies unlawful and the Supreme Court said that such a law was "unreasonable." In this decision we quite agree with the Court and, therefore, it was void. Now, as Justice Harlan said, in his dissenting opinion, if the Court can nullify a law enacted by Congress by merely deciding it to be unreasonable, it equally has the power to nullify the Constitution for a like reason or, rather, for lack of reason, so to speak.

Now this is simplicity itself and makes the question of amendment of the Constitution so easy that it's only a wonder we never thought of it before. It quite beats Columbus and his egg.

But it may be said that this puts it up to the Supreme Court to decide what is and what is not reasonable. It makes the Supreme Court the Supreme Legislature, having supremacy over the House of Representatives and the Senate. Yes, quite true; but what of it? Would you not prefer a Court of live men decide what is reasonable law than a Congress of men who have been dead a century?

But these Justices are in for life and are naturally conservative and given over to the support of things as they are. The last resort of Capital is notoriously the Supreme Court.

In Great Britain no such delusions are entertained as with us regarding the infallibility of Judges. The following editorial on "Parliament and the Judges," taken from a recent issue of the London "Daily News," illustrates this difference of attitude so strikingly that we reproduce it here:

When in the course of the second reading debate on the Trade Union Bill Mr. Churchill pointed out that there was not complete confidence in the judges when engaged in certain classes of cases, the Opposition suggested that he had violated a sacred tradition which forbids criticism of the judges without formal notice. Mr. Swift MacNeill writes to "The Nation" to show that there is no House of Commons rule limiting criticism of the general tendency of the courts, and he quotes severe strictures upon the conduct of the courts by Brougham, Isaac Butt, Parnell, and Gladstone. If the Opposition had their way in this matter the House of Commons would abandon a right, which is also a duty it owes to the nation. The idea that the judges are above bias and above criticism is a very modern fiction, and a very dangerous fiction. As long ago as 1828 Brougham said that if judges were appointed because of their political opinions they would have a certain leaning; "they must have it; they cannot help having it; you compel them to have it; you choose them on account of their notoriously having it at the Bar; and you vainly hope that they will suddenly put it off when they rise by its means to the Bench." Judges are still in large measure appointed because of their politics, and human nature is what it was eighty years ago. And even when judges are not definitely drawn from a political party, they are drawn from a social class with very definite conceptions of society which may conflict violently with those professed by the mass of the wage-earners. The political bias and the social bias are realities, and to try to abolish them by silence or by smooth futilities about judicial impartiality is both foolish and insincere. The life of every one of us is affected by them, and we all discuss them and expect the House of Commons to discuss them.

Let me ask you if the House of Lords was not also the last refuge of Capital in England, and let me ask you what made them get down off their pedestal? Was it not the threat of creating enough Radical Peers to make the majority in the House of Lords a Radical majority, unless radical measures were passed?

Our Supreme Court is our House of Lords, and now that it has decided that when it says the Consti-

(*Continued on page 3.*)

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The Growth of Radicalism

THE rapid growth of a socialistic radicalism in our magazines is most significant. These magazines it must always be remembered are published to make money, and money is only to be made by purveying to the public something the public wants. Radicalism in WILSHIRE'S has no particular significance, inasmuch as WILSHIRE'S is avowedly published to create public opinion in favor of Socialism. But the extreme radicalism of, say, *Hampton's Magazine* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, papers published and edited by men quite unknown outside the money-making world, is most significant.

I don't know how often my readers see either of these two magazines, probably most of them must see the *Saturday Evening Post* frequently, for a paper with over a million circulation must hit pretty near all the reading public.

It's not long ago when the *Post* was purely a story paper, stories mostly about business episodes. Its editorial page was the usual sloppy flapdoodle of such papers.

But nowadays what a difference! It always has one or two long political articles written from a strongly radical standpoint, and their editorial page is invariably strongly socialistic. *Hampton's Magazine* likewise.

In fact about all the popular magazines like *Munsey's*, *McClure's*, *American*, *Everybody's*, etc., have all in the last few years developed from colorless story papers to disseminators of radical opinion. I won't call it socialistic opinion for fear of injuring them with their advertisers and myself with those Socialists so stalwart that they lean backward and refuse to see any Socialism in anything outside of the avowed Socialist press.

But even if this opinion of mine were made public I rather think the advertisers might stick with the magazines mentioned, even at the risk of being charged with treason to their country by helping such publishers poison the minds of the public.

It's interesting that the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, which inaugurated radicalism under the ownership of Brisben Walker, has become quite conservative since its sale some years ago to Hearst—and in consequence has lost all its old following. No doubt Hearst feared that his reputation for radicalism would injure the *Cosmopolitan* financially, and so he gave orders to tone it down. He toned it down so much now that you can't hear it. Hearst had a great chance when he bought the *Cosmopolitan* and lost it by overcaution.

The Collapse of the Diaz Legend

THIS is the title of Archer's article in the August *McClure's*.

I have not of course had an opportunity of reading the article myself, but I had a talk with the author, Mr. William Archer, the distinguished London literateur, just before he set out for Mexico last winter, and I am quite sure that his story will be the best and truest history we have yet had of Porfirio Diaz. Archer's story of the Ferrer trial and execution is the classic upon the subject.

If Diaz were a younger man it is likely we would once more see him in the Mexican saddle, for Madero is hardly a strong enough man to hold his seat very long. It's extremely doubtful if Mexico is riper for anything beyond a despotism a trifle more benevolent than Diaz gave her. Madero will make some reforms, but the final state of Mexico will hardly be much in advance upon that of the Diaz régime. This talk about free election and true democracy in Mexico is all poppycock. With a population so much Indian and so steeped in superstition and ignorance there is no chance for democracy. The best future for Mexico would be for the United States to abolish her Constitution and adopt the Canadian system of responsible party government, tempered with the initiative and referendum, and then unite with Canada for a federated North America from pole to Panama.

We have before called attention to the fact that there is no union possible between Canada and the United States as long as we have a despotism of capital protected by a Supreme Court backed by our Constitution. Senator Beveridge has a most illuminating article in the July *McClure's* upon the Canadian responsible system of government. The Canadian Premier is in supreme command as long as he can control a majority of the House of Commons. He is responsible to the House and can at any time be retired. Canada has no irresponsible 4-year dictator.

Tom L. Johnson

IF there ever were a dear, lovable old hero, it was the late Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland.

As he said to me one day, "Well, they say that even if they can't agree with me, they can't help loving me." Tom was not a Socialist, but he was so near it that there was little difference, he was anything but the mathematical hard as nails typical single-taxer. His autobiography is now running in *Hampton's Magazine* and is a document that none of us should miss. When Tom was running for Governor of Ohio, on the Democratic ticket, and traveling about with an immense circus tent, he offered me a duplicate tent and outfit and all expenses paid to make a circuit of Ohio. I said, "Why, I am a Socialist and could not support you." He replied, "Don't, then, say what you please, support your own party." However, I was then bound for a State tour of Wisconsin, and even if I might otherwise have considered his generous proposal, I was in no position to accept it. It showed the attitude of the man as well as anything that could happen. He wanted the people to hear the Truth.

Tom Johnson has passed away, and there can be no doubt but that the city of Cleveland is far riper for Socialism to-day than it would ever have been without him. He sowed a good seed.

The total amount of British capital invested in all parts of the empire is now estimated at $6,825,551,427. The amount invested in Latin America is estimated at $3,730,000,000.

A new child labor law has been enacted in Japan by which children under 12 years are not permitted to work in factories, and persons under 15 years, and women are not allowed to work more than 12 hours per day. But in what the authorities consider "light employments," children of 10 years may be exploited. The new law, however, leaves so many loopholes for the employers, both in lengthening the working hours and employing persons under the age mentioned, that it is not likely to be of very much benefit to the workers.

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Our Judges

PROBABLY the most important reform now engaging the attention of the people is how to control our judges.

We are getting tired of passing laws only to have them set aside by a judicial decision that they are unconstitutional. Quite probably the laws may be in fact unconstitutional, for we must remember that our constitution is not only an out-of-date affair, but it was made for the purpose of preventing the very legislation we are now wishing to enact.

However, as it is almost a practical impossibility to change the constitution, and as it is a much shorter way, albeit, not so logical a one, to change our judges, we have decided on the latter course.

The constitution, anyway, seems a very flexible instrument whenever the judges are inclined to do a little bending. It's most surprising, in fact, how much bending it will stand if only the judges are bent enough. The trouble is that the judges so far have always been bent the wrong way, and, so, the constitution which already leans pretty hard on the people has so often been given another push that now it's almost crushing the life out of us.

California, on the 10th of October, is going to vote upon an amendment to her constitution which will give her people the right to recall a bent judge and replace him by a straight one. Naturally, the possibility of this amendment being carried is filling the Conservatives and Grafters with consternation. They have marshalled themselves under the leadership of the redoubtable General Otis, editor of the Los Angeles *Times*, and are making the struggle of their lives for the preservation of the judicial citadel of Capital.

However this particular California election may go, there is no doubt but that it's merely a question of years for the amendment to be finally carried. The Californians are determined that there is no more reason for retaining a bent judge in office than a crooked Mayor.

In fact, the Recall for all political officers, including judges, is soon to be embodied in the laws of every state, just as surely as is the Initiative and Referendum.

As for the judges of the United States Supreme Court, they, too, should be made subject to the Recall, but a national vote is a more difficult matter. The simplest manner of making that high and august court conform to the wish of the people is to add enough "straight" judges from time to time to those at present on the bench to constitute a majority.

As I have mentioned before, the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil case, by which it has assumed the right to determine what is law according to what it thinks is "reasonable," will be a most valuable precedent for us when we wish our majority of "straight" judges to construe the constitution in the light of "reasonable" Socialism.

Two Constitution Busters—Roosevelt and the Supreme Court

(Continued from page 1.)

tution is unreasonable, it is void, our course is perfectly plain.

All we have to do to get a Supreme Court which will have our view of what's unreasonable is to create enough Peers, I beg pardon, I mean enough Justices, of our way of thinking to make a majority of the enlarged Supreme Court.

However, if this way is not strenuous enough we have the advice of Roosevelt, recently given us through the "Outlook," to simply forget the Constitution when it is unreasonable—that is, unreasonable to Roosevelt. This is even simpler than going to the trouble of appointing enough new members of the Supreme Court to construe the Constitution reasonably.

So you see the Constitution roads to amendment should suit all. Those who wish to go the reasonable Supreme Court way and those who wish to go their own Roosevelt way.

Let the Nation Own the Trusts!

THAT which follows is not what I wrote nor is it a clipping from any Socialist paper. It's an editorial in last month's *McClure's Magazine*. I should get paid for running the ad, but I won't.

Two great social organizations now confront each other in the United States—political democracy and the corporation. Both are yet new,—developments, in their present form, of the past two hundred years,—and the laws of neither are understood. The entire social and economic history of the world is now shaping itself around the struggle for dominance between them.

The article by John Moody and George Kibbe Turner in the June *McClure's*, "How Morgan Built the 'Money Power,'" is a clear statement of the tendency of corporate power toward autocracy, and the startling distance that has been traveled in this country toward an ultimate monopoly—the control in a single central group of the great existing corporate properties of this country, and the power of creating new ones.

The problem presented by this situation is the most difficult that any modern nation has faced; and the odds, up to the present time, have all been with the corporations. Property settles by economic law in strong hands; it has unlimited rewards for service, and the greatest power in the world—the power of food and drink, life and death—over mankind. Corporate property in the last twenty years has been welded into an instrument of almost infinite power, concentrated in the hands of a very few and very able men.

The power of the political state—which must cope with this—is diffused to the highest possible degree. The control of corporate capital is becoming a unit; its operations and interests cover the whole country. The management and direction of popular government, so far as this greatest of all its problems is concerned, is in the hands of half a hundred minor, independent states, each with only a partial knowledge and interest in the matter.

This type of organization is not only absurdly incompetent, as an instrument, to deal with the organization opposed to it; but the personnel of the bodies of men which it enlists in its service is notoriously and necessarily inferior.

Sooner or later the so far unchecked tendency toward monopoly in the United States must be met squarely by the American people. The fact, now clearly apparent, is that the industrial operations and general resources of the country are already far on their way toward a central control. No one great industry or resource is absolutely controlled by any one corporation or individual. But all fundamental resources, and all industries capable of forming a unit, are being drawn together toward monopoly control; and these units are being concentrated again, as has been shown by Messrs. Moody and Turner, in a central monopoly in the great security and money market of New York.

The problem of the relation of the state and the corporation is now the chief question of the world. In Europe the state is relatively much stronger; in America the corporation. In Europe the movement toward State Socialism—the collective ownership and operation of the machinery of industry and transportation—is far on its way; in America we are moving to control the corporation by political instruments, such as state boards and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

How long will the power of governmental control over the great national industrial corporations be divided, as it is now, between these half hundred provinces, established under the industrial conditions of the eighteenth century?

If it remains there, does any grown man question the ultimate result of the struggle between corporate monopoly and government?

And if corporate centralization of power continues unchecked, what is the next great popular agitation to be in this country? For State Socialism?

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The Future of Education

THERE is probably no one feature of our present-day regimé that is so universally felt to be a failure as that of the education of our children. We pack our boys and girls into stuffy, unhealthy, crowded prisons for a number of years vainly trying to "educate" them by forcing them to remember. The very theory of trying to increase the memory of things rather than to increase the powers of brain and body is absolutely false. The modern schools do not do what they set out to do and their failure therein is to the credit of the child's spirit. Bless the little rebels! Strange to say, the best example of what our public schools might be is seen to-day in that classic city of capitalism, Gary, Indiana, the creation of the Steel Trust.

It was more or less an accident that Mr. William A. Wirt turned up in Gary to explain his theory of education, and it was more or less an accident that Gary had a man who had the perspicacity to see Wirt's possibilities. It was also one of the times when the autocracy of Gary, seeing a good thing, could take it up and let Wirt go to work without working and waiting for years to convince some hay-seed county school board that the present system is a failure and that anything else could not help being better. Says Rheta Childs Dorr in *Hampton's* for July of the Gary schools: "There is very little tendency for the pupils to drop out at the end of their fourteenth year. The children stay in school because they want to stay, the only right and natural reason why they should. You would never know to visit Gary that the pupils, or most of them, are the children of immigrants, most primitive in type, illiterate, non-English speaking. They look and act like American children; they are Americans. They are getting a kind of education which is more American, or at least more democratic, than any other children in the country. In this day and generation, especially in cities, it is not only futile, it is criminal to allow children to run idle during the three summer months of the year. In Gary the children are in school every month in the year, from eight till four or five. But please do not picture these youngsters sitting at their desks for eight hours per day. In the first place, no child in Gary has a desk. He has a locker for his outer clothing and books. The desks belong to those who for the time being are using them. Nor are they kept at work for eight hours a day. Most of the time they are usefully, happily, ideally just living, doing a number of things all children love to do, and ought to do in order to acquire character.

"They live in a veritable Child World. A world in which there is plenty to do, but the work is so pleasingly mingled with play and exercise that no child is ever bored or wearied. About three hours a day is devoted to ordinary formal school work. About the same to manual training, natural science, music, literature, and formal gymnasium work. The rest of the time is given to free activities in the gymnasium, the swimming pools, and the five-acre playground. The manual training shops and laboratories are open during the free hours and many of the older children choose to work in them, working out some problem of their own.

"Children of all ages, from the kindergarten to the high school, live together in this Child World. The first-reader children have their [illegible]e manual training, building doll houses, modeling in clay and the like, in close proximity to the seventh-grade manual training shops. The little children in the fifth grade work at their botany and elementary science in the high school physics laboratory. The elementary and advanced chemistry students work in the same room and use the same apparatus.

"This is what Mr. Wirt calls education from environment, sub-conscious education. The child sees other children doing a thing and enjoying it, and he wants to do the same thing himself. He learns by watching, the natural way.

"They have a boy's band. When a new boy enters the band he is taught merely the first principles of the instrument. He learns by watching the other boys."

Another item to be noted, says Miss Dorr, is that Mr. Wirt employs trade-union men as instructors in the industrial training schools. The children are taught from the very beginning the solidarity of labor. Gary training schools will never be feeders for strike-breakers.

There are many other excellencies in the Gary schools that Miss Dorr notes, but the main thing is that the children learn because they wish to learn and not because they must.

In the May *McClure's* there is an account by Miss Tozier of a new system of education of very young children now being introduced in Italy. It, too, relies upon exciting the interest of the child, but it involves also the early training of the mind through the use of the physical sense of touch by means of special apparatus. The results are simply astounding. Children of four being able to read and write like ordinary children of nine. And all without the least stress to the child.

The most wonderful example of all, however, in the way of what may be done by the right kind of training is seen in the success that Professor Boris Sidis of Boston has had with his son, William James Boris, who is now a lad of twelve.

Professor Boris has written a pamphlet, "Philistine and Genius," in which he generally roasts our present system of education. He has this to say of his own boy who has been educated under his own system:

"At the age of twelve, when other children of his age are hardly able to read and spell and drag a miserable mental existence at the apronstrings of some antiquated school dame, the boy is intensely enjoying courses in the highest branches of mathematics at one of our foremost universities. The Iliad and the Odyssey are known to him by heart, and he is deeply interested in the advanced work of classical philology. He is able to read Herodotus, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Lucian, and other Greek writers with the same zest and ease as our schoolboy reads his Robinson Crusoe or the productions of Cooper and Henty.

"The boy has a fair understanding of comparative philology and mythology. He is well versed in logic, ancient history, American history, and has a general insight into our politics and into the groundwork of our Constitution. At the same time he is of an extremely happy disposition, brimming over with humor and fun.

"His physical condition is splendid, his cheeks glow with health. Many a girl would envy his complexion. Being above 5 feet 4 inches, he towers above the average boy of his age. His physical constitution, weight, form, and hardihood of organs far surpasses that of the ordinary schoolboy. He looks like a boy of sixteen. He is healthy, strong, and sturdy."

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND

IT'S most remarkable the progress that Woman's Suffrage is making in England. A few years ago and the granting of the suffrage to women seemed about as iridescent a dream as, well, say, the granting of it to women in our Presidential elections in this country.

To-day, however, it is one of the certainties of the very near future in England. There is already a majority for it on record in Parliament and it's merely a question of the Prime Minister granting it "facilities" for it to become law.

The women had an enormous procession recently in London, more than 60,000 in line. The following is a striking editorial from the London *Daily News* based upon this procession:

THE DEMONSTRATION.

There are certain prejudices of great age and once of lusty strength which must now be dead for all who witnessed the women's procession on Saturday. It used to be said that women lack the masculine talent for organization. There has probably never been in this country a demonstration on so large a scale in which every arrangement worked so entirely smoothly. It used to be said that women could never co-operate for any large purpose common to their sex; feminine jealousy was a phrase which concluded any argument. On Saturday women of every calling, of every social grade, of every political complexion, of every sect, of every organization, of half the countries of the world, united in a common cause. Men think it a memorable day when Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour sit upon the same platform. Looking upon Saturday's gathering of women they must have felt that the fellowship of men must be a slight thing or the causes which unite them of little account when compared with the fellowship of women in the cause of the vote.

Many men are puzzled at the spectacle of all this lavish expenditure of the human spirit for the winning of the vote. They have had the vote themselves so long and at such little cost that they forget that their fathers slew and burned and died for it; they forget even that the goals of Russia are still filled, and the hangmen still busy with men who demanded a share of political power. It is easy but not worthy to make light of what has everywhere been bought with blood and anguish, and the anguish of women is as precious as the anguish of men. They have given and are giving their martyrs for the vote, and there is as much passion, as much devotion, as much fortitude, as much spiritual elevation in this struggle of the women as ever lifted a nation out of subjection or carried a religion to recognition. These are the finest offerings humanity can make, given for the highest boon humanity can desire. For the vote, though an instrument of power, is valued chiefly as the symbol of freedom. No man who looked on at the long and various line of women on Saturday could afford to be cynical or contemptuous of the purpose which brought them together or the spirit in which they came together. The emotions and the ideal represented are of the quality to provoke any response but indifference. We can love liberty or hate liberty, but we must not trifle with it. We can be inspired by devotion and courage or we can be angered by them, but we cannot be cool and indifferent towards them.

There were in Saturday's procession veiled women from the East and women in academic robes from the West, women from every colony of the Empire, and women from most of the great states of the world. It was an international gathering, and an international congress to demand a political privilege for British women is a strange political happening which yet strikes none of us as strange. If Irishmen were to call in the help of Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, and Hindoos to secure Ireland liberty we might be shocked; but that Englishwomen should summon the women of the world to help them win the vote is normal and natural. The battle which Englishwomen are fighting is not their own battle only, nor the prize of victory only the vote. It is the battle of all women and the emancipation of all women. There is a new order in which women mean to have a worthy place. Those many thousands of Saturday included many various ideals. But upon two things they were all agreed—upon the necessity for struggle and upon the necessity for women themselves determining their own fate. This unity of women and this universality of the cause lift the movement into the rank of the great revolutions, and the march to the Albert Hall may take its place with the march of the women to Versailles.

THE ANNIVERSARY

By **HARRISON REEVES**

DONOVON'S HOTEL was a night place. In the daytime it did no business worth mentioning. Its night clerk was the only active, perpetually sober management to be found on the premises. And he was a consumptive, from having been night clerk too long and too intensely and too unprofitably. He was the sort of dull man who never does more than he is specifically told to do. And Donovon rarely gave orders. So the clerk persevered in the ways of Donovon's first period of prosperity, when he did give orders, with a vengeance mostly upon the clerk, who had not then acquired the consumption. Now Donovon was an alderman and very busy.

Donovon had never told his clerk to examine with any particular scrutiny the late guests who came by way of the ladies' entrance. Most of the guests were late and most of them came by way of the ladies' entrance. Half of them were ladies. The clerk, however, did thumb soiled food checks, punch the bar cash register, eject disorderly customers of the more impotent sort, and bully the bell-boys. Donovon was benevolent, since he had become alderman. He wouldn't overwork the faithful clerk. So he let the identity of late guests go hang, and pay dividends. In fact it was distinctly contrary to the decorum of Donovon's to challenge the identity of patrons. They were all authentic, and paid. And outside was a policeman who owed his job to Donovon. He was an obedient policeman, and humble. His profits were not great like Donovon's. If anything should happen among the array of "Jones and Wife" who strayed nightly to the altar of the clerk, that policeman could be relied upon for effective service without publicity.

One New Year's eve,—in fact last New Year's eve, December 31, 1910,—an exception came up before the clerk. She was an exception because she was alone. And she had no business being alone, so far as the clerk's notion of attraction in women could assist what he knew of "the street." She was shabby and dirty and altogether rather brown looking, although not necessarily a foreigner. She walked straight up to the desk as if she had been there before. She had a bundle which she held carefully in her arms and refused to give to the only bell-boy who had quit snoring on the bench in the corner. The clerk sized her up for a "green one" and coughed by way of tubercular professional emphasis. Then they squabbled over the price of a room.

The girl said: "Want forty-four. Number forty-four."

The clerk smiled. "Ain't none, lady. Ain't no number forty-four."

"Used ta be, when 'a was here before. Number forty-four. Seventy-five cents."

"How long 'go wuz that?"

"Year. Just a year ta-night."

"Front!" wheezed the clerk at

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the bell-boy, who was not three feet from his nose. He saw him and stuck a cold finger at his mouth: "Show her twenty-two. Dollar, please!"

"Dollar! Seventy-five for forty-four."

"Lady, I tell ye ther' ain't no forty-four. The house's re-numbered, j'understand? Forty-four a year 'go 's twenty-two now. See S'gone up, see! Nothing but dollar rooms now."

"Ain't got but seventy-five." She showed it,—three quarters, all good ones. The clerk eyed her and calculated the chance of the case. It was eleven o'clock and a bad night out. The frolicking was further up town.

He decided. "Aw-right. Make ut seventy-five."

The girl crouched in a dark corner of the elevator during its squeaky ascension to the top story. The boy found the room, lit the single gas jet, shot down the curtain, and lounged in the door, gaping for a tip. The chances were slim, he thought. Any way, he tried her out.

"Ain't yer gon ta give ma nothin', jus ta mak it right wid a fella?" The door slammed and bumped his nose nearly awake. "Chris'! She is a dead-un!" And he sent that old elevator screaming down through its black tunnel.

The girl laid her bundle on the bed and fell to examining the room, going over it point by point as if to verify a memory none too distinct. It was a small room, about ten feet by seven. The bed took up over half of it. The wall-paper was purple, with white zig-zag columns in it. There was one picture, "Psyche's Bath" (after Leighton), which had a cream plush frame liberally speckled with grease spots, fly-specks, and marks of dirty fingers. There was one chair and a tipsy wash-stand. The girl scanned the wall paper until she detected a pair of initials, nearly rubbed out, but still intactly clasped together in a sort of rude monogram. The picture frame she pinched. It felt the same as it had felt a year ago to-night. She also shook the wash-stand and sat in the chair. The former had its same oil-cloth cover. The latter had the same feel when she sat in it. It was a savage little rocker and made her shrink. But her especial delight so far as the furniture went was the bed, which was brass, or iron painted like brass, with green globes on the post-tops. She ran her fingers all over it like a blind person. Every curve of it proved the same. It certainly was the same room, even if the number had been cut in half.

In the smelly little closet she sniffed familiarly, fingered the hooks, punched the shelf. It was all right. The gas jet alone missed her observation, but there was in her haste to finish looking round the sense of having yet to look that fixture over. It was high, very high, and near the door. She remembered that, for she had once been unable to reach to turn it out and had stood on the chair and nearly tumbled and had been—but never mind. She was certainly in a hurry to be satisfied that it was the same room, for every few seconds during her examination of it she had gone to the bed and held her ear over a roll of faded blanket which protruded like a funnel from the end of the bundle. Now she could give the bundle all her attention.

But first she went to the dirt-clogged hot-air register, shook it back and forth once or twice, and palmed its column of air thermometrically. The room was certainly hot. Donovon was an alderman, and the city's coal,—et cetera. In the basin on the wash-stand was some fairly clean water. It was already warm. She put it on the register to get hot, which it did at once, judging from the mist which came from its surface.

Very stealthily she drew the blanket from the nest hollowed out for it in the depths of the bundle. She also peared into the end of it, and appeared satisfied. So she put it in the hollow between the pillows, near the window, at the head of the bed. Then she took from the remaining bundle a score of tiny garments, which she ranged in neat rows at the bottom of the bed. There was also a tiny scarlet sponge, soft, and beautiful to look at. This she put in the water which was now very hot.

The bell-clock in a neighboring church spire struck a single chime in commemoration specifically of the half-hour and generally of the fact that but another such period remained before the New Year, 1911, would arrive, calendar, wishes, and all. So the girl got suddenly very busy. The picture offended her modesty, as it had a year ago, so she took it off the wall and hid it in the closet. Which proved, evidently, that she was as modest as she had been a year ago. Then she unfolded the blanket, and took the baby on her breast. For it was a baby, and a small one at that. Perhaps it was a little more than three months old. It was puny, anyway, and squalled a little, and prettily after baby's fashion. It had darkish hair and pale cheeks, and was remarkably thin for so small a baby. Its clothes weren't much as baby clothes go, for elegance and smell, and all that. They were scrawney, scratchy, thick things, without shape or finish. The mother undressed the child quickly and without her usual regard for knots, pins, buttons and all the connections, as was obvious from comments the youngster made on her haste. Now that baby was happy, deliciously happy. It had never been so happy. It cooed, yelled, played pranks with its mother's nose, tossed its dumb, fat hands toward the wash-bowl, and fairly squealed.

Mother held baby in the steam of the bath for a minute before she began putting him in. For he was a boy baby. Then she immersed his feet, arms, legs, and back. All of him would just about go in that wash-bowl. He giggled. It was wonderful. The sponge tickled him to death. He still held it after his mother had towelled him dry, pink, and soft. He even pummelled his mother's nose with it, and she liked that. But the redressing! That was horrible,—stuffing his fat legs into harsh stockings, all new and smelly of the dry-goods counters. His arms and neck had to penetrate mazes of lace—brittle, cutting lace. The lace hood which his mother put on his head was an outrage. It cut his ears half off. So he yelled outright, and mother paced the floor with him until he fell asleep, as he did very soon, although the scarlet sponge still hung from the clutch of his hand.

The girl put the child between the pillows again at the head of the bed, near the window, where the light would fall straight across him when it came in in the morning, as it had, —but that's another story. Then she listened at the door and heard nothing. The baby's old clothes, the faded blanket and the calico wrapper which had covered the bundle, together with her own soiled cap, she tied securely in a newspaper which she had brought along. This stuff she chucked out of the window, which she had a devil of a time opening. Then she closed and locked the window. The curtain she left up,—high. The child still slept. The girl went over to the gas jet, remembered that she couldn't reach it, and fetched the chair. She stood on it, and got down again to go and kiss the baby. Her luck of nerve made her curse, mildly, once. Then she cried, or sniffed a little. She was evidently getting near something. So she turned the gas out, observed the stream of moonlight playing across the baby from

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Book Reviews

INGERSOLL. A BIOGRAPHICAL APPRECIATION. By Herman E. Kittredge. Cloth. 581 pp. $2.50. The Dresden Publishing Co., 18 E. 17th Street, New York.

To the thousands of admirers of the great iconoclast, this work will come as perhaps the most satisfactory biography that has yet been published. The author has evidently collected and sifted his material with great care, and the impression left upon the reader is one of extreme accuracy which is somewhat rare in a eulogy. Mr. Kittredge follows his subject from his birth in 1833 in Dresden, N. Y., to his death on July 1, 1899, with minute detail, though the recital is never wearisome. His general philosophy of life, his views on religious creeds and dogmas, on woman, love, marriage, the home and the rearing and training of children are all treated exhaustively, the recital being richly illustrated with quotations from Ingersoll's writings and speeches, and the various comment thereon in the press, religious and secular.

To Socialists the book will have a peculiar interest, in that it contains so much to show that Ingersoll approached very near the border line of Socialism, though a life-long adherent of the Republican party. Many parts of his various addresses could be and indeed are used in Socialist propaganda, though his ideas on the subjects mentioned never seemed to evolve into more than aspirations for the future. It is probable that Ingersoll's training as a lawyer to some extent prevented him from advocating in a practical way the putting of his economic and political ideas into effect, for the legal mind on the whole is hardly receptive to Socialism, owing largely no doubt to the fact that with the lawyer private property is assumed at the beginning of the legal education as a sort of eternal and unchangeable fact. Of course his affiliation with the Republican party as an intense partisan, and the fact that during his active life there could hardly be said to be a Socialist party in existence, must also be taken into account.

Mr. Kittredge has given us a delightful work, and the book itself in appearance is exceedingly handsome and contains many portraits of the genial Colonel at different periods of his career. Altogether it is a most satisfactory biography and fully worthy of the very remarkable man whose life work and philosophy forms its subject.

THE ROSE DOOR. By Estelle Baker. Cloth, 202 pp. $1.00. C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.

This work is a well written and convincing study of the cause of prostitution, molded into story form. The life history of several young women in various walks of life is depicted, with the result that they all pass through "The Rose Door," which is the somewhat fanciful name adopted for the "House of Shame" in San Francisco, of which they become inmates, the scene of the story being located in that city. The object of the writer is to show how economic necessity in various forms and in various ways tends to force women in this direction, all the victims reaching the last infamy by different roads. The concluding chapters of the book contain some particularly excellent writing on the economic aspect of prostitution, and the summary and conclusion are all that can be desired. The writer is a woman, and her analysis of the different attitude of men and women toward prostitution is most interesting and suggestive and to a considerable extent original also.

Grants in Aid

SIDNEY WEBB has had published by Longmans ($1.25, Wilshire Book Co.) a work under the above title.

It is an exposition of the method by which Parliament manages to get the local communities carry out its Acts by means of giving subventions.

It has been found that it's much simpler and far more effective to reward a community by a grant of money, provided it rises to a certain standard of good sanitation, education, roads, etc., than it is to attempt to punish for delinquency.

There is no doubt but that when our State politics in this country are purified by the commission form of government, fortified by the initiative, referendum and recall, that State subventions to towns and counties will be of great aid in keeping up a higher standard of local improvements than that which now disgraces us among nations.

At present our school standard is falling behind rather than running ahead of Europe, the well to do people are patronizing the private schools, and the poor children, often half fed, are being crowded in insanitary school buildings with an undermanned staff of teachers.

There is no country in Europe where the streets are so badly paved and dirty as they are commonly in our American cities, both North and South.

It's well enough to rely upon local pride to look after schools and roads, but when it don't act then we have no good remedy.

A Grant in Aid from the State contingent upon a high standard being obtained would be a great stimulus.

No doubt but that the Aid so granted will finally not only cover a certain standard of education, but also of food given to the pupils.

In Italy some cities have a law not merely requiring the poor children to be given food, but that all shall be fed, and to make it more certain it is required that only those children who bring a certificate from a doctor shall be excused from partaking of the food.

Rather than it being a fault or a disgrace for a child to eat the free school lunches, it is just the other way round.

The Lure of the Chinaman

IT may surprise Americans to hear that so oblivious of racial differences are the people of England that marriages between English girls and Chinese are becoming so frequent as to attract notice. The annual report of Chief Constable Dunning of Liverpool on this subject contains the following interesting paragraph:

"Unfortunately part of the lure of the Chinaman consists in the notorious fact that he does not get drunk and does not beat his woman, which is more than can be said of many a native suitor. Harem life, or being kept in idleness and luxury, is no doubt more attractive than the life of a squaw, kept as a household drudge and rewarded with black eyes, while Christian home life as a contrast and antidote to both these states is rapidly losing its influence in all grades of life."

It may be explained that a Chinese colony composed mostly of people connected with sea-faring has gradually been growing in Liverpool. Constable Dunning's explanation of the reasons why the Chinaman has no difficulty in forming matrimonial alliances needs no comment beyond the passing remark that his use of the word "unfortunately" is somewhat peculiar. The women who marry Chinamen for the reason he gives would be very apt to call his adjective in question. Much as the English wives of the working class have been habituated to beatings and drunkenness on the part of their husbands, they have never quite agreed that their lot was "fortunate" in that particular respect.

J. S. Bache and Co.

THE above are a firm of Wall Street stock dealers who sell to the smaller buyers. They issue a weekly financial pamphlet.

There is often much of interest in this little paper, for it is pretty well representative of the view of the smaller capitalists.

Its comment upon the Steel Trust shows a recognition of the absurd position we have drifted into.

It says that if the Gary proposal of Government fixing of steel prices were accepted and very low prices were fixed, the result might be the bankruptcy and extermination of all the competitors of the Steel Trust, because none can compete with it in cheapness.

The result would be the very monopoly which we are trying to avoid.

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the frosty panes of the window, and listened again, very long. There was no sound.

There was then a sharp click, as of metal striking metal, an angry hissing, and the thump of the girl's feet as she got down off the chair. She held her cheek over the baby's mouth, drawing away as each breath brushed her features and bearing down as the child took in each new breath. For a moment she burried her face in one of the pillows.

Suddenly the clock in the steeple struck,—a fine, bold, clear note, like an organ, not melancholy and deep as it had struck half an hour ago. Another chime sounded, still clearer and bolder. Another—triumphant over the others. The boy stirred and the girl bent over him, watching his lips. Two more strokes from the bell woke him up. The girl felt a faint quiver at her breast and throat. The baby was hungry. She had forgot to nurse him after the bath. Now he was wide awake.

Before she could turn round to battle with the stiff lock of the window the sixth stroke of the clock had filled the room with its vibration. The baby cried, gasped and fought the air round his mouth. The window stuck. She ran to the door. It held against her weight. The key—where was it? She ran back round the bed, punched out a full pane of glass with two thrusts of her bare fists, and moved the baby out into the clear, cold night. In a moment there came to her ears the glad sound of a vast chorus of bells, ringing in the New Year.

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By AIX

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"Aix," whose previous novel gained recognition in critical journals at home and abroad, though evidently entirely familiar with the society of the rich, has written the present book from the workingman's standpoint.

The conditions in the steel industry in western Pennsylvania are especially exposed, but the book is also an attack on the selfishness of the great Tariff System generally.

The story is the love of a steel baron's daughter for a young labor advocate. The attitude of labor unions is impartially discussed.

"The author has displayed an understanding of political problems that makes his book an important exposition of the dangers lurking in American modern life. Moreover, he has written an impressively powerful book." — *Philadelphia Public Ledger.*

Pictures by JAMES MONTGOMERY FLAGG

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XV. No. 9 NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER, 1911 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

The London Dock Strike and Syndicalism Is It The Future Power?

THERE can be no denying the fact that there are many old-time European Socialists who are losing their faith in parliamentary action and are now looking for results from the direct action of labor united in all-embracing industrial unions as opposed to the present system of unions in crafts.

In America there is not so much of this feeling, probably because the Socialists have only now begun to obtain political successes, and it is too early for them to be disappointed at results. However, it is already known and admitted that local successes of the Socialist Party, while desirable, yet can do very little toward solving the social problem. The only thing that can completely solve the problem is the establishment of the National Co-operative Commonwealth, and to do this manifestly requires a national political success of a very dominating character.

However, in Europe there is no doubt but that the workers were led to believe that the election of a mayor meant something akin to the introduction of the millennium, and they are now awaking to the fact that one mayor don't make an earthly paradise any more than one swallow a spring.

The getting of control of the world's national parliaments by Socialists is hedged around with many difficulties. It will be next to impossible for the Socialists in Germany ever to gain political control of Germany if they are to rely entirely upon constitutional and legal methods.

One reason is that the property qualification would always keep them out of control of the Upper House, and then we must remember that the Kaiser doesn't put himself up annually for popular re-election.

However, it recognized that labor always has the power of making society come to its knees by merely going on a strike and threatening the Nation with general starvation if its terms are not complied with. But it's one thing to have the power and it's quite another to have brains to use it. An ox has the power to resist the yoke, but he hasn't the brain, so he works for a master.

In the early days when the industrial machine was not so complex and all-embracing as at present, labor had little or no chance to gain very much by union. In the first place, there was no great product being turned out before the days of the great industrial organizations of to-day, therefore there was no great surplus remaining in the hands of the landlords and capitalists for labor to get.

In the next place, the difficulties both of effective organization as well as of effective action thereafter were enormous compared with to-day.

When men were employed in small isolated shops in small groups it was manifestly less easy to organize them than it is to-day when they are employed in enormous establishments usually near together.

And then it is so much easier to stop the movement of a chronometer than of a glacier.

One screw loose, one small wheel out of adjustment and the watch stops. A baby can stop a watch. Modern industrial society is as delicately adjusted as a watch. Let the men supplying coal, strike for long enough a period and the whole machine stops. Let a few men refuse to work on the city water supply and let there be no other offer to supply their places, and again society is on its knees. In the primitive days the stoppage of one section of the workers had purely a limited local effect. It would be easy to run over the many ways in which the stoppage of work of an infinitesimal part of the workers would cause the breakdown of the whole industrial fabric.

With the growing knowledge of this power resting in the hands of the workers of to-day and the knowledge that the exercise of it may bring forth such advantageous and immediate results that it is but natural that a few successful attempts, like the London Dock Strike, at "industrialism" will cause a deflection of the attack upon the present system from the political field to the industrial field.

Perhaps deflection is not the word, for it is well known that we never have such success in the political field as has come as the result of a strike, successful or otherwise.

The great London Dock strike of last month is a most telling illustration of what can be accomplished by concerted action between men united from different trades. The dockers were granted all they had demanded; ordinarily this would have meant they would have yelled "victory" and returned to their work. But this time they did not. Not they. But they refused to return until the carters had their grievances also adjusted. And so one trade supported the other, all refusing to go back until all were granted what they asked.

London was in a state of siege, the taxi-cabs and the motor busses were about to stop for want of gas-

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oline. Provisions were rising to unheard-of prices. Parliament met and voted to consider what could be done to prevent the threatened famine. It was at last recognized that the great dock strike had far more in it that was vital to the Nation than the sham fight then going on in the House of Lords for the perpetuation of feudalism.

In the London strike the men were not betrayed, as were our coal miners by Roosevelt and John Mitchell in our big coal strike a few years back.

In our coal strike the strikers could have frozen us if we had not brought it to an end; in the London dock strike the strikers could have starved us.

One great advantage of direct action is the immediate character of the result; wages are raised and conditions improved at once if the strike is successful. Whereas in the case of a success at the polls it may be years before any result is attained.

Berger is elected Congressman and the Socialists carry Milwaukee, good as far as it goes, great, in fact. But no one can say that if there had been a successful industrial strike in Milwaukee that the immediate results as to wages and conditions would not have been greater than from the political victory.

On the other hand, it is much harder to achieve an industrial victory, in fact, I will admit that I myself, while adhering to the method in principle, looked upon it as almost impractical of operation. And I am not at all sure right now, even with the results of the London Dock Strike before me, that Industrial Action is within sight in the United States.

All I can say is that given sufficient intelligence among the workers that the Industrial Action is a far more potent weapon than is Political Action. It requires much less percentage of the workers to make it effective and its results cannot be set aside by any appeal to a medieval constitution.

However, the logical method for the workers is to pursue both the political and the industrial warfare, using the particular weapon which for the time being seems most deadly; in fact, there is no reason why they should not go into the fight doubly armed, using both weapons all the time.

The supineness of the Labor Members of Parliament is undoubtedly the cause of this swing in England toward Syndicalism. It will not be denied that the Labor Party as a weapon for Socialism has been largely a failure.

This may be the fault of the men who were sent there or it may be on account of the defect of the parliamentary system itself; it is probably a little of both. The men as a whole are certainly not effective, they have neither a good knowledge of Socialism nor have they the courage of what convictions they may possess. On the other hand it is doubtful, even if the labor members were all that we might hope for, that results would have been materially different.

The particular hero of Industrialism in England is Tom Mann, that old veteran of the dock strike of 1889, who is now back home again after having agitated a number of years in Australia. Fortunately, he is still in his physical and intellectual prime. The particular system of fighting the battle of labor by Industrial Unionism has been a fetish with him all his life.

Mann and Odon Por are about to publish jointly a book upon the philosophy of Industrialism, otherwise Syndicalism. It will be worth reading.

That the revolutionary character of the trend of Trade-Unionism to Syndicalism is recognized by the Capitalist Class is seen from the following taken on the morning of August 12th, when victory was apparent, from the London *Daily Graphic:*

THE MORAL OF THE STRIKE.

The public will learn with the greatest relief this morning that the strike is settled. The men's leaders congratulate their followers on their success; and the main fact which will impress the mind of the public is the way in which the strikers have persisted in defying the law of the land. Probably their leaders claim that the success which the strike has achieved has been partly due to the violence employed, and regard this as a sufficient justification for the course pursued. They probably argue that men who believe themselves to be underpaid and overworked are justified in using violence if it will lead to an improvement in their conditions of life. This is evidently the doctrine held by French Socialists, and there is some reason to fear that it is growing popular in England. It is hardly necessary to point out that such a doctrine leads to absolute anarchy. If a man may overturn a cart or knock down a policeman to improve his own economic position, he may by the same line of reasoning commit murder or arson for the same purpose. French Socialists do not shrink from this conclusion, and the strikers on the State railways have not hesitated to damage signals and cut telegraph wires, well knowing that such action might result in the wholesale destruction of human life. So far as motive is concerned, there is little to choose between such action and that of the strikers in London and Liverpool, who are evidently depriving the poorest people of their food supplies. The whole business is extremely disquieting. It points to a spirit of common morality which is fraught with the greatest danger for the future.

It is absurd to think that any great progress can be made by labor in either the industrial field or the political field by conforming to strictly "legal" methods.

The rules of the game were especially drawn up to prevent successful attack on property rights, and when it is so much easier to break a rule than it is to change it, can anyone wonder that labor follows the line of least resistance?

It also must be remembered that labor had nothing to do with the making of the laws which shackle it.

There is many a law to-day on our statute books that represents an old law first broken then changed.

The Los Angeles Case: Dynamite or Gas?

SOCIALISTS, in the eagerness to defend everyone connected with the labor movement from every possible charge, should not lose their heads in their zeal.

We may say with confidence that the men charged with blowing up the Los Angeles *Times* Building were men devoting their lives to the cause of labor. However, that declaration does not carry with it the conclusion that it would be impossible under any circumstances for them to have used force to bring around a recalcitrant employer, especially when we consider the merry old scoundrel they were fighting.

Force has certainly been used at other times by labor in its fights with Capital, and used successfully, too, for that matter. There is no doubt but that the fear of injury to property by strikers, either direct or indirect, has won many a strike. If a strike did not injure an employer why should he ever give in?

Is it not illogical that, occasionally, some men seeking to force an

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employer to accede to terms should threaten him with injury? Certainly not, and the only reason why they would not carry the threat into execution would be fear of greater injury to the cause.

The Los Angeles strikers are only human, and we must not set them upon a pedestal, taking the position that it is absurd and impossible to conceive of their having had anything to do with injuring the *Times* Building. May be they did, more probably they did not.

On the other hand, we know that Otis and his gang would stoop to anything in order to inculpate them, guilty or not guilty. We even think that it is not an impossible suggestion that Otis had his own building blown up. He would if he thought that would have helped him win. We also know that there is quite a doubt as to whether the building was not accidentally blown up by gas instead of dynamite, and that no one was to blame for the explosion.

Finally we know that the men under indictment were illegally kidnapped and taken to California, and that procedure in itself is strong presumptive evidence that the prosecution had no evidence to justify extradition.

The August number of *McClure's* has an article on the subject written by Harvey J. O'Higgins that is certainly very convincing that McNamara was more or less conversant with the pursuit of dynamiting, if we accept the abstract facts as given. But we don't accept the "facts." We know that "facts" are not so very difficult of manufacture when the Capitalist wishes to get Labor on the hip, and they are naturally *convincing* facts, otherwise they would be of no value.

However, a reading of the article indicates that the trial is going to be no picnic for the defense. Whether the evidence is manufactured or otherwise, it is certainly going to be strong evidence with a jury.

We must remember that in the Haywood-Moyer case the prosecution relied upon the testimony of one man only, Orchard. The story hung together pretty well upon cross-examination, its great weakness being the lack of corroboration.

Clarence Darrow really based his defense in his speech to the jury far more upon the plea that the men if guilty had great justification than he did upon the theory of the impossibility of their guilt.

Now in the McNamara case we must look for a far stronger case than was presented against Haywood. We must remember, too, that, if McManigle has really confessed, he is a man who will carry far more weight than that poor degenerate Harry Orchard.

The defendants have a hard case to win, and those that sympathize with the aspirations of labor would do well to put their shoulders to the wheel in their aid and Do it Now.

If guilty they have risked their necks for the sake of the cause of labor, risked them in a foolish reprehensible way, we may say, but nevertheless, they were fighting the fight. We may sympathize with their aim and at the same time denounce their methods—provided they are guilty, which we do not believe—as brutal and cowardly and as being far more apt to injure than aid their cause.

If they are innocent, and in the light of the facts so far brought forward we think they are innocent, then we say that their kidnapping and indictment upon manufactured evidence goes far to show how perilous is the path of those who dare to stand against the rule of the American Dollar.

But innocent or guilty, we consider that the industrial conditions in America which make the possibility of such a crime as being in the least plausible is a damning indictment of the Capitalist System.

It is to be remembered that the defendants are not members of the Socialist Party, nor are they Socialists. If they were it would be quite impossible for Socialists to conceive of their guilt. Not because they would be better men, but because the whole philosophy of Socialism is opposed to the use of force by individuals against individuals to redress social evils.

We know that the only remedy of a social wrong is social action. The Los Angeles *Times* is a typical representative of the present Social System, and that the true method of attacking it effectively is by the ballot.

Let California vote for Socialism; let her establish shorter hours and a minimum wage for printers as for all wage-earners, and there would be no reason for the craziest worker to think of coercing employers by dynamite.

If the men are guilty then all the more reason for California preventing further outrages by voting for Socialism.

If the men are not guilty, then in order to prevent a condition which might lead men to crime and dynamite in order to get a living wage California should vote for Socialism.

Meanwhile, it is up to all true friends of labor to stand shoulder to shoulder and see that the accused have an absolutely fair trial. Let there be No Repetition of the Haymarket.

Killing the Scarecrow

(From *Hampton's Magazine.*)

WISCONSIN has La Follette—or, if you prefer to put it that way, La Follette, politically speaking, has Wisconsin. What this progressive spirit would do to the State has been freely predicted by some of Wisconsin's most eminent citizens. In 1903, for example, a large number of leading business men joined in protesting to the legislature against La Follette's railroad commission bill. They felt that it would jeopardize the agricultural and manufacturing interests whence the State derives its wealth and greatness. "If those who are in charge of the business interests of the State are satisfied with the present rates of transportation," they cogently argued, "it would seem that those who manage the politics of the State ought to be satisfied and not attempt to interfere in our business affairs." During the next year leading business men renewed the warning in even more solemn terms. The railroad commission law was enacted, however, and put into effect.

In the five years after that calamitous event revenues of railroads in Wisconsin increased from fifty million dollars to sixty-five million dollars. The Census Bureau reported the other day that in five years the value of products manufactured in Milwaukee had increased fifty-one per cent., the amount of salaries and wages paid in the manufactories had increased fifty-three per cent. and the average number of wage-earners employed had increased thirty-seven per cent. Though Wisconsin is not one of the chief grain States, the value of her farm crops increased fifty-three per cent. in the last census period.

Such are the dire results of progressive legislation in Wisconsin. It is a disheartening fact, indeed—applicable to the entire country—that no sooner do leading citizens get some fine bogy-man propped up on his lath-pins than out comes a census bulletin and bowls him over.

Japan spends $3,650,000 annually in newspaper advertising, a sum which is constantly increasing every year.

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Taft; A Good Dating Machine

SOME of the readers of this magazine may remember, before the election I think it was, I wrote an editorial rather commendatory of Taft. I had several "traitor" letters shot at me by some of my warmer readers as a consequence.

And now I must admit that their warmer instinct was better than my cold reason. Taft has certainly made a bad fall down since he first squashed into the Presidential chair.

When he was judge he at least seemed to play the Capitalist game fairly enough even though he was always ready enough to sit on labor.

But now that he is President he not only betrays unfairness and littleness in his treatment of Socialists, but to others as well.

His letter about the Warren pardon was the limit of pettyfoggery, it not only exhibited a narrow, mean mind, but it showed him stupid enough not to conceal his meanness.

His attempt to "get even" with the Magazine publishers by suddenly trying to push through a postal bill increasing their rate of postage was only characteristic of his latest trick to favor "Brother Charley" and the Guggenheims by secretly throwing open a terminal railway site in Alaska on Controller Bay in order to allow their agent Ryan to locate it before the public knew about its being open.

It's another case somewhat like his ante-dating act in the Ballinger case which La Follette, Brandeis, and others have charged him with and to which he has not replied.

However, in order that I may not be accused of making charges against Taft stronger than the case warrants, I will quote from the *Outlook*, of which his old friend Roosevelt is the editor:

The control over these railways and over their terminals by the Secretary of the Interior and by the Interstate Commerce Commission was safeguarded so long as the land remained in the possession of the Federal government. Suddenly, without public warning, but with apparently the knowledge of certain interested parties, over twelve thousand acres of land bordering on that part of the bay nearest to the ship channel were eliminated from the National Forest and thrown open to private entry. This elimination of the one remaining unmonopolized outlet for the Cunningham coal region was done, not by public proclamation with due notice, but by an Executive order. This occurred last fall, on October 28. Ordinarily such an order is issued with a sixty days' notice, and when it was originally prepared this order contained such a notice; but between the time of its preparation and the time of its issue the sixty days' notice was eliminated. Within four days surveys had been made at this point, which is far beyond the reach of the telegraph, and a claim in accordance with this Executive order had been filed. In other words, the Executive order and the filing of the claim were virtually simultaneous. Within two weeks two other claims had been filed, together with the rights of way of the projected railway. There is now a long stretch of water front, at least a mile long, that, with the possible exception of one section of eighty rods, is likely, if not certain, to fall into private possession.

Of course, Teddy's word on anything is not final by any means, and Teddy himself has things to explain in his own record, for instance, how he happened when Governor of New York to give favors to gas companies after declaring—before election—that he never, never would. Nevertheless, his editorial, considering the source, has a significance. We wonder what Teddy will do next election, Taft is sure to be the Republican nominee.

It's curious that the Republican Party should have had the hard luck to have such a millstone as Taft hung around its neck when we consider that it was the grafters who fought Taft hardest in the convention.

It's also funny how Taft always does these foolish and dishonorable things, and then makes the evidence so clear that he cannot be shielded by even his best friends. In this Controller Bay case the incriminating letters were actually in the government files and would still be there had they not been spirited away. Wm. Marion Reedy says in his *Mirror* very pertinently:

It does not seem possible that fatuity could go so far as the filing of the Dick Ryan letter to Dick Ballinger about the Controller Bay claim and Charlie Taft's interest in that scheme to capture the port of entry and outlet near the coal lands of Aaska. And yet the woman who says she saw the letter in the Interior Department files is believed by all the people who know her. Miss Abbott showed her article, containing a copy of the letter, to Ballinger's successor, Mr. Fisher. Mr. Fisher induced Collier's not to publish it. Then the letter disappeared—like the raised voucher for Justice Day's portrait. The facts now come out that Dick Ryan filed his claim two days after the President's order opening the place to entry, while to all the rest of the country the Presidential order was a secret one, not made public until six months later. Isn't it funny how Taft is always caught dating things back or ahead or indulging in some other form of skullduggery or at least conniving at such things? He's an unwieldy duffer, is Mr. Taft; not fit at all to travel with a fellow like Dick Ballinger.

It's not the policy of WILSHIRE'S to go into the delinquencies of individuals, but nevertheless, when a man is elected as President by a party professing to be imbued with a "Great Moral Idea," it's too much of a temptation not to exhibit their inconsistency, especially when they are admittedly going to re-nominate him for a second term.

Interest In The Berger Speech

(Editorial in the *Daily Oklahoman*, July 30.)

WHILE it has been more than a month since Victor L. Berger, Socialist member from Wisconsin, addressed the Lower House while the wool schedule was under discussion, there is still a constant demand from all quarters for his speech in pamphlet form, and the requests to members of the delegation from this State indicate that there is considerable interest in Oklahoma in the "only Socialist address ever delivered in the halls of Congress." Representative Davenport, of the Third district, has alone mailed out more than twenty-five of the pamphlets in response to requests.

The address, and the discussion which immediately followed it, are worth reading. The questions put to the speaker by other members,

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and the further fact that many of the other members present gathered around him and listened intently to his utterances, indicated the intense interest in what this representative Socialist had to say. They were anxious to hear arguments coming from another angle; views which they knew to be sincere whether they might indorse them or reject them.

He told them frankly: "There is no such thing as protection to labor in any tariff bill. You are not in the habit of making laws for the protection of labor. You are continually making laws for the protection of life and property—for the protection of the lives of those who own the property, and for the protection of the property they own. You are continually making laws for manufacturers, bankers and merchants. But the workingman who has no other property than his labor gets scant protection indeed." He asserted that there was always free trade in labor, continuing:

Under the present system, which we call in political economy the capitalist system, the workingman's labor has become a mere ware in the market. And since the man's labor cannot be separated from the man, the workingman himself has become a commodity, whose time is bought and sold. The workingman, or rather his labor power, is subject to the same conditions as every other ware, especially to the conditions of supply and demand and to competition.

The workingman's labor, or rather his time, is bought now in the open market by the highest bidder on the one hand from the lowest seller on the other.

And the employers, that is, the master class, care only to buy the workingman's time when he is young, strong and healthy. When he is sick or when he gets old the employer has no use for him.

The employer is not in business for the sake of charity. He is in business in order to make profits—to make money.

And because of this we see that our so-called free workers are sometimes worse off—from the purely economical point of view—than the blacks were under slavery before the war.

The negro was property and represented about $1,000 in value—sometimes less. He was property which his master owned. Therefore the master, if he had any sense, took good care of his human chattel. The master was eager to have the slave as long and in as good condition as possible. When the slave became sick or when he died the master lost money.

The case is entirely different with the white workingman, the so-called free workingman. When the white man is sick or when he dies the employer usually loses nothing.

And high tariff, or tariff for revenue only, or free trade, like "the flowers that bloom in the spring, have nothing to do with the case."

The fact is that the capitalist, the average employer to-day, is more concerned about a valuable horse, about a fine dog, about a good automobile, than he is about his employee or about his employee's family.

In most cases the employment is absolutely impersonal. The employer does not know his employee by name, or even by number. This is invariably the case with a stock company, where the shareholders are scattered all over a city, a State, or all over the country; sometimes over Europe.

Nor can any individual capitalist or employer, no matter how charitably inclined he may be, change anything in these conditions. A business or corporation that should try to run its plant on a charity basis would not last long.

No less interesting was his comment relative to the cause of panics. He had asserted that the strength of the capitalist side is so great, and the capacity for resistance on the side of the workman is so insignificant, that there is actually no freedom of contract; that the monopoly of tools had made the employers a class of autocrats and the laborers a class of dependents—of hirelings; simply a hired appendage to the machine. Then he touched upon the cause of the recurrence of panics:

Since the working people do not receive the full value of their products—because a considerable profit is made by the employing class on everything the workers produce—can they be expected to buy back these products? Their numerical strength makes them the chief consumers of the country and those on whom production mainly depends.

In this way, by the laboring people not being able to consume enough, and by the planless way in which production is carried on in general, the so-called overproduction is created.

Of course, no matter how much or how little the toilers of a nation create, they always create more than they are able to buy with their wages, because they have never received the full value of that production.

In this way the so-called industrial crises originate. They have come upon us about once in every twenty years, roughly speaking, since capitalist production began its sway. At such times the trade and the manufacturing of a nation come to a standstill, because "there is too much on hand."

And the working people have to stop work and go ragged and hungry because there is too much on hand.

Statesmen, newspapers, lawyers and so-called reformers on such occasions claim that it is either too much silver or too little silver, or lack of confidence, or what not, that is the cause of the industrial crisis, or panic, as it is sometimes called.

But hard times are really hard only on those whose subsistence depends on their having work to do.

For the poor people the times are always hard.

During "hard times" the wives and daughters of the capitalists, however, do not leave off attending balls, parties and operas, in their silks and diamonds.

On the contrary, if the times are very hard, the wealthy and charitable people simply arrange one more amusement and call it a "charity ball."

As far as security of work is concerned, the workman of the present time is worse off than any of his predecessors in history. In fact, the irregularity of his employment, the frequency with which he is out of work, is the most alarming feature of the workingman's condition. The toiler of to-day cannot work when he wants to, or when he ought to, in order to support himself and family. He can work only when it is to the profit of the employer that he should do so.

In response to questions asked he expressed the opinion that the era of the trusts is but a milestone in industrial evolution, and that it would be an easy step from government control, as advocated by Judge Gary of the Steel Trust, to Socialism. He believed complete ownership the final solution to the great problem presented by modern industrial conditions.

His fellow-members of Congress did not regard him as a bugbear, but as a man of ideas, one looking at the great problem from a different angle, and like themselves searching for the truth that might effect the betterment of the condition of all. They did not regard this man as either an enemy to religion or society because his viewpoint was different from their own.

The death rate in Birmingham, England, which in 1851 was 26 per thousand, was reduced to 12½ per thousand in 1910. A very large factor in this result, it is claimed, was the introduction of sanitary plumbing. Typhoid fever has practically disappeared from the city, and deaths from other diseases due to bad drainage have been greatly reduced also.

Buenos Aires, the largest city in the Southern Hemisphere, is enjoying a boom in real estate, a plot of ground 27 by 35 feet being recently sold for $424,000 or some $647 per square foot. The population of the city is now 1,326,994.

The municipal gas industry of Bradford, England, produced a profit last year of about $65,000 from the sale of gas, the rate being 50 cents per thousand cubic feet.

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Why Does Minority Fill All The Stage?

From *Hampton's Magazine*

THE coronation of George the Fifth having passed from the arena of current events, post facto meditation suggests a query whether the space it occupied was not disproportionate and slightly irrational. On reflection, the crowning of a king hardly seems an event over which a sophisticated people would care to become very ecstatic, and since the thing went off according to the set program and was neither a very difficult feat nor very significant, the amount of literature it called forth is truly calculated to awaken wonder.

Not to speak disparagingly of an ancient institution, one is obliged to confess that very curious hallucinations seemed to pertain to this subject. One, naïvely entertained by our British friends, was that the whole world shared their own breathless excitement about a phase of surviving feudalism. As a matter of fact, the masses of mankind knew nothing about it and would have cared as little if they had known. The event celebrated with so much éclat in London was significant to only an infinitesimal fraction of the race.

This fact is weakened in no way by piling up the great figures of the populations that the King of England is supposed to rule. They have nothing to do with him, nor he with them. Their concern in life is to get something to eat, and whether they have one king or a million affects in no way that inevitable and incessant pursuit.

The rather strange truth is that the coronation was an affair of a mere handful and interested only a trifling percentage of people anywhere. By some delusion not to be analyzed, certain American editors were induced to believe that their readers eagerly lapped up every detail of the performance and read with avidity of him that bore the king's posset and him that polished the royal shoes. As a matter of fact, again, observation showed that the average reader never got beyond the headlines describing these marvels. For about ninety-nine per cent. of the average newspaper constituency the rest of the space was utterly wasted.

Not even the wondrous fact that John Hays Hammond, the American Representative, appeared in the procession wearing knee pants, silk stockings and slippers, met the wandering eye of the bored public.

It is these singular perversions and distortions of the true perspective that must chiefly interest the philosophical observer. For instance, take Mr. Hammond in his knee pants. Obviously he was no more the representative of the American people than he was of Mars. If he had represented the American people he would have worn overalls and a jumper. That seems funny or incongruous to you? It is neither. The vast majority of the American people work with their hands for their daily bread. In what conceivable way could they be represented by a dainty gentleman in satin trunks and slippers?

As a matter of fact, once more. Mr. Hammond in his comic opera dress represented only the extremely minute fragment of this nation that still draws its inspiration from the dark ages, and has no more relation to the actualities of the nation's life than it has to the pyramids. Yet this proportion is exactly the same as the proportion of people in the British Empire to whom the coronation was important, and the proportion in this country to whom it was interesting.

In view of the noise made everywhere by this minority, and in view, further, of the fact that the expenses of Mr. Hammond and his flunkeys were paid by the people that he did not represent, the thing on calm revision looks somewhat askew. At least it might well be the subject of further meditation by anyone that cares to know of conditions as they really are in this world.

—

Note by G. W.: Hampton's might have noted that Hammond is Guggenheim's hired man and it was for Guggenheim that Taft gave the secret executive order opening up Controller Bay.

Book Review

GRACCHUS BABEUF.

"The Last Episode of the French Revolution; Being the History of Gracchus Babeuf." By Ernest Belfort Bax. (Grant Richards.) 6s. net.

In this work our friend Bax, says London *Justice*, has rendered a service to the revolutionary movement by rescuing from obscurity the memory of one of the most remarkable men of a world-shaking epoch. Mirabeau, Robespierre, Danton, Hébert, St. Just, Marat, all have their place in the history of that remarkable time; but Gracchus Babeuf has, together with the movement identified with his name been lost sight of and forgotten.

This is not strange when the circumstances of the time, and the rapidity with which the varied events of the revolutionary epoch followed each other, are taken into account. In no period that we can recall were so many vast and far-reaching changes—so much history, as it were—crowded together in so brief a space.

The Babouvist movement is described by our author as "the last episode of the French Revolution"; and that closed with the trial and execution of Babeuf in May, 1797—less than eight years after the fall of the Bastille! From the Revolution of 1789 to the final and crushing defeat of the Empire at Waterloo was a period of of only twenty-six years. Yet what a tremendous change had taken place in those twenty-six years! What a different Europe was that of 1815 from that of the ancient régime! Looking back over that time, and comparing it with any similar duration of time in our own days, it seems almost inconceivable that so much could have happened in so few years. Waterloo seems quite modern and much nearer to the present day than the France of the pre-Revolution days of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette appears to the France of the Restoration. It is over forty years ago that the Third Empire went down in the débâcle of Sedan. How little apparent change has taken place in those forty years compared with those effected in the twenty-six years between the fall of the Bastille and the fall of the First Empire! The old order had indeed passed away. The ancien régime, feudalism, the divine right of kings, had been swept away in the revolutionary torrent. The Monarchy, the Gironde, the Mountain, had each in turn held sway; and each in turn disappeared as the Revolution, having crushed the old noblesse in the "Terror," proceeded to devour its own children, and Danton, Robespierre, St. Just, and many another Red Republican passed under the impartial knife of the guillotine. Then came the Directory, with Babeuf's conspiracy against its reactionary, anti-revolutionary régime. And all that in eight years; in less time than that which has elapsed since the Boer War, an event which to us appears but as yesterday.

And, in the following sixteen years, the coup d'état of the 18th of Brumaire; the rising and setting of the "sun of Austerlitz"; the practical conquest of Europe by Napoleon; and then Moscow and Elba; the Hundrd Days and Waterloo.

Little wonder that in this swirling suc-

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cession of great events, this torrential rush of history, the Babeuf movement, which at one time threatened to overthrow the existing Government of France, should have sunk into oblivion. There is still less reason to wonder, in view of the fact that Babeuf's movement was, as our author says, "a failure, and like all failures, like all movements that are suppressed with real success, or that, to speak in expressive slang, 'peter out,' leaving but slight direct traces behind them, it has tended with the lapse of years to pass into historical oblivion. Comparatively few men of average education in the present day have ever heard of Babeuf. For the great world . . . he left nothing behind him, scarcely even a memory, except for the few interested in the byways and cul-de-sacs of history, and who honor single-handed devotion to the popular cause even when it has been without result."

There is nothing succeeds like success; and the world only worships success and contemns failure, as the world sees success and failure. But who shall say what is really success and what failure? How often is success nothing but failure and the defeat of the object aimed at. How often, again, has seeming failure been the beginning and foundation of the most lasting success.

> "Never yet
> Share of Truth was vainly set
> In the world's wide fallow.
> After hands may sow the seed;
> After hands, with greater meed,
> Reap the harvest yellow."

Who shall say, then, that even Babeuf failed, or that Babouvism was a failure? The movement to which he gave his name was one for reaffirmation of those eternal principles which inspired the first Revolution, and which have been the vital force in every real revolutionary movement—the principles of Justice, of Human Freedom, and of Social Equality. In his organization of the "Equals," Babeuf strove by the restitution of the Constitution of 1793 to give expression to those principles in the Government of France. He failed, and he paid for his failure with his life. But there is hope for humanity while there are men to be found to risk failure and death for those principles as he did. They are those of whom the world is not worthy. It is well, however, that their names and deeds should be rescued from oblivion for remembrance in that happier time when the cause for which they endured the bitterness of defeat shall have triumphed, and men shall be better able to appraise their failure or success. Our gratitude is due to our comrade Bax for the service he has thus rendered alike to the memory of Babeuf and to the revolutionary movement, and for the interesting contribution he has made to the records of an engrossingly interesting period.

For sale by Wilshire Book Co. $1.50, net.

THE NEW REVIEW

A Socialist Weekly

THE undersigned members of the Socialist Party have, after mature deliberation, decided to form an association for the purpose of publishing a weekly review to be named "The New Review."

The primary purpose of the New Review will be the dissemination of a knowledge of the theories, principles and methods of Marxism; and the discussion and analysis of current events, and of the practical problems with which the Socialist movement is confronted, in the light of these theories, principles and methods.

The establishment of a review for this purpose requires no apology. Excepting the United States, there is hardly a single country that does not maintain at least one Socialist review devoted to the serious discussion of the theoretical and practical problems of the labor movement. Such reviews are designed primarily for the education of the Socialists themselves, although they are also read by non-Socialists who desire to obtain a clear understanding of the Socialist movement. In foreign countries, moreover, the leading Socialist dailies are mighty factors of popular education. In the United States, on the other hand, the existing Socialist press concerns itself almost exclusively with the task of winning over the unconverted, while the work of educating those who have been converted is almost entirely neglected. Now and then there may appear in one or another of the existing Socialist publications a serious contribution to Socialist thought; but these rare exceptions, scattered as they are in the great mass of printed matter designed for so-called popular agitation, remain without effect. Indeed, they are frequently not even noticed.

The New Review, on the contrary, will strive to keep abreast of current Socialist thought, and to acquaint its readers with the great and ever-growing international literature of scientific Socialism. It will aim to impart sound information concerning the experiences of the international Socialist movement, in the past as well as in the present. And it will apply the results of the accumulated thought and experience of the international movement to the study of economics, politics and legislation, as well as of the more spiritual forms of social life as expressed in religion, philosophy, science, art and literature.

The New Review will concern itself with the problems, theoretical and practical, of the Socialist movement the world over. But while the modern Socialist movement is essentially the same in all countries dominated by modern capitalism, there are nevertheless special problems peculiar to each country. In the United States, for example, we are called upon to grapple with such problems as the political supremacy of the judiciary, the conflict between state rights and national authority, the total absence of a system of national labor legislation, the oppression of a negro race, and immigration. These and several other questions are peculiar to this country, being the special products of its peculiar political and economic evolution. The New Review will, therefore, concern itself largely with these questions. As an organ of the Socialist movement of this country, The New Review will devote its attention chiefly to the complex, multiform and fierce struggle of the classes in the United States.

It has been estimated that The New Review cannot be started, with any prospect of success, with a sum less than $10,000. To obtain this amount and to meet the requirements of the situation, we have deemed it expedient to form a publishing association with a capital stock of $15,000, divided into fifty shares of common stock at $100 each, and 1,000 shares of preferred stock at $10 each. Over $2,000 worth of capital stock has already been subscribed for. We appeal to all those, who are in sympathy with this undertaking to subscribe for the shares according to their ability, in a spirit of comradeship, and with the confidence employed for the advancement of our great cause.

Each number of The New Review will contain 16 pages, besides special supplements. The subscription price will be $2.00 a year. If you are interested in the purpose of the new publication, and are not at present ready to subscribe to a share of stock, you can aid in the undertaking by sending in your name and address and the names and addresses of your friends. In our next announcement we will inform you of the date of publication.

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XV. No. 10 NEW YORK, OCTOBER, 1911 Price, 5 Cents per Copy

The Saturday Evening Post

WILSHIRE'S has never pursued the narrow, petty policy of ignoring good merely because the good does not emanate from an accredited Socialist source.

We have always held that when Socialist ideas appear in the ordinary capitalist paper, primarily published to make money, that it's much more significant and instructive than when we see the same ideas in a paper professedly Socialist. It shows that the people are becoming educated enough to demand the truth.

It shows that it pays to tell the truth, and once an American editor is sure of making more money by telling the truth than by suppressing it, we may be sure that the era of truthful papers is at hand.

I would venture to say that the particular paper that is just now telling the truth the most fearlessly and the most successfully is the *Saturday Evening Post* of Philadelphia, and it has nearly two million circulation weekly and is still growing. It's the largest circulation in the world.

A few years ago the *Post* largely confined itself to articles and stories adapted to young men who wished to "get rich quick." Its heroes were men who had turned the track and had become millionaires.

The *Post* published few, if any, really serious articles, and it never thought of attacking the powers that be.

But millionaires are no longer popular heroes, and to-day there is no paper as fearless in its exposures and attacks on millionaires as the *Post*. There is also no paper that is so completely and obviously in the control of its owners as is the *Post*. Perhaps this may explain its courage.

It's better fun and much easier to tell the truth and be virtuous, journalistically virtuous, than it is to kow-tow to your advertisers and lie. If you wish to know how true this is read the "Fortunes of the Sun," a story which ran in the *Post* for three issues, beginning with the 2d of last month.

It's the story of three bright, experienced young men who tried to run a daily paper and tell the truth. They had a paper free from debt and $60,000 cash in bank.

They had more experience and less of that $60,000 in a remarkably short time. If you read this article you will not be so astonished the next time you notice that your own daily paper fails to print all the news.

However, I did not start out to tell how difficult it is for an editor to tell the truth and to make his salt at the same time; but to point out the *Post* as a paper which just now seems the only American paper that is performing this modern miracle.

Every single one of the radical Monthly Magazines seems to be in rather low water financially, and there is hardly a single one but seems to have fallen into the control of Morgan.

In the last year or so *Everybody's*, the *American, Hampton's, the Metropolitan,* all have undergone stock manipulations which have given cause for many forebodings as to their continued editorial independence. They were not making the money they expected to make and they were all compelled to seek aid from outsiders.

The *Post,* on the other hand, is not only owned by a rich man, Curtis, who is the owner also of the *Ladies' Home Journal,* an immensely valuable paper; but, on its own account, the *Post* is obviously a huge financial success. It certainly can afford to be independent, and, for the time being, it is exercising its privilege.

Here is an excerpt from an article by Gifford Pinchot which it recently printed, which will show what I mean:

What shall we do with the coal in Alaska? Use it, of course.

There is more good coal in Alaska than there ever was in Pennsylvania.

* * * * * * *

One of the principal reasons why the great corporations have been able to control our politics as well as our business is that the public has had no legal right to be informed of their affairs. Any company that mines the people's coal upon the people's land may fairly be required to keep the people fully informed of what it does. The day is well-nigh over when the business man who supplies a necessity of life, like coal or oil, can be considered to have no public function or responsibility. How such a man conducts his business is of immediate interest and intimate concern to all the people who use what he supplies. So, under a coal-land lease in Alaska, the people may fairly require that what is being done upon their property by their agent—for that is what the lessee really is—shall be laid fully before them.

One thing remains, and that the most vital of all. The consumer must be protected against extortion. To this end, it is by no means enough to provide Government regulation of the price at which the lessee shall sell his coal. It is a middleman, not the consumer, who will buy from the lessee—a middleman often three or four times removed from the man who will ultimately burn the coal. Therefore the price to be charged to the ultimate consumer must be kept under Government control. For the time being, no agency exists so well adapted as the Interstate Commerce Commission to perform this difficult but practicable and most important task.

A MONOPOLY BY THE PEOPLE.

A bill has recently been introduced in the House by Mr. Robinson, of Arkansas, and in the Senate by Mr. Works, of California, which follows the lines advocated in this article. This bill has behind it the strong support of the National Conservation Association and, at the coming session of Congress, there is hope that it will pass. It proposes to meet the difficult problem of regulating the price to the consumer by adopting the course already followed with success by Kansas. It provides that, in determining a maximum beyond which the price to the consumer shall not rise, the Interstate Com-

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merce Commission shall first establish a reasonable price at the mouth of the mine, and then add the cost for transportation—which it may regulate—and for handling, plus a reasonable profit—thus determining the highest price the consumer ought to pay. Without some such device, the regulation of the business in Alaska coal in the public interest must fail of its principal purpose. The man who needs protection most is the man who actually burns the coal. There is much question as to whether the regulation of railroad rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission or by the Interior Department, under the present law, will prevent monopoly in its practical results. If it does, well; if not, then *we must come to Government construction or ownership of railroads in Alaska,* in favor of which the last year has seen a most significant growth of public sentiment.

The opening of the coalfields under Government regulation is but a start in the great work for Alaska which the Congress of the United States has yet to do. Alaska is the storehouse of the nation. Most of its timberlands are already fairly protected against destruction, while remaining open to use, for they have been included in national forests; but the fisheries, the copper, the gold, the power, the land, are other resources whose value to this country it is impossible to compute.

No comprehensive plan for the development of Alaska resources ought to be adopted—and I believe that none can be put into effect—which fails to provide for equality of opportunity in the use of them under Government supervision and control. If conditions are such in Alaska that development without monopoly is impossible, then let us, the people of the United States, become our own monopolists and hold the monopolies in our own hands. As a nation, we can afford to assume the risks of development without taking from the consumer the huge profit of the promoter who succeeds, or saddling the public with the huge losses which are often shifted upon it by the promoter who fails. If conditions make for monopoly in Alaska let it be a monopoly of which the people are the owners, not the tollpayers—the beneficiaries, and not the victims.

Is it not most significant when a paper like the *Post* comes out for the Nationalization of Railways and Coal Mines in Alaska? Was it fear of nationalization that made Taft so anxious to give the Guggenheim's railway an entry into Alaska that he wrote that secret Controller Bay order?

It is also significant of the growth of the trend of popular thought for Government ownership in Alaska that La Follette is out strongly for it.

Furthermore, the *Post* has no use for Taft's veto of the Arizona Statehood Bill. It says:

A VETO FOR ARIZONA.

A really big question is involved in Arizona statehood; but with that question the recall of judges has nothing whatever to do. The real question is that of the right of the people of Arizona to govern themselves within the limits of the Federal Constitution. A veto of the Arizona statehood bill is a flat denial of right.

The Arizona Constitution is progressive. It provides for initiative and referendum; for the recall of legislative and executive officers who have betrayed the trust reposed in them; and it may easily be amended by the people in any particular at any time. All this, naturally, is highly offensive to the reactionary mind that turns with admiration to the exceedingly conservative and almost unamendable Constitution of New Mexico. But all of these features are found in the constitutions of other states, and the right of the people of a state to frame such government as they choose—provided it is not in conflict with the Federal Constitution—is so clear that conservatism would not have ventured to deny statehood to Arizona upon any of those counts. No one could seriously argue that recall for judges, any more than recall for governors, violates the Federal Constitution; but that further provision in the Arizona Constitution afforded conservatism a means of expressing its abhorrence of the spirit of the whole document.

Being progressive is Arizona's sin.

What papers, we ask, except WILSHIRE'S and the Socialist press, which, of course, don't count, were in favor of the initiative and referendum? In fact there are very few papers even yet in favor of direct legislation, and none for the recall. That the *Post* is not only in favor of the recall of judges, but goes out of its way to slap the President on the question, makes us sit up and take notice that the world do move after all.

Is Philadelphia Really Slow?

WE have alluded to the progressiveness of the Philadelphia *Saturday Evening Post* in another column. We do not wish to make this edition all *Post,* but at the same time the two following *Post* editorials are so much to the point in carrying out our contention that the American people are getting ready to listen to socialistic arguments that we cannot refrain from reproducing them:

THE SEVEN-DAY STEEL WEEK.

At the steel mills some men work eighty-four hours a week—twelve hours for every day including Sunday—and they have the "long shift" involving twenty-four hours of continuous labor. This, of course, is beastly, as steel men themselves frankly admit. But it is obvious that if you are going to compete you must get as much out of your labor as your competitor does. If he grinds ninety-nine out of his labor and you grind only eighty-nine out of yours he will beat you. Eighty-four hours a week is a logical fruit of unrestricted competition.

The Government has grave doubts about the Iron and Steel Institute and the "Gary dinners," suspecting them of being unlawful combinations in restraint of competition. Last October, however, the Institute appointed a committee to work out a plan by which all steel mills might agree to abolish the seven-day week and the long shift. The task is complicated, but has doubtless been rendered somewhat easier by fraternal discussion among the steel men at "Gary dinners." The committee has finally submitted a report, and abolition of the outrageous seven-day week may reasonably be expected. To abolish it by law would be difficult, requiring united action by many states. If the steel industry were not already highly organized, with a pretty good understanding among all the important producers, united action to abolish an abuse of labor would be impossible.

When an industry is highly organized—which means it is pretty much a trust—all the social problems attending it are right under your thumb where you can get action on them.

MAKING TRANSPORTATION DEAR.

The first parcels-post difficulty that we recall occurred at the close of the fifteenth century. Arabs controlled the overland routes from India to the Mediterranean and so monopolized the spice trade, which they worked in partnership with the Venetians. Directly after Vasco da Gama reached India by sea, however, Portugal sent thither a fleet of trading ships. In spite of bitterest opposition on the part of the monopolistic Arabs the ships succeeded in securing cargoes of spices and other Oriental wares which they brought to Europe. The result was a panic in Venice, the price of spices there falling fifty per cent. That the Arabs had made thrifty use of their monopoly is indicated by the fact that, in spite of this fall in prices, the Portuguese are said to have sold their spices at a profit of six hundred per cent. Probably the Arabs argued, like our express companies, that they were really benevolent persons and engaged in trade mostly for their health.

The dearness of transportation at that time was a matter of small importance, for commerce was chiefly confined to articles of luxury. Only barons could buy spices anyway. Nowadays, when transportation enters into the cost of the necessaries of life, there seems decidedly less excuse for tolerating a monopolistic toll upon it.

The Japanese Government in Formosa expends some five million dollars annually in establishing new enterprises, among which are irrigation works, tobacco factories, water works, harbor works, government buildings, railroads, forestry and control of the aboriginal population.

A recent, and probably the most accurate, census of the Chinese Empire places the population at 329,000,000, of which China proper is credited with 304,000,000.

Manchester, England, this year shows the highest profit and the lowest rate on municipally supplied gas, the former being $700,000 net, and the latter 55 cents per 1,000 cubic feet, a rate that will be reduced to 49 cents during the coming fiscal year.

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A Little Trust Tragedy

THERE used to be an old saying that he "who would by his business rise, must either bust or advertise." In the good old days of competition, when trade opportunities were fairly open to all, the epigram had a tolerably far application. In these days of trusts and combines, however, the alternative of "advertise or bust' is not even afforded. The small retailer in competition with the trust generally discovers that advertising, even on a most liberal scale, is not a certain preventive by any means against "busting."

This discovery has been made recently by Mr. Joseph Liebmann, a New York tobacco retailer, at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue, who for several years conducted business in opposition to the local trust stores which hedged him in on every side. Mr. Liebmann advertised the fact liberally in the neighborhood that he was fighting the Tobacco Trust to a finish. He periodically littered the locality with handbills detailing his struggles and the persecution which the trust was subjecting him to, and his store windows were usually covered with printed matter of the same description, newspaper clippings and grotesque pen and ink cartoons satirizing his rivals and their products. His appeal for public assistance and sympathy was for years constantly before the Harlem public.

However, despite his gallant fight, Mr. Liebmann is apparently ready to throw up the sponge. He now declares that the trust has run him out of business, that it has already run him out of two stores because he refused to sell out to it. Under cover of a concern known as the United Merchants' Realty and Improvement Company, which Mr. Liebmann declares to have been formed by the trust for the special purpose of furthering its interests locally, it succeeded in forcing him out by inducing the landlord from whom he rented to raise the rent to a prohibitive figure. He now asks $50,000 damages.

For almost as long as he has been fighting the trust the Socialists of the vicinity have been conducting very large meetings on the corner adjoining his store, and at these meetings the trust question has been discussed very many times, and often with Mr. Liebmann's case as a local example, most of the speakers predicting a losing fight for him. And now to all appearances their predictions are about to be fulfilled.

It is not known that Mr. Liebmann ever attended any of these meetings or ever heard any discussion of the trust question from a Socialist viewpoint, or was in any way interested in it. Of course, the speakers couldn't do much of anything to help him in his fight, and it is, to be sure, a poor sort of consolation to tell a man that he is ultimately going to be licked, anyhow, no matter how hard he may fight. But no Socialist feels any particular satisfaction in the financial undoing of any individual small capitalist just because he predicted it, any more than an astronomer congratulates himself because he has been correct in announcing the coming of an eclipse.

Mr. Liebmann has fought his fight and has apparently lost out, for it is not very probable that he will succeed in making the trust pay damages that may set him up in business again. The trust doesn't calculate on reimbursing the competitors it has eliminated. If such was the case there wouldn't be any possible use in competing, and if it were possible for Mr. Liebmann to bust the trust he would feel outraged if called upon to pay damages therefor. However, the Tobacco Trust is considerably more powerful than the law and knows a thousand ways to dodge it. If Mr. Liebmann gets "judgment" he may content himself, as it is about all he will get in the most favorable view of the case. To collect is another matter entirely, and it's a mighty big job for a very small man.

Still, the doors of opportunity are not altogether closed. It is quite possible that Mr. Liebmann, like many hundreds of other retail tobacco dealers, may come to an understanding with the trust, whereby he can carry on business apparently the same as before, with the trust supplying him with stock and dictating the price it shall be sold at. The trust has some bowels of compassion after all, and it will even permit its agents to masquerade as independent dealers, if it gets the most of the profits. Thus the appearance of competition is kept up and the general public not much the wiser. In fact, Mr. Liebmann, in such case, might even continue his semblance of war on the trust as before, to inspire confidence among former patrons, and as a business attraction. For the trust is infinite in resources—cash and other kinds—and can even turn a war against itself into a profitable scheme. With such an arrangement Mr. Liebmann might not only apparently continue in business, but might even go so far as to advertise that he had definitely slain the octopus and trumpet forth his victory to all and sundry.

But if Mr. Liebmann is too conscientious to be satisfied with a make-believe competition, and too independent to become an agent of the trust, we see no other way for him to preserve his "individuality" than to call for a new deal; to admit that the trust has skinned him to a finish at the competitive game, and that he doesn't want to play that game any more, because it is an impossible one for him, and that he now wants to play at the game of national ownership for the trust with his vote as one of the trump cards. In short, the game that the Socialist speakers on his corner have for years been urging their audiences to demand with their ballots. The trust is good game, too, fat, luscious and juicy; it has been feeding on Mr. Liebmann and his ilk for many years and has drained them to add to its own substance and is in prime condition for the national table.

If Mr. Liebmann does not care for that program, there are still two alternatives open to him. He may sit down and wait for the trust to dissolve—as per recent order—and then resume business again, or if the waiting is too tiresome, he can lie down and take what is coming to him, and that, whatever else it may be, will not take the form of cash damages from the trust.

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The General Strike

A VERY interesting editorial upon the General Strike appears in Blatchford's *Clarion*, a socialist weekly of 60,000 circulation, the largest in England.

The *Clarion* is not only very strongly impressed with the possibilities of the general strike, but it declares that the workers generally are also coming to look upon the strike rather than the ballot as the weapon which may prove the more effective.

There is no doubt but that the failure of the Socialist parliamentary successes in the various countries to accomplish as much as was hoped for accounts for much of this revival of the popular regard for the strike.

With the universal military service established some years past in the continental countries, a revolution by force became obviously impossible, and so naturally the radicals turned to politics as their next best weapon, the general strike then being hardly thought of.

However, politics not having proved so very successful, and labor leaders like Briand and Millerand in France, Ferri in Italy, not to mention Burns in England, losing their Socialism, many of the best of the Socialists have now become disgusted with parliamentary action.

And now comes the English sailors winning a fight against tremendous odds, getting recognition of their union and an increase of wages, then the dockers winning their strike, and finally the railway men tieing up all Britain forcing the Government to intervene and agree that the companies should be given the right to increase their fares and use the increase to pay higher wages, all these remarkable successes naturally have placed the strike upon a pedestal from which it will not be speedily dislodged.

The recent strikes in England have done more in one month to raise wages than parliamentary action has done in ten years.

The strike has, however, been the weapon of despair rather than hope. The cost of living has so increased that it was practically a matter of strike or starve. If wages should be raised permanently a peg or two, it is quite a question whether most of the workers would not be content to rest on their oars for an indefinite period.

In this the political Socialists possibly differ from the syndicalists, for no amount of concession short of the full product of labor to the voting workers will ever satisfy the former, while it is not so certain that if a decent living wage were granted to the striking workers that the syndicalist leaders would find their army melt away like snow in June.

In America, paradoxically enough, the very defects of our political system have so far tended to attract the attention of revolutionary Socialists more to politics than to the general strike. It is practically impossible for Americans to gain very much by politics in the way of social legislation.

The Supreme Court finds most progressive laws unconstitutional. Besides the National Government has little or nothing to do with local legislation, and so far the Socialists have paid more attention to national politics than to State politics. But no constitution can prevent the workers losing the fruits of a successful strike.

It has been recognized from the start that politics with us are more a means of Socialist propaganda than for obtaining legislation. Therefore, the failure of Socialist success to result in any immediate material gain has been so fully discounted that there has been no disappointment.

However, there can be no doubt but that the inability to do very much politically in this country, owing to constitutional restrictions, taken together with the example of the success of the English strikes, will turn the attention of the workers to the great utility of the strike as a most useful weapon for social improvement, and one that has hitherto been too much neglected.

The High-Price Riots in France

THE French certainly are thoroughgoing in their methods. First they organize as Syndicalists to have a General Strike against low wages and proceed, meanwhile, to man-handle all tradesmen who do not make a general reduction in current prices.

However, while the first part of their program may have a qualified success, it is difficult to see how their attempt to make tradesmen sell at lower prices can be successful.

Tradesmen, as a rule, make a very small profit and if their prices become higher it is merely because their costs have become higher. If a tradesman is to be beaten up and his shop looted whenever his prices are thought to be too high, then it's but natural that he will refuse to open up shop again until he is guaranteed protection. Meanwhile the food rioters can't get food at any price.

However, the rise of the French populace against high prices has a deep significance, even though the methods may be illogical. It is significant of the growing determination of the workers of the world, wherever they may be, to get a fuller share of the product of their labor than they have been hitherto getting.

This movement is bound, naturally, to take the line of the least resistance, or what is apparently that line.

Those workers who strike for higher wages think that line of action seems the easiest and most direct method.

The price of food has risen abnormally in France during the last year or so; this is part of the general movement of higher prices owing to decreased cost of production of gold, and partly owing to the shortage of milk and vegetables, owing to the unprecedented drought.

It is difficult to see any outcome to the French food riots other than the evidence that will be driven home to the general public that some very radical change must be made if a revolution in our present system of production is to be averted.

Certainly, if France, where the wealth per capita is not only greater than in any other country, but where wealth is more equitably distributed, cannot get along without food rioting, then the outlook for America is not bright.

We look for very high prices of food in this country this winter and there ought to be something doing in the way of a revolt of labor here.

Manchuria is being rapidly settled by Japanese, the latest census showing over 60,000 Japanese settlers in Southern Manchuria alone. Of these over 27,000 are living in the city of Dalny, which was constructed by the Russian Government as the principal seaport of the country and fell into the hands of the Japanese during the war.

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The Commission Plan of City Government

THAT the universal adoption of the Commission Plan of government for our cities will work a revolution in the attitude of the public mind to politics in general seems to me inevitable.

The American city is notoriously the most corrupt politically in the world, and the corruption is not due to the ineptitude of the people for self-government, but merely to the fact that hitherto we have had an irresponsible form of government.

Grafting was going on and we knew it, and we often knew who was responsible, but more often we did not.

In any event we could do nothing. We were not sure whether it was the council or the Mayor or the elected officials who did the grafting, and even if we were certain we could do nothing. We felt so helpless that we practically gave up the job and let our cities fall into the hands of the lowest and most unprincipled men in town.

However, the Commission plan, as originated in Galveston and Des Moines, by putting all power into the hands of five men, has fixed responsibility. And the addition of the recall enables us to fire any one or all of these men whenever we wish. We can detect the grafter and, better still, when detected we can fire him. That's a tremendous advance on anything we had ever before in our political system.

Judson C. Welliver, in *Munsey's* for August, gives a most interesting account of the workings of the new plan from which I cull the following points:

We Americans are a sanguine lot. We are proud of our own town, even when it has cobblestones where asphalt ought to be, or asphalt at three dollars the yard which ought to have been laid for half the price.

Goodness knows, we have been told often enough that the "genius of our institutions" hasn't much lent itself to the development of ideal municipal conditions. We're sorry about that, of course; but not having seen any model cities, we insist on being as pleased as possible with what we have. At least we can brag about the bigness and rapid growth of our cities, and it serves the purpose, at least till some statistical fiend comes along and insists that they are not growing faster than some of the European ones.

Mere bigness, of course, isn't very satisfying, when you think of it. Why should our town be pleased that it has twenty-nine per cent. more human beings condemned to breathe miasmatic air and drink typhoid germs than it numbered ten years ago? Yet we have all heard the fulminations of the Chicago man who plumes himself on the superlative wide-openness of his city; and I once saw a Bostonian peel his coat for a fight when he was earnestly assured that New Orleans had a worse smell in summer than the waterfront of the Hub!

It's a good thing, though, that everybody persists in being proud of his town. If we can only set up a better standard by which to measure; if we could get as much newspaper space for the most honest alderman as for the biggest boodler; if a public work erected at small cost commanded as much interest as one produced at preposterously high cost; if towns would brag about how well their working people were housed, instead of how many they had—then we should be on the road to better municipal things, and the ancient reproach of bad city government in America would close.

The new standard, in fact, has already been established. The movement for better city government is one of the most important, and in its implications one of the most far-reaching, now going on.

It is ridding us of the city boss, who has intimate relationship to State and national boss-ships. It is making our cities cleaner, better, more healthy both morally and physically. It is nailing tins over a vast lot of rat-holes into which we have poured our city revenues. It is teaching the people the value of public-service franchises, the need to protect them, and the possibility of securing good public service at reasonable prices. It is reducing the cost of living to the denizens of the towns, and giving better living.

All this betterment is being wrought in various ways in different cities; but the system of city government by commission, with its direct responsibility to the people, its close concentration of authority, and its simplification of procedure, is the particular phase which is here to be considerered. It marks a departure from ancient superstitions about the tripartite division of government, and has done much toward disproving some of those wise old saws which, having fallen too often upon nails, have lost the edge of their applicability to present conditions. In its beginnings, men of academic mind viewed it askance because it sought to amalgamate legislative and executive authority. Horrific thought!—except that the plan has worked well.

The commission plan of government proposes to merge the legislative functions, once exercised by the city council of one or two chambers, and the executive powers, formerly held by the mayor; to repose both in a small commission, commonly of five members; to have this commission elected by the people of the entire city, rather than by wards, as formerly; to make the commissioners subject to recall by the people at any time; to give the people a right to veto the commission's legislation through the referendum, and to supplement it through the initiative.

In its best development, the plan takes all party politics out of municipal government. No party name, emblem, or slogan can be attached to any man's candidacy. The office-seeker must run as a citizen, not as a partisan, standing on his own policies, not on a platform made by a convention that can never hold him to accountability.

It was practically as a war measure that commission government orginated in Galveston. The disaster of 1900, which almost destroyed the Texas city, made extreme methods justifiable. In that day of utter chaos, three men, without warrant or color of law, took charge of things, established military rule, and set about restoring order. They ruled by the same right as stone-age chieftains—the right of that strength which equipped them to dominate their fellows and their situation. Usurpers they were, indeed, for they were legislature and executive, judge, jury, and executioner; but they made it possible to save Galveston.

In those days of chaos, at Galveston, the Texas legislature passed a law under which the Governor named a majority of the stricken city's commissioners. The courts held this to be an infringement of local self-government, and then all the commissioners were made elective. The wards were abolished, and the commissioners chosen from the entire city.

For seven years the plan worked well in Galveston, though it was not yet perfected. In that period only one other city, Houston, adopted it. Then some Iowa people with interests in Texas had their attention drawn to it. Des Moines needed reform. For its size, it was perhaps as sad an example of the corrupt and machine-ridden town as could be found in the country.

At this period the democratic features of initative, referendum and recall had not been engrafted on the commission plan. Los Angeles had these features, but did not have the commission. There was sincere and well-grounded protest against the new plan without these checks, because it was liable to develop into an autocracy. Five men vested with power to levy and expend taxes, to make appointments for all offices, and to pass all ordinances, could easily make themselves a very sanhedrim of bossism.

Before the reformers had bethought them of tempering the commission's boss-ship with the democratic instru-

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ments of direct popular control, the Galveston plan was submitted to the Iowa Legislature and rejected. Then came the suggestion of combining the Galveston commission with the Los Angeles provisions for direct legislation and recall. This answered much of the objection. But there was still a weakness which some people considered vital. The city government might yet fall into the hands of politicians, be connected with Congressional and State machines, and become a menace.

Governor Cummins insisted that all party politics ought to be completely eliminated, and it was he who invented the next proposal—that of the double, non-partisan election. This was the finishing touch. It was adopted, and the legislature passed an enabling act, permitting Des Moines, by popular vote, to adopt the new system if it chose.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE PLAN.

Here are the essentials of the plan which Des Moines and Cedar Rapids both adopted, and simultaneously set in operation on April 6, 1908:

The old division of the city into wards, each choosing an alderman, was wiped out.

Political conventions and party names were abolished so far as concerns city affairs.

The ancient system of having a long "city ticket" of mayor, engineer, treasurer, auditor, and so forth, elected each alternate year, by the vote of the entire city, and of having an alderman elected from each ward, was ended.

Under the new plan, nobody was elected but five commissioners. One of these was called mayor, and presided over the commission; but he had only the same vote as any other commissioner, and no veto.

Any citizen could be a candidate for mayor or commissioner by securing the petition of twenty-five citizens. This required that his name be placed on the ticket at the first or primary election. Names were arranged alphabetically on the ticket; no party name or emblem was allowed.

The eight candidates for commissioner, and the two for mayor, having the highest votes in the primary election, then made up the ticket for the final election. This was again arranged alphabetically and without political designation.

At the final polling, the one candidate for mayor, and the four for commissioners, receiving the largest votes, were declared elected.

The commission thus elected chose by ballot all other officers and employees, practically all from civil-service merit lists. The city's business was divided into five administrative departments, each headed by a commissioner, thus:

ıblic affairs, headed by the mayor.
ɔunts and finance.
Public safety.
Streets and public works.
Parks and public property.

Each commissioner had general supervision in his department, running it just as if he were executive head of a department of a great business. The five, sitting as a commission, made policies, passed ordinances, prepared the budget, levied taxes, and generally bossed the town.

They could not, however, give away any public franchise. They could frame and recommend a grant, which must be submitted to the voters at a special election, and get a majority vote, to become effective.

Such is the referendum as to franchises. As to legislation, the plan provides that if the council passes objectionable legislation, twenty-five per cent. of the voters, by petition, may require that its operation shall be suspended, and that an election shall be called to pass on it. Likewise, if the council refuses to pass any desired legislation, then a like petition can command the commission to submit this legislation to a special election. In either case, the legislation stands or falls as the majority of the people vote.

Similarly as to the recall. If the people get a "grouch" against a commissioner, a like petition requires the commission to call an election to fill his place. He is a candidate, if he so desires; other nominations are made as already described; and in the election the man with the majority of votes wins.

By this plan party politics is eliminated. The city alministration cannot be subordinated to and used by any political organization. Appointments are made on the basis of merit, during good behavior and service, from lists of eligibles certified by the civil service commission as the result of competitive examinations.

Under this system, responsibility is centralized, politics eliminated, the spoils system rendered impossible.

From being a dirty, ill-governed, crime-ridden town, the Iowa capital has become one of the show-places of the middle West. The new civic center, formed by grouping public buildings on both sides of the Des Moines River, is widely regarded as the finest effect of the kind in any American city. That the handsomely boulevarded, generously parked, gorgeously lighted, well ordered place which Des Moines is to-day, could be developed in so short a time from the Des Moines of four years ago, is simply a wonder. If it could be brought to the realization of other cities, it would be certain to prove the most potent argument for the new system.

RESULTS IN CEDAR RAPIDS.

Another illustration is the experience of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, a town of about thirty-five thousand inhabitants, which reorganized its government under the commission plan simultaneously with Des Moines.

The former government had regularly spent more than its income; its warrants were commonly at a discount, compelling excessive prices for supplies. When heavy warrants were outstanding, and there was no cash to pay them, the city would fund them into bonds; and so a bonded debt of $712,000 existed when the new government took hold.

Immediately the city's business was put on a strictly cash basis. Warrants that had formerly sold at eighty-five cents jumped to par; the town began claiming the cash discount given by dealers. An inventory of city property was made, and, when all liabilities were deducted, it was found that the city had net values of $453,000.

When the new plan had been in operation for three years a new inventory was made. The three-year showing was that the city had—

Reduced taxes each year.

Spent more on public improvements in three years than in the preceding ten years.

Paid off $155,000 of its bonded debt.

Paid its bills every week, and regularly received the cash discounts.

Employed more men than ever before, and paid higher wages.

A good exhibit, this, for a town which had never even known before how it stood, except that year by year its general financial condition was a little worse than before!

From the beginning, the Des Moines plan attracted wide-spread attention. Its novelty made appeal to imagination. Believers in the theory that "the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy," found justification of their faith. The whole country had been aroused to realization of the need for better government. Anything that made confident promise could get respectful hearing.

EVANGELISTS OF THE NEW GOSPEL.

So Des Moines and Cedar Rapids suddenly found themselves the cynosures of nation-wide attention. Middle-class cities all over the central West began studying and agitating the new plan. Leagues and clubs and committees were organized to urge it. Cedar Rapids and Des Moines, and other cities as they gained experience under the new system, were called upon for expert testimony; and this presently brought forward Ernest A. Sherman, of Cedar Rapids, and John MacVicar, of Des Moines, as traveling evangelists of the new gospel.

Sherman had been a newspaper publisher in Cedar Rapids. Under the old system, he had bitterly and persistently attacked the city council; and one day, when a vacancy occurred in that body, it played a grim joke on Sherman by electing him to fill the vacancy.

Sherman was game, and accepted. He said little and sawed wood till he learned how the council was organized. He found that a minority of vigorous men were running everything, and doing it badly.

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He bided his time, talked to the inactive but honest councilmen, finally organized them under his own leadership, and one day, in a sensational fight, succeeded in defeating the old ring.

From that time on Sherman was the boss, and things began to improve. For this service the people elected him a commissioner when the commission plan was adopted.

Pretty soon demands were pouring in for speakers to explain the plan in other cities. Sherman became the chief expositor. He was in so much demand that at the end of his term he declined re-election, and placed himself at the disposal of the various State and local leagues, now fast springing up, to urge adoption of the new idea. For the last year he has campaigned under such auspices all over the country, even accepting invitations to assist in campaigns in Canadian cities.

At St. John, New Brunswick, Mr. Sherman found a remarkable exhibit. A few months ago he was called there to help explain the plan to the people, a campaign for its adoption being in progress. W. E. Anderson, secretary of the local board of trade, showed him a file of several hundred letters from cities all over the United States, where the plan was in operation. Sixty-seven cities were represented. The letters were from business men, professional men, publicists, journalists, who had been asked for frank expressions of opinion based on their cities' experience.

Every letter received declared that the plan had unqualifiedly succeeded, and recommended it to other cities.

A St. John publisher, leading the fight against the plan, sent his editor to Cedar Rapids and Des Moines to get materials with which to confound and confute the Sherman arguments. The editor came back converted to the plan!

St. John voted for a commission government.

These States now have laws under which cities may adopt the plan—Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, California, Iowa, Missouri, West Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Michigan, Washington, Montana, New Jersey, Massachusetts. At the time of writing, similar bills are pending in Connecticut, Indiana, and Pennsylvania.

In the Eastern campaigns for the commission plan, it is constantly urged that a system suited to the comparatively small cities of the West will not serve the purposes of the great municipalities of the East. A man in a New Jersey audience that I addressed on the subject protested that a little town of fifteen thousand or so, like Des Moines, could hardly enlighten the big Jersey communities. He was surprised when I explained that Des Moines is just outside the hundred-thousand class, and is straining toward that figure in expectation of reaching it in another five years.

The truth is that the plan works just as well in the biggest cities that have adopted it as in the smallest. Its benefits are rather more obvious, because government in a big town touches the people at more points.

I asked a student of municipal affairs in New York whether the plan would work there. He replied that the Board of Estimate and Apportionment corresponds very closely to the commission; it is in a large way the real governing body; but it is so hampered by the complexities of borough organizations, the board of aldermen, and other features which disintegrate responsibility, that it does not give the results that a pure commission government would. He declared that the Des Moines plan, unmodified in essentials, would, in his opinion, work as well in New York as in Des Moines, and vastly improve the administration of the American metropolis.

COMMISSION-GOVERNED CITIES.

Certain it is that the best authorities in such great cities as Buffalo and Pittsburgh have unreservedly committed themselves to the new plan. The latest available list of cities that have adopted it includes one hundred and twenty-two, in twenty-six States. With the populations of those having more than twenty-five thousand in 1910, they are:

Alabama—Montgomery (38,136) and Birmingham (132,685).

California—Berkeley (40,434), Modesto, Los Angeles (319,198), Riverside, San Diego (39,578), San Luis Obispo, Oakland (150,174).

Colorado—Colorado Springs (29,078), Grand Junction.

Idaho—Lewiston, Boise.

Illinois—Aurora (29,807), Carbondale, Moline, Rock Island, Springfield (51,678), Decatur (31,140), Dixon, Elgin (25,976), Ottawa, Kewanee.

Iowa—Des Moines (86,386), Cedar Rapids (32,811), Davenport (43,028), Burlington, Sioux City (47,828), Fort Dodge, Keokuk, Marshalltown.

Kansas—Kansas City (82,331), Coffeyville, Leavenworth, Wichita (52,450), Hutchinson, Abilene, Girard, Iola, Independence, Cherryvale, Newton, Marion, Neodesha, Topeka (43,684), Wellington, Parsons, Pittsburgh, Emporia, Anthony, Caldwell, Dodge City, Eureka.

Kentucky—Newport (30,309).

Louisiana—Shreveport (28,015).

Massachusetts—Lynn (89,336), Haverhill (44,115), Chelsea (32,452). A modified form of commission government also exists in Boston (670,585), Taunton (34,259), and Gloucester.

Michigan—Port Huron, Harbor Beach.

Mississippi—Clarksdale, Hattiesburg.

Minnesota—Mankato.

North Dakota—Mandan, Bismarck, Minot, Grand Forks, Fargo.

Missouri—St. Joseph (77,403).

New York—Mount Vernon (30,919).

New Mexico—Roswell.

North Carolina—High Point, Greenville, Charlotte.

Oklahoma—Ardmore, Bartlesville, Duncan, Enid, Miami, MacAlester, Muskogee (25,278), Purcell, Sapulpa, Tulsa, Guthrie, Wagner, Oklahoma City (69,205), Claremore.

Oregon—Baker City.

South Carolina—Columbia (26,319).

South Dakota—Dell Rapids, Huron, Pierre, Rapid City, Sioux Falls, Yankton, Vermillion.

Tennessee—Memphis (131,105), Etowah, Bristol, Clarksville, Richard City.

Texas—Arkansas Pass, Austin (29,860), Beaumont, Corpus Christi, Dallas (92,104), Denison, Fort Worth (73,312), Galveston (36,981), Greenville, Houston (78,800), Kennedy, Lyford, Marble Falls, Marshal, Palestine, Port Lavaca, Sherman, Texarkana, Anthony.

Washington—Tacoma (83,743), Spokane (104,402).

Wisconsin—Eau Claire, Appleton.

West Virginia—Bluefield, Huntington (31,161), Parkersburg.

The list is by no means complete. The movement is spreading so fast that it is impossible to make a census of commission cities to-day, with any assurance that it will be useful a month hence. Georgia is in the throes of several campaigns; Montana's leading cities are all struggling with the question at the date of writing; New Jersey seems likely to add several names this year.

In connection with the list of commission-governed cities, here is a suggestive re-enforcement of the proposition that good government pays. There were in the United States just twenty-two cities of more than twenty-five thousand people that doubled their population between 1900 and 1910, according to the Federal census returns. Of these, no fewer than thirteen to-day have commission government. In all, there are forty commission-governed cities above twenty-five thousand; thirteen of them, as I have said, doubled their population in ten years. There are one hundred and eighty-eight non-commission-governed cities of the same class; only nine of them doubled.

With State and local leagues forming in all parts of the country to urge the new plan; with constantly increasing volume of educational work and literature placing the system before the people; with the commission plan able still to boast that it has recorded no failure, that no city after once adopting has ever abandoned it; with so many Legislatures passing statutes that authorize municipalities to adopt the commission system, there is every indication that the number of American cities governed by this plan will increase at a rapid rate, and that in another decade it will be recognized as the long-awaited solution of our problem of city government.

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XV. No. 11. NEW YORK AND LONDON, NOVEMBER, 1911. Price 2 Cents. per Copy.

The General Strike: Its Ramifications.

IT is impossible to conceive of the vast psychological change of attitude of all classes in England since the general strike on the railways last summer.

True, the strike only lasted a few days and the direct resulting gain to the workers was trivial, but it was the demonstration of what might be done that was of immense educative value to the community.

It showed the Capitalists how dangerous it is to push labor to extremes, and it showed labor that it has merely to use its solidarity to get anything it demands.

One direct result of the strike is a strong agitation for the Nationalisation of the Railways. Another result is the appointment by the Government of a new Board to examine into grievances of labor, and endeavor both to prevent strikes and to settle them if started.

Of course, there is no method nor idea of making the findings of the Board compulsory, but the creation of the Board, which is composed half of labor men and half of employers, is in itself a confession of the shock that has been given England.

It means that politics are to become more and more devoted to the desires of labor rather than to those of Capital.

One set of men who are most vitally interested in the development of the new syndicalist movement are the Labor Members of Parliament. The following, taken from the "Daily Express," a Tory paper, is significant and also interesting; but, considering the source, it must be taken with a grain of salt:

"A struggle, the vital importance of which both to organised trade unionists and to the general public can hardly be over-estimated, is being fought out at the present moment within the inner ranks of the Socialist-Labor Party.

The campaign in favour of "syndicalism," or the "general strike," which, as was shown in the "Express," has achieved so much popularity, threatens to sap to its foundations the power and authority of the group of political Socialists, who, under the leadership of Mr. MacDonald, have so long controlled the fortunes and funds of the party.

When, in 1900, the Labor Party, or the Labor Representation Committee as it was then known, came into being, avowedly Socialist organisations were for the first time in the history of the labor movement admitted to the inner councils of the trade unions.

A leading Socialist, who had never been a member of a trade union, was appointed secretary, in the person of Mr. MacDonald, and almost from the first the small section of Socialists took control both of the policy and of the large funds which were placed at the disposal of the new body.

Throughout the whole of the existence of the party the Socialist grip on its control has never slackened, despite the fact that the proportion of members in the affiliated Socialist societies has never been larger than one in eighteen, and is now only one in forty. The vast trade union majority has never made an effort to emancipate itself.

The only section of the party which has made a serious bid for power, and places, of the Socialist wirepullers has been the small number of revolutionary Socialists belonging to what is now the Social-Democratic Party, who, though unable to join the party as representatives of the Social-Democratic Party, have crept in as representatives of various trade unions.

Time after time this little band has endeavoured, by attacking the political policy of the Socialist leaders, to overthrow them. In unmeasured language they have denounced the Parliamentary astuteness, the policy of tactics and compromise, championed by Mr. MacDonald and the other stalwarts of the Independent Labor Party and the Fabians, such as Mr. Pease, Mr. W. C. Anderson, and Mr. Bruce Glasier. But each time they have failed.

Now at last, however, it would seem as though their time was coming. While they have been attacking the politics of the secretary in open conference they have at the same time been steadily undermining his influence in the lodges of the trade unions.

For the time being they have dropped their Socialism as Socialism and have devoted themselves with an earnestness worthy of a better cause to preaching syndicalism.

"Labor is the same whether it is exploited by the capitalists in the factory, the foundry, or on the railway," they say. "What is the use of small unions fighting small battles? The only weapon with which you can fight the serried forces of capitalism is that of the general strike, whereby the whole forces of trade unionism will be brought to bear whenever capitalism, in whatever trade or whatever part of the country, dares to put up a fight."

Recent events in the shape of the transport workers' strike in London and the railway strike have given an immense impetus to this propaganda. It has appealed strongly to trade unionists who have become tired of the "little by little" policy of the Socialist-Labor Party.

The average trade unionist is not an enthusiast regarding the work of the Labor Party in Parliament. "They've got fine fat jobs," he says when he refers to the Socialist-Labor M.P.'s, "but I don't get much out of it. Politics are not much good any way. What I want is more wages and less work."

This is exactly what the new policy promises, as it is revealed in the speeches of Mr. Ben Tillett, Mr. Tom Mann, Mr. Harry Quelch, Mr. Will Thorne, and other prominent members of the revolutionary group.

Of course, they are aware of its fallacies, so ably exposed by their own "comrade," Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in his recent article in the *Socialist Review*. But to the rank and file of working men it has come with all the force of a new gospel.

"It is the product of the creative intelligence of the man who is impatient because it takes the earth twenty-four hours to wheel round the sun," says

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Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. "It is the workers' only hope," declare the revolutionary Socialists, and, unfortunately, they are being believed.

Many of the older trade unionists are throwing in their lot with the syndicalists, not because they believe in the new policy, but because they see in it an opportunity of overthrowing once and for all the power of the politicians, and once more bringing back trade unionism to its original industrial basis.

Their outlook is a short-sighted one, however. The originators of the new policy are none the less Socialists and revolutionaries because for the moment they are syndicalists. Their object in bringing about a great confederation of trade unions pledged to support each other in a general strike is not to make war on low wages and long hours, but to make war on society.

"They wish to unite all unions into one," to quote Mr. MacDonald again, "and then to paralyse society by a strike," Mr. MacDonald may well be bitter. With infinite patience he has created a Parliamentary machine which has been able to force "the most powerful Government of modern times" into paths of Socialism of which its members had never dreamed. With the coming of payment of members he has seen his ideal of a Socialist Party in the House of Commons a hundred strong within reach of realisation, and now the whole fabric is tumbling about his ears.

The "political industrialism" of Mr. MacDonald and his supporters has been a menace to the country. It has played no little part in the attacks on liberty and individual responsibility under which the country has suffered in recent years. But it has been as nothing to the danger with which the country is faced in the growth and success of the new policy.

Mr. MacDonald, like Frankenstein, has created a monster. Will it, like Frankenstein's monster, overwhelm him?"

It is impossible to think that such an imperative weapon as the general strike will ever be abandoned by labor on account of the difficulty and danger of handling it. Admittedly the general strike is a two-edged sword, and admittedly labor may, at the beginning, find that the battles won by it are gained at a tremendous cost. But man has yet to abandon a new and effective tool because he may have injured himself in learning how to use it.

On the other hand, I have yet to see the logic of the Syndicalist position that declares politics to be played out, and that labor should use but the one weapon, the General Strike, to gain its ends.

The World Do Move.

California has passed by popular vote three important amendments to her Constitution—namely: The Initiative and Referendum, The Recall, and Woman Suffrage.

In 1890 I was the candidate of the Socialists for Congress from Los Angeles, and every one of these reforms was in my platform.

I was the only candidate for Congress nominated in the whole of the United States for that election.

It has taken just twenty-one years to see the fruition of that election.

Dynamiting Taft.

Why anyone but a Burns' detective or a lunatic should have attempted to dynamite Taft's train baffles the human intellect.

Taft, by his blunders, is doing more to bring the social problem up for solution than any man who ever sat in the Presidential chair. I am sure that every Socialist has a far greater fear of any event that would make a martyr of Taft than Taft had of making Warren a martyr.

A Significant Bit of History.

"La Follette's Magazine."

Congress once ordered the Supreme Court of the United States to keep its hands off from a certain law. The Supreme Court obeyed. The story of this incident is told by Allan L. Benson, in the third article of his series on "The Usurped Power of the Courts," now appearing in *Pearson's*. It is a little known, but tremendously significant, chapter in American history.

"After the Civil War various reconstruction Acts were passed, the most important of which divided the South, exclusive of Tennessee, into ten military districts, the chief administrative officer in each of which was a United States army officer. The reconstruction Acts were bitterly contested, not only in the South, but in the White House and in the President's Cabinet. Northern men were arrested in the Southern States and their lives placed in jeopardy. To remedy this situation Congress passed the Act of February 5, 1867, which gave the right of appeal in habeas corpus cases to the Supreme Court of the United States.

"This arrangement worked very well for the North until a Southern man sought to take advantage of the law. The Southern man was W. H. McCardle, a Mississippi editor. On November 12, 1867, he was arrested by order of Major-General Ord, commanding the district of Mississippi, on charges of libel, inciting to insurrection, disorder, and violence. McCardle was the insignificant proprietor of a cross-roads sheet, and his appeal attracted no attention until it began to be noised around Washington that the Supreme Court intended to take advantage of the situation to declare all of the reconstruction Acts unconstitutional. That meant, of course, the disruption of the Northern plans for the subjugation of the South."

Thereupon the Republicans who controlled Congress bestirred themselves. Result: the passage of a Bill divesting the Supreme Court of jurisdiction in the case before it, as well as in similar cases. President Johnson vetoed it, but it was passed over his veto. And the Supreme Court upheld the right of Congress to do this. Of course, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is conferred by the Constitution; but note that the Construction provides that, in the case of appellate jurisdiction, it is conferred "with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make." Congress simply chose to make an "exception" in this case. And the Supreme Court made no attempt to set aside the reconstruction laws. It submitted to the constitutional power of Congress—when Congress chose to exercise it.

A Judicial Mind in Action.

"Saturday Evening Post."

President Taft's Trust speech at Detroit exhibits the judicial temperament in its most discouraging state. He regards the Trust problem as virtually settled by the decisions of the Supreme Court in the oil and tobacco cases, which are "making those great combinations divide themselves into actually competing parts. . . . It needed these two great decisions to teach the business public that not in the supreme tribunal of this country would the claim be listened to that we have passed beyond the possibility of free competition. . . . I am glad to think that business men who have been violating the Trust law are now being made to see the necessity of changing their original organisation, giving up the idea that it is necessary to control markets, and reverting to the old principle of free competition in which all limits upon it to prevent its being excessive must be self-imposed by the good sense of each competitor."

Clearly, Mr. Taft rests in a blissful assurance that unrestricted competition has been restored because the Supreme Court has said it should be. By looking into a law book he sees "business men giving up the idea that it is necessary to control markets and reverting to the old principle of free competition," and that completely satisfies him. The trifling fact that free competition has nowhere been restored except on paper disturbs him not at all. His innocent belief that the Trust problem is to be discovered in a law library rather than in the markets, and that tacking up some new signs on office doors conformably to a court decision quite solves the problem, exhibits the judicial temperament in its most hopeless aspect. His attention is fixed, not upon what is, but upon what a court says shall be. Evidently no progress toward a solution of the actual problem is to be expected from Mr. Taft.

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Striking for a Labor Trust.

"The Literary Digest."

THAT the strike on the Harriman lines is an effort to confront a railroad combination with a labor "trust" is not apparently denied by the men or their leaders, and while most of the daily press condemn the strike on this ground, just as they condemn Standard Oil or the Sugar Trust, the labor organs, as far as we have seen, glory in the fact and argue that such a combination of labor is just what is needed. This strike, which calls out 35,000 men, and affects the Harriman system from the Mississippi to the Pacific and the Illinois Central from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, is declared because these railroads refuse to deal with a federation of unions. They will deal separately with the five unions making up the Federation of Shop Employees, but not with the Federation itself. "If we win this strike," declares James W. Kline, international president of the Blacksmiths' and Helpers' Union, "all the railroads in the United States will submit to a federation." "We might as well turn over our roads to the men as grant their demands," replies Julius Kruttschnitt, vice-president and director of maintenance and operation of the Harriman lines. The union leaders, according to a San Francisco dispatch, frankly urge that the unions must follow the example of capital in the matter of combination and centralisation.

"For the first time," remarks the Brooklyn *Standard Union*, "the issue has been squarely made between the corporation and labor; not as organised into independent trade unions, but as federated, consolidated into a central unit, with control over all the branches and combinations, the very latest and extremest form of the trust." These trade unionists, declares the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, aim at "the formation of a trust that would be as intolerant and insolent in the exercise of its powers in restraint of trade as are any of those against which the powers of the Federal Government have been brought to bear." The labor papers are in the main yet to be heard from.

In addition to the recognition of the Federation of Shop Employees, despatches state, the strikers ask that the railroads compel all shop employees to join this federation, whether they wish to or not, and they further demand for their organisation the right to designate the men to be laid off when the force is cut down, and the right to say whether any particular employee shall be discharged or suspended. They also demand the abandonment of the premium or bonus system. If the companies agreed to deal with the Federation instead of with the individual unions, remarks Mr. Kruttschnitt, "an issue raised on a small-system road in Louisiana or Texas might stop all shop work through the entire system by requiring members to strike in distant California, Oregon, Washington, or Nebraska." And in his formal answer to the labor representatives he says:—

"If the essentials of admittedly fair and considerate treatment, the payment of highest wages of any railroads in the territories served by our lines, and the guaranty of hospitable and generous pension benefits have not been sufficient to deter our shopmen from terminating agreements insuring these conditions made from time to time in conference with their labor unions, and from spending four or five months in devising new issues and means to destroy existing harmonious relations, and, moreover, are not sufficient to induce them to remain in our employ and to make them realise their duty to the public, I do not see that we can do anything more to convince them that they have no good reason to stop work, or to prevent your giving approval and permission to them to leave our service."

Commenting upon this, President Kline, of the Blacksmiths' Union, says:—

"The position the railroads take is arbitrary. Mr. Kruttschnitt refers to good wages, the pension system, and other admirable things done by the Harriman lines. He says nothing, however, of the damnable physical examinations, the personal-record system, and the rank discrimination practised by the railroads. . . . The men will not recede. The matter of wages is an after-consideration. They demand to deal as a unit with the roads, and to treat with them on equal terms."

He explains, also, that the Federation is formed not only "for protection," but "in the interest of economy and convenience," as it "should be easier to deal with one committee than with a dozen." "From their own point of view," admits the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, "the representatives of the men have strong ground to stand on"; but the same paper thinks that the position of the railroads is even stronger. The Philadelphia *Record*, however, is inclined to think that the refusal of the railroads to recognise the Federation was unduly arbitrary. To Mr. Kruttschnitt's assertion that such recognition would place the unions "in absolute control" of the railroads the New York *Call* (Socialist) replies unhesitatingly that "they should control." It goes on to say:—

"The men on the Harriman roads, having come to a realisation of the power combination gives them, had started to federate all the departments. The Harriman lines, among the most powerful in this country, are themselves the result of the federation of lines that had been weakened through competition, and in some instances brought almost to the verge of disaster through their 'individual efforts' at independence.

"But the present heads of those lines instantly realised that what had been good for them through combination of separate roads into a federal system would not have the same beneficent effect if the various crafts employed on the roads were also federated into a system."

President of China.

Sounds funny, but why not President of China? The main reason is not so much that Manchu Emperors are out of fashion as that Presidents are also rather out of fashion—back numbers, so to speak.

Do you ever hear of the doings of the President of France or of Switzerland?

The final political state of man will be without either President or Emperor; the people themselves will be the kings and presidents, for they will appoint the man they want to do the presiding over their Assembly while it is in session, and he will be subject to retirement at any moment they may wish to recall him. Let Taft faint. The laws the Assembly passes will also be subject to rejection and repeal by the people, even though Cardinal Gibbons thinks such democracy horrid.

The Chinese can have no illusions about the perfection of life in America under a President Taft, that they are willing to risk boiling oil in order to have a chance of adopting our Constitution.

No doubt the Manchu Dynasty is pretty bad, but so is the Morgan Dynasty; and the Manchus pretend to reign for the people, whereas the House of Morgan makes not even a pretence.

However, if nothing else, the United States is a good "horrible example" of the failure of Capitalistic Republics for dynastic-laden countries to beware of following.

Manchu Log may be a dull king, but Morgan Stork is no change for the better.

Italy in Tripoli.

Italy, of course, has no right to grab Tripoli, except the right of might; but I cannot see that there should be any surprise that she should have made the grab. It is a wonder she did not do so years ago.

It is probably a question as to whether she will really gain much economic advantage from the conquest. Turkey will undoubtedly gain by losing Tripoli. The trade there does not pay for the fleet to guard it.

It was in the natural order of events for Tripoli to be swallowed by Italy, and the sooner the operation is over with, and Turkey has gracefully acquiesced, the better it will be for all concerned.

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Taft Defying Nature.

It's a very interesting situation just now for the Trusts. The law says that they must compete, and Taft, looking forward to the next election, is apparently doing all he can to make them compete. He says by 1913 he will have them all competing.

Taft must know better. It seems absurd that any man to-day with the least knowledge of business can think that it's possible to restore competition by dissolving the Trusts into their component parts, or by any other method, for that matter.

However, Taft wants re-election, and he thinks that the only way to get it is to bow to the popular will, and go hot-foot after the Trusts.

I can readily understand the surprise and disgust of Morgan and the financiers at this attitude of their old friend. But no doubt they see the necessity Taft has for putting on a front, and they also must see that no matter who in the future may be in the Presidential chair—unless it should be a Socialist—that he will be forced to hound the Trusts.

Taft is a lawyer, and as a lawyer he has little first-hand knowledge of business. He thinks there is something holy about a law passed by Congress, something miraculous, that will make it prevail against a law of nature. No doubt Taft would look for our winters to be free from frost if Congress should pass a law ordering the thermometer to keep above the freezing point.

If, in spite of the law, it should freeze, it would be quite like Taft to instruct Wickersham to begin suit against Jack Frost. "Anything to satisfy the public," is Taft's motto—before election.

Bryan's Cross of Gold.

We don't hear much nowadays from Bryan about the "cross of gold."

And yet it's but ten years ago when Bryan was the spokesman of a great Party which clamoured that low prices were crucifying labor, declaring that we must have free silver to raise prices and emancipate labor.

To-day we hear of food riots all over the world on account of high prices. Labor doesn't seem to appreciate its emancipation.

What does Bryan say to all this?

According to his free silver theory we should to-day be in a state of bliss. Surely the length of the gold purchasing rod has been shortened enough in the last few years, has it not?

But instead of the workers taking their emancipation with proper enthusiasm, due to the Bryan theory, they are threatening a general strike. They say prices are so high that their present wages keep them in a state of semi-starvation.

However, we believe that Bryan has lately made the great discovery that the true reason of poverty is not that labor is crucified on a gold cross, but that labor drinks too much whiskey.

Let us have local option in Nebraska, says Bryan, and the millennium will be near at hand.

Poor Bryan! he might have led a great cause if he only had had courage and brains. However, he has the consolation that with him in the Down and Out Club is his old antagonist "Teddy R."

Time makes strange political bedfellows.

Hyndman's Reminiscences.

The new method of teaching a child is to make the subject so interesting that he will learn unconsciously and with delight. There is no trouble in getting an American boy to learn the names of the great base-ball players with their average base-hits. He absorbs the rules of base-ball with his mother's milk.

Why should he not absorb history and arithmetic as eagerly as base-ball if we invented a system of making the subjects as interesting as base-ball? No reason at all; and, what's more, the new system is really being developed.

Now, Socialism for Socialists is base-ball to a base-ball fanatic—I believe they call them "fans"—and, therefore, when H. M. Hyndman makes his book such delightful reading, he really wasted his time. For American Socialists will naturally read the autobiography of the greatest Socialist—English-speaking Socialist—anyway. They are so interested in both the man and his subject.

Small type, poor English, and a bad style never kept a boy from reading the newspaper report of how the home nine licked the Chicago's.

It is gilding the lily for us when Hyndman gives a perfectly printed book, together with a most interesting and exciting story, a narrative intimately bringing in all the great Radical and Socialist leaders of the world in the last century as well as this, and all told in the crispest English and most fascinating style.

It is the story of a man who has given his life to Socialism, and has had a most interesting time in the giving, and who loses no points in the telling.

It gives a vital picture of Karl Marx by a man who was his intimate, physically and intellectually, and who has done more to expound Marx to the English-reading world than any living man.

It is a book giving the aspirations and ideas of the man who to-day is in the forefront of the English Socialist movement, and who is possibly just approaching the commanding position in the public eye that he should have attained, had the public not been an ass, twenty years ago.

In another column will be seen a more extended notice of the book, together with two contrasting reviews of it, one by a Tory editor and one by a Socialist. There is not so much difference that one might look for.

La Follette and Taft.

I have always been a great admirer of the earnestness and courage of La Follette, and it is gratifying that he is now coming so rapidly to the front as a possible Presidential nominee of the Republican Party. True, Taft has the immense prestige of being the present incumbent, and were there not a strong fear of his defeat there would not be a thought of another candidate. But insurgency is growing by leaps and bounds, and La Follette is the logical Insurgents' candidate.

As a Socialist, there is not much of any difference between the nominal programmes of Taft and La Follette. Both say that the Trusts must be destroyed, and both are supporters of the principle of competition. But La Follette is free from control of either political or industrial captains, whereas Taft—well, Taft is Taft.

Mr. Carnegie should lose no time in sending one of his famous hero-medals to the editor of the New York *Tribune*, who is defending the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act.—*St. Paul's Pioneer Press.*

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Canada's Escape from Plutocracy.

IT was not surprising that Canada should reject the Reciprocity Treaty. The mere proving that such a treaty might economically benefit her was not half the battle.

There had, in addition, to be an argument set forth that Canada's chance of remaining a nation separate from the United States was in no way endangered.

There can certainly be no question but that the treaty would have made it comparatively easy for our Trusts to have invaded Canada. This, indeed, was one object of the treaty. It was obvious that if our Trusts were to supply the Canadian market that the Canadian manufacturers would just to that extent be crowded out.

True, the Canadian people would have been benefited in so far as they were consumers. But it must be remembered that these consumers were very often also manufacturers themselves, or were employees of manufacturers. What they might gain as consumers was far more than offset by their loss as producers.

What a man wants first is money to buy with, and it's no use arguing with him that Reciprocity will make lower prices if Reciprocity will take away the profits or wages with which he buys. He would rather do without Reciprocity and hold on to wages than to have low prices with no wages.

The fundamental trouble is not inability to produce cheap enough, but to find a market for what is already produced.

The Free Trade fallacy is that if we lower costs of production by freedom of exchange between nations, then the markets will be so widened that all goods would be easily absorbed.

This argument held good until the Socialists discovered that the trouble of finding a market arose not from the inability to produce cheap enough, but because the working class, who formed the bulk of the consumers, were not paid enough to purchase what their labor had produced.

I doubt if the Canadians knew very much about this argument against Free Trade and Reciprocity; in fact, they could not, very well, for they are not Socialists; but they voted as if they understood.

However, I think the main thing that swayed them was sentiment rather than reason. It was the fear of drifting into a political alliance with this Trust-ridden United States.

Canada may be dominated by her capitalists, but she has no Supreme Court with a written constitution to protect her capitalists from the will of the people.

Is it any wonder that she should be deaf to any arguments in favour of Reciprocity when there was the slightest basis for the cry that Reciprocity was a stepping-stone to her political and industrial domination by the Yankee plutocracy? Why should she sacrifice her soul to her body?

It's strange that no comment has been made upon the fact that whereas Reciprocity was offered to Canada by Taft without any thought of a referendum to the American voter upon the subject, that Laurier risked, and indeed lost, his political life by referring the Bill to the Canadian electorate.

The Americans seemed to take it for granted that upon such questions Congress shall have the final say without any referendum to the people, whereas the Canadians equally took it for granted that their Parliament would never think of accepting the treaty until the voters themselves had had a chance of expressing their wishes at a general election.

It seems to me that this very difference of political methods should have warned the Canadians that they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by taking one step towards an alliance with this American plutocracy.

Cardinal Gibbons Against the Referendum

IT'S not very often that the Roman Catholic Church shows her hand in American politics. That subtle foe to democracy knows pretty well that her open support of a proposed measure is very apt to add anything but popularity to it. It is therefore interesting to note that Cardinal Gibbons recently said in his Jubilee sermon:—

"At the present moment there are three political problems which are engaging the serious attention of our public men.

"It is proposed that United States Senators should be elected by popular vote, instead of being chosen by the Legislature, as is prescribed by the Constitution.

"It is proposed that the acts of our Legislature, before they have the force of law, should be submitted to the suffrage of the people who would have the right to vote.

"It is proposed to recall or remove an unpopular judge before the expiration of his term of office.

"The election of Senators by the votes of the people involves the destruction of a strong bulwark against dangerous popular encroachments. The reason given for the contemplated change is that many of our State Legislatures are charged with being venal, and that it is easier to corrupt the Legislature than the whole people. In reply I would say: If you cannot trust the members of the Legislature how can you trust their constituents, from whom they spring? If you cannot confide in our Legislatures you cannot confide in human government or in human nature itself. If a few of our Legislatures have been found guilty of bribery, it is most unjust to involve all the others in their condemnation. I have sufficient confidence in the moral integrity of our Legislatures to be convinced that the great majority of them have never bent the knee to Mammon.

"To give to the masses the right of annulling the acts of the Legislature is to substitute mob law for established law.

"To recall a judge because his decisions do not meet with popular approval is an insult to the dignity, the independence, and the self-respect of our judiciary. Far less menacing to the commonwealth is an occasional corrupt or incompetent judge than one who would be the habitual slave of a capricious multitude, who has always his ear to the ground trying to find out the verdict of the people.

"The Constitution of the United States is the palladium of our liberties and our landmark in our march of progress. That instrument has been framed by the anxious cares and enlightened zeal of the Fathers of the Republic. Its wisdom has been tested and successfully proved after a trial of a century and a-quarter. It has weathered the storms of the century which is passed, and it should be trusted for the centuries to come. What has been good enough for our fathers ought to be good enough for us. Every change, either in the political or religious world, is not a reformation. Better to 'bear those ills we have than fly to others that we know not of.' Every man that runs about waving a new panacea for social evils is not to be worshipped as a political and moral reformer. We all remember the story of Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp.

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Better to trust to the old Lamp of the Fathers, which has guided the steps of the American people for four generations, than to confide to every ignis fatuus that may lead us into dangerous pitfalls. Do not disturb the political landmarks of the Republic."

When the head of the Roman Catholic Church in America feels called upon to join President Taft and denounce the three great proposed reforms of to-day, it shows that the dry bones of ancient superstition, both political and ecclesiastical, are commencing to rattle.

The Cardinal should read the following by W. F. MacLean, editor of the *Toronto Globe*, upon "the palladium of our liberties":—

"The supreme merit and usefulness of the English system as it prevails in Great Britain, and more or less in the Empire, is that government is unlimited. It is true that Canada and Australia are, in a measure, limited by written constitutions; but if they are, these can be changed without trouble. The United States Constitution is almost beyond change, and that is its trouble. In Great Britain any political, social, financial, or other problem of the State can be settled by a vote of the people in a general election, and then crystallised into an Act of Parliament. The most sweeping revolution in the British Constitution has been effected in our own day, and in this very year, by cutting away the veto power of the House of Lords, and this has been done with an agitation of less than five years.

"The worst thing of all is that the financial abuses which are so enormous and far-reaching are all entrenched in the Constitution. You must smash the Constitution to smash the abuses.

"Cease, oh, you Americans, your worship of the political wisdom of your fathers; get once more at the task of reviewing or altering, or smashing, if necessary, a human invention that you in your easy-going ways have exalted into a revelation—and Mormondom is also a revelation—study government in other places, regard your needs, not your hand-downs from the past, study free government as it is in England and in her daughter States to-day, recognise the task ahead, and, recognising it, assume it, no matter the consequences."

A Canadian, being uninfluenced by the glamour that hypnotises most Americans when they speak with bated breath of the sacred Constitution, is really much better able to see the slavery it has imposed upon us than we can ourselves.

We are too blinded by awe, but we are recovering sanity.

Packers utilise all the hog but the squeal. At least something is left for the consumer.—*Wall Street Journal.*

Doc Wiley says the health of the nation is worth $540,000,000,000. Is this an intimation for a rise in salary?—*Dayton Journal.*

Taft's Change of Views.

"*La Follette's Magazine.*"

What confusion must follow the inclusion of the word "reasonable" in the Anti-Trust Law was forcibly stated by President Taft in his message of January 7, 1910. He said:—

"Many people conducting great businesses have cherished a hope and belief that in some way or other a line may be drawn between 'good trusts' and 'bad trusts,' and that it is possible by amendment to the anti-trust law to make a distinction under which good combinations may be permitted to organise, suppress competition, control prices, and do it all legally if only they do not abuse the power by taking too great profit out of business. They point with force to certain notorious trusts as having grown into power through criminal methods by the use of illegal rebates and plain cheating, and by various acts utterly violative of business honesty and morality, and urge the establishment of some legal line of separation by which 'criminal trusts' of this kind can be punished, and they, on the other hand, be permitted under the law to carry on their business. Now the public, and especially the business public, ought to rid themselves of the idea that such a distinction is practicable or can be introduced into the statute. Certainly under the present anti-trust law no such distinction exists. It has been proposed, however, that the word 'reasonable' should be made a part of the statute, and that then it should be left to the court to say what is a reasonable restraint of trade, what is a reasonable suppression of competition, what is a reasonable monopoly. I venture to think that this is to put into the hands of the court a power impossible to exercise on any consistent principle which will insure the uniformity of decision essential to good judgment. *It is to thrust upon the courts a burden that they have no precedents to enable them to carry, and to give them a power approaching the arbitrary, the abuse of which might involve our whole judicial system in disaster.*"

That was in January, 1910. In June, 1911, after the Supreme Court had handed down its decision in the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust cases, he said something quite different. He completely reversed his view upon the matter of changing the law. He said:—

"I believe those decisions have done and will continue to do great good to all the business of the country, and that they have laid down a line of distinction which it is not difficult for honest and intelligent business men to follow."

And he says that the law, as amended by the Court, has made it largely "a question of fact and a question of conscience with the business community" as to the standard of their future action. In other words, the business community is to be guided by "conscience" and not by law.

Hyndman's Life.

A most interesting book just out by the Father of English Socialism and founder of the new British Socialist Party.

THE RECORD OF AN ADVENTUROUS LIFE.

By H. M. HYNDMAN. With Portrait. 8vo. $3.50 net.

What the London papers say of the book:—

The Evening Standard.—"It is delightful. . . . We commend it for entertainment to readers of all shades of opinion."

Pall Mall Gazette.—"Few retrospects of English society in the last forty years are more instructive or entertaining."

Daily News.—"Uncommonly good reading."

Daily Chronicle.—"Of absorbing interest. . . . Full of good things."

Daily Graphic.—"No one can deny that Mr. Hyndman has a story well worth the telling, and a way of telling it that is extremely effective."

Morning Post.—"Where the book is interesting and delightful is in its story of the full life of a vivacious and generous soul."

Morning Leader.—"Mr. Hyndman's book is one of the best worth reading of its kind."

The Globe (Tory).—"We need hardly say that with the peculiar opinions with which Mr. Hyndman is associated we have very little sympathy, but that fact does not prevent us from enjoying the interesting and entertaining book in which their development is unfolded. Mr. Hyndman, who comes, as he says, 'like most well-to-do people of the upper middle class in this island, from a decent piratical stock,' is certainly not one of those who become Socialists because they desire to share the money they are too lazy to make. A genuine belief in the truth of Karl Marx's theories and a very real sympathy with the condition of the poorer classes have driven him to the shelter of the Red Flag. He has a most wholesome detestation of the hypocrisy which calls itself Liberalism, and, but for a certain natural tendency to rebellion, he might very well have been a Conservative social reformer. Indeed, we have rarely come across more convincing proof than this book affords that a Socialist is very often a Tory gone sour. It is rather striking in this connection to learn that the late Lord Beaconsfield, not a very accessible person, or much given to the encouragement of faddists of any sort, gave him a long interview in which to develop his special ideas. We know what Mr. Hyndman said to Lord Beaconsfield, but we do not know what he thought of it, though perhaps the author of 'Sybil, or The Two Nations,' was not really so unsympathetic as his words would seem to convey. That 'damned old Jew,' as Mr. Hyndman declares the late James Lowther once

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described him, was receptive of new ideas to the very last, and never wavered in his belief that the true mission of the Tory Party lay in the direction of social reform. Mr. Hyndman is neither a Conservative nor a Churchman, but he can get on much better with either one or the other than with a Liberal or a Nonconformist, and his only surviving sister is a prominent member of the Primrose League. He certainly has the right to call his life 'adventurous,' for he was with Garibaldi in Italy, has escaped death in the South Seas by a series of miracles, has sold papers in the London streets attired in a silk hat and a frock coat, has mingled in all sorts of riots, has known Mazzini, and quarrelled with Karl Marx. This militant Socialist is the grandson of a slave-owner, and is, we are glad to see, not the least ashamed of the fact. Words have less influence upon him than realities—wherein, if we may say so, he differs from most of his kidney—and he avows that if he had to choose he would rather be a well-kept slave on a West Indian estate than 'a sweated free white wage-earner in one of our great cities.' Most men mellow with age and become reasonably tolerant. Not so Mr. Hyndman. If anybody wants a perfectly unprejudiced opinion of the Socialist leaders we commend these pages to his attention. He seems to have had tiffs with nearly everybody in the movement, including even William Morris, with whom we should have thought nobody could have quarrelled except over wall-papers. Mr. Bernard Shaw is called 'Oscar Wilde's follower'; Engels has 'an overbearing character'; Briand is 'ill-conditioned' and 'a perfect nuisance'; Champion is 'an intriguer'; and Kropotkin 'wholly unscrupulous.' As for Mr. John Burns, our author fairly foams at the mouth when he thinks of him. Well, well, 'the falling out of faithful friends renewal is of love,' but there is a lot to be learned by the outsider while the 'amantium iræ' are in progress. Compared with prominent Socialists as assessed by Mr. Hyndman, porcupines must be angels to live with. The Lord help the rest of us when they are top dog."

Justice (Socialist).—"This is, indeed, not only the record of an adventurous, but of a strenuous life. In reading what Hyndman has to say of the many-sidedness of William Morris, and his restless activity, one feels that the same might be said of our author himself, with this addition: that he has not had the compensation in any department of life which Morris found in some, but has held on steadfastly and unflinchingly, mid discouragements and disappointments which might well have destroyed the enthusiasm of the most sanguine. In the course of a struggle against overwhelming odds, which has been the history of the Socialist movement in this country; a struggle not only against the cunning devices of the capitalist enemy, but also against the stupidity, ignorance, apathy, and conceit of the workers themselves; a struggle in which the reverses and discouragements have far outnumbered the triumphs, Hyndman has never faltered or hesitated. In the very worst times, when difficulties have thickened, friends have fallen away, and the future has seemed at its darkest, any among us who have felt discouraged and disheartened have been spurred to fresh effort and fresh hope by the never-failing cheery optimism of our splendid 'Old Man,' as some of us long ago dubbed Hyndman, not as suggesting age—he has always been the youngest of us—but as a term of affection and esteem.

"Hyndman has often been blamed for excessive and needlessly bitter condemnation of men who have sold out, or otherwise ratted from or betrayed the cause. All that is to be ascribed to the very sensibility and acuteness of feeling which he has frequently and successfully hidden under his cheery optimism. Only those who love and feel strongly can hate strongly, and only those who have been literally wounded in the house of their friends can appreciate the bitterness which Hyndman must feel, and which some of us, at any rate, fully share, towards those who have used and abused our movement in order to serve their sordid personal ambitions.

"This bitterness, however, finds no place in the references to the many interesting personalities to whom we are introduced in this book, who were outside the Socialist movement altogether. On the contrary, the impartial critic will be inclined to say that our author is much too generous in his estimate of some of these. Nor can it be said that he is niggardly in his praise or his estimate of the qualities of the men in the movement—Marx, Engels, Morris, Liebknecht, and Jaurès—with whom he has on occasion found reason to differ.

"Interesting as are the reminiscences of our comrade Hyndman of the movement to which he has devoted the best years of his life, we are inclined to think that those who have known him best as a Social-Democrat will turn with still greater interest to those of his earlier years. That a man of his exceptional gifts, and his great social advantages—the world before him where to choose—and practically any career in life open to him—that such a man should have practically thrown all this to the winds and have devoted himself whole-heartedly to a movement which, thirty years ago, appeared the most forlorn of forlorn hopes, naturally occasions interest, curiosity, and wonderment. Why should he? Or, if he, why not others? These are questions to which some of Hyndman's most intimate comrades have never been able to give a satisfactory answer. It is true that there have been others who, belonging to the same class as Hyndman, have come into the movement. But who, with his advantages, has done so at so much personal loss as he has done? And who among them has 'stayed the course'?

"To this question, however, the record of the early life of our author, interesting reading as it affords, scarcely supplies an answer, and we can only conclude that his espousal of Socialism was the outcome of a moral, æsthetic, and intellectual revolt against the monstrous conditions engendered by capitalism.

"We are sometimes told by our enemies, and even by some of our friends, that we Social-Democrats have failed. But these reminiscences of our veteran comrade and leader are not the record of failure, but of a success which few of us who had any part in the launching of the new movement in 1881 could have possibly anticipated. Let anyone read Hyndman's perfectly accurate description of the situation in 1880 and compare it with that of to-day, and he will be fain to admit that we have accomplished a greater work than any other body in the same period of time. We have achieved a revolution—not *the* revolution yet!—but a revolution in the mental attitude of all sorts and conditions of men towards Socialism. We have made Socialism a real, vital, active force in the political life of the nation. And a full share of the credit of that achievement belongs to H. M. Hyndman. In measuring the work that has been accomplished, it is necessary to compare it with what others, our predecessors who also gave their lives to the work, were able to achieve in a similar period. When the Democratic Federation was started in 1881 over thirty years had elapsed since the Chartist movement, the revolutionary uprisings of '48, and the publication of the Communist Manifesto. Yet the Communist Manifesto, and even the name of its great author, were not known to more than a mere handful of people in this country, and Chartism was forgotten. Yet who shall say that Chartism was a failure, or that Karl Marx had failed? We, at any rate, have succeeded in making the teachings of Karl Marx more widely known to and accepted by a larger number of people here than knew anything about him or them in his lifetime; and if we have failed in rallying the main body of the working class to our banner, the reason is to be found in the nature of the circumstances. That reason is explained in the warning addressed to our comrade Hyndman by Lady Dorothy Nevill. To what extent that warning has been fulfilled can be seen by the sops of 'social reform' with which Liberals and Tories succeed in gulling the workers.

"In publishing his reminiscences our comrade Hyndman has not only given us an interesting record of an adventurous life, he has also rendered a real service to the movement, as affording an insight into the influences at work in its past development and the difficulties to be encountered in the future. We generally find biographies rather dull. In this book, however, there is not a single dull page: it is full of a live and engrossing interest, and should find a wide circle of readers."

Gaylord Wilshire says: "It is a book that no Socialist who pretends to keep up with the movement should fail to have in his own library."

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WILSHIRE BISHOP CREEK MINE

92 PER CENT. EXTRACTION SECOND LEVEL ORE

The following is a report of tests made on a very large sample of ore taken from the 290ft. level of the Wilshire Bishop Creek Mine. The ore as seen had a content in gold of .7 ozs., or $14.46 per ton. The Extraction was from 91 per cent. to 92 per cent. G. W.

THE GOLDEN CYCLE MINING COMPANY.
MILL DEPARTMENT.
Colorado Springs, Colo.,
September 25, 1911.

The Bishop Creek Milling Co.,
Bishop, Cal.

Gentlemen,—Herewith result of test work on the sample of your ore forwarded by Mr. J. S. Chapman. An analysis showed the following result :—

Insol	86.3 %
Iron	4.67%
A1 203	1.80%
Cao	2.60%
Sulphur	1.7 %
Lead	None
Zinc	,,
Copper	,,
Ignition loss ...	1.6 %
Gold	.70 oz. per ton
Silver	.06 oz. per ton

As can be seen from the above, there was nothing in the ore to prevent successful cyanide treatment, and the first test made was of the simplest kind, as follows :—

The ore was ground so that the coarsest was a moderate grade sand—see mesh analysis below. The pulp was then mixed with a solution containing 4 lb. KCN and 1.8 lb. lime per ton, 3 of solution to 1 of ore.

The residue obtained was :—

TEST I.

40 mesh	1%	assaying	.16 oz.
60 ,,	6%	,,	.10 oz.
80 ,,	9%	,,	.12 oz.
100 ,,	18%	,,	.10 oz.
150 ,,	21%	,,	.08 oz.
150 ,,	45%	,,	.08 oz.

Average tail ..... .0892 oz.
Cyanide consumption, 8 lb., lime 1.5 lb.

This test indicates the necessity of finer grinding, and also the possible necessity of concentration before cyanidation; or, if crushing in cyanide solution is adopted, to concentration before final sliming.

TEST II.

The same treatment was given the ore, except that it was concentrated before cyaniding, 33.1% of the values being removed in a 5 oz. concentrate. The concentrate tails were then cyanided exactly as in Test I. Results :—

40 mesh	1%	assaying	.12 oz.
60 ,,	6%	,,	.10 oz.
80 ,,	9%	,,	.10 oz.
100 ,,	18%	,,	.06 oz.
150 ,,	21%	,,	.04 oz.
150 ,,	45%	,,	.06 oz.

Average tail ..... .0624 oz.
or 91% total extraction.
Cyanide cons., 7 lb. per ton, lime 1.4 lb.

The benefit of concentration on the final tails is shown by the increased extraction obtained in Test II. as compared to Test I. The coarse part again shows the need of fine grinding.

TEST III.

Ore ground to all pass an 80 mesh screen, and agitated in a 3 to 1 solution containing 4 lb. KCN and 1.5 lb. lime per ton. No concentration used. Results :—

100 mesh	27%	assaying	.12 oz.
150 ,,	23%	,,	.08 oz.
150 ,,	50%	,,	.08 oz.

Average tail ..... .09 oz.,
or 87% extraction.
Cyanide consumption, 9lb., lime 1.5lb.

TEST IV.

Same as Test III., except the pulp was first concentrated. A 6 oz. concentrate was obtained representing a recovery of 48% of the values by concentration. The concentrate tail was then treated exactly as in Test III. Results :—

100 mesh	27%	assaying	.06 oz.
150 ,,	23%	,,	.06 oz.
150 ,,	50%	,,	.06 oz.

Average tail ..... .06 oz.,
or 91.4% extraction.

A comparison of Tests III. and IV. again shows the value of concentration.

TEST V.

This was made on a far larger scale than Test IV., but otherwise under exactly similar conditions, and with the object of checking Test IV. The result was as follows :—

100 mesh	27%	assaying	.06 oz.
150 ,,	23%	,,	.06 oz.
150 ,,	50%	,,	.05 oz.

Average tail ..... .055 oz.,
or an extraction of 92.1% by concentration and cyanidation.
Cyanide consumption, 8 lb. per ton, lime 1.5 lb.

This result practically checks Test IV.

TEST VI.

This was a test to determine the advisability of cyaniding the concentrates at the mill. A mesh analysis of these concentrates follows :—

100 mesh.....	20%
150 ,, ...	23%
200 ,, ...	11%
200 ,, ...	46%

They were agitated in a 6 lb. cyanide solution containing 1.5 lb. lime per ton. 3 solution to 1 of ore.

Head value	6 oz.
Residue obtained ...	.22 oz.
Extraction	96.3%

This Test shows a remarkably easy extraction on the raw concentrates.

TEST VII.

An amalgamation test of the ore yielded an extraction of 30%. This test is harder to make on a small scale than the cyanide tests, and too much reliance must not be placed on it. The practical results would probably be higher than this indicates.

TEST VIII.

Precipitation of the gold from the solutions obtained in the foregoing tests presented no difficulty on zinc shavings, or by zinc dust methods.

State of the Solutions.—The general condition of the solutions throughout the tests was good, very little fouling took place—certainly not enough to cause any anxiety.

Chemical Consumption.—You will notice that I have put down the cyanide consumption as it came out in each test. My whole experience has shown that a good plant never requires the amount of cyanide indicated by test work. Your ore may not require more than ½ lb. KCN per ton when once settled down to working conditions, and no excessive use of lime will be needed—certainly not more than will help to settle your slimes.

The Residue Obtainable.—The above tests were always so limited as to conditions that all the results can be duplicated or bettered on a working scale in an average mill.

Type of Plant Recommended.—Rock breaker followed by any *standard* machine to crush, to, say, a 20 mesh, possibly here use amalgam tables followed by concentration on Wilfly or similar make of table. Regrinding in tube mills to all pass at least 100 mesh, possibly further concentration. Pulp settled in Dorr settlers and passed on to Pachuca type agitators, and thence to a good type of filter, vacuum or pressure as preferred.

I would make the plant tight and crush in cyanide solution. The concentrates I would grind to pass 150 mesh, and agitate and filter separately from the general mill pulp.

I believe zinc dust would be the best method of precipitation, although zinc shavings would be quite practicable.

An all sliming plant is cheaper to erect than a mill containing both sand and slime plants; and if horse-power is cheap, but little, if any more, costly to run than such a plant.

Your ore does not show more than an average extraction, but it is capable of a very simple and cheap treatment, presenting, as far as the above sample shows, no chemical difficulties whatsoever.

I cannot recommend too strongly the advantages of using standard machinery throughout. A new mill is no place to make experiments in any shape or form.

Yours truly,

(Signed) A. L. BLOMFIELD
(Mill Superintendent).

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

Vol. XV No. 12 NEW YORK AND LONDON, DECEMBER, 1911 Price 2 Cents per Copy

"Recall" the Manchus in America

TAFT says the Constitution gives him the veto, and Arizona doesn't annoy him by calling him a George III.

He seems to forget, however, that the kingly descendants of George III. do not dare exercise their veto, and he might draw an inference about the fate of veto users from the present happenings in China.

Only last month the Manchu Emperor could exercise his veto as he had been accustomed to do for three hundred years past; but he will do no more vetoing.

The Chinese Emperor's apology to his people is not altogether unlike what Manchu Taft may make at the end of a successful general strike on our railways.

The Boy Emperor said:—

"I have reigned for three years (*me too, Taft*) and have always acted conscientiously in the interests of the people, but I have not employed men properly, not having political skill. I have employed too many nobles (*Senators Aldrich and Lodge?*) in political positions, which contravenes constitutionalism. On railway matters someone (*Ballinger?*) whom I trusted fooled me, and thus Public Opinion was opposed.

"When I urge reform the officials and gentry seize the opportunity to embezzle. When old laws are abolished high officials (*Wilson and McCabe?*) serve their own ends. Much of the people's money has been taken, but nothing to benefit the people has been achieved. On several occasions edicts have promulgated (*pure food and anti-trust?*) laws, but none of them have been obeyed.

"People are grumbling (*God knows why*), yet I do not know; disasters loom ahead, but I do not see. The Szechuan trouble first occurred; the Wuchang rebellion followed; now alarming reports come from Shensi and Honan. In Canton and Kiangsi riots appear. The whole Empire is seething. The minds of the people are perturbed.

"The spirits of our nine late Emperors are unable properly to enjoy sacrifices, while it is feared the people will suffer grievously.

"All these are my own fault, and hereby I announce to the world I swear to reform, and with our soldiers and people to carry out the Constitution faithfully, modifying legislation, developing the interests of the people, and abolishing their hardships—all in accordance with the wishes and interests of the people. Old laws that are unsuitable will be abolished." (*Private ownership of monopolies?*)

Our presidential veto is a relic of the former absolutism of the English kings. However, no doubt it will be only a question of a thousand years or so when we Americans will wake up and throw off the veto yoke as the English did a hundred years ago and the Chinese yesterday. We are a little slower that the Chinese, that's all.

Ohio Manchus Overthrown

Just now it seems to be open season all the year round for Manchus, not only in China but this country, more particularly, possibly, in California and Ohio.

It is a great revolution the State of Ohio has entered upon when she elects Socialist mayors in eight of her towns. How Manchu Taft must have wept!

But I doubt if the election of these eight mayors created half as much consternation in the breast of the Ohio Manchus as did the election of a majority of Radicals from both the old Parties to the Constitutional Convention pledged to the Initiative and Referendum.

The Manchus think that the Socialist Mayors may be turned out the next election, maybe, but they know that when the Initiative and Referendum once becomes a part of the State Constitution that it will never be repealed, and that their Manchu Dynasty in Ohio is at an end for all time.

A Warren Case in Australia

The Post Office should take example from the Austrian Post Office as to a new method of oppression.

The following is from the London "Standard":—

"A business man named Max Trinczes has been condemned to a month's imprisonment at Lemberg on the charge of having defrauded the Post Office of twopence.

"In Austria one is allowed to return letters which one does not accept to the sender without paying any extra postage. Herr Trinczes had received four postcards from a firm announcing that they had sent goods ordered by him. As he had not ordered anything he wrote on the margins, 'Return to the sender; nothing ordered,' and threw them into the letter-box.

"The postal authorities regarded the words 'nothing ordered' as a new communication, but instead of asking for the double postage they prosecuted him on a criminal charge. The first court regarded the offence as merely formal, and inflicted the minimum sentence of twenty-four hours, but the Public Prosecutor appealed, and the higher court increased the penalty to one month's hard labour."

We doubt not, however, that Emperor Joseph will insist on pardoning Max; he may not like making martyrs any more than Taft does.

Taft No Red Herring

I must confess that I thought the Trust Problem would be up for solution many years before it has at last come to the front.

I helped start a newspaper in Los Angeles in 1889, which held forth in the language I talk, but I never thought that there would be 22 years of talk.

Between 1889 and 1911 there have been many side issues presented to the people to distract them from seeing that the Trust issue is the issue of all others to be solved. The most provoking red herring dragged across the trail was Bryan, and with his Free Silver buncombe, although War Hero Teddy R., with his "hurrah for me," had its annoying features.

Taft has one virtue, he is not a red-herring.

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The Awakening of China

IT is said that the Chinese may temporarily choose a limited Manchu monarchy rather than a Republic for their form of Government.

The monarch is to be so limited that he will be merely a figurehead. And as a figurehead, either a President or a King, is apparently a convenience for nations in the stage of transition to Socialism, it's better to have one that is powerless for harm—one who appoints no postmasters and has no veto.

It's a shock for a nation to change its figurehead, but it's much more of a shock when that head is not merely the nominal but the actual ruler of the nation.

The President of France is a nonentity; it is the head of the Cabinet, the Premier, who really rules.

In England the King is the nonentity, and it's the Premier, who is, in reality, absolutely independent of the King, although nominally his appointee, who does the ruling.

We in America have a President, who is head of the nation both in name and in reality, and who is responsible to no one for four years, and then only to the Southern Negro delegates, whose vote dominates the Republican convention, and who are always ready to vote, at a price, for the present incumbent.

The Chinese have long been ready for democracy; in some ways they are really more civilised and even more democratic than we are ourselves.

Professor H. A. Giles is Professor of Chinese at Cambridge University, and is a great authority on all things Chinese. He has just published a (40 cents) volume full of information on "The Civilisation of China. He says:—

"China, according to a high authority, has always been at the highest rung of the democratic ladder; for it was no less a person than Napoleon who said: 'Reasonable democracy will never aspire to anything more than obtaining an equal power of elevation for all.'

"In order to enforce their rights by the simplest and most bloodless means the Chinese have steadily cultivated the art of combining together," continues Dr. Giles, "and have thus armed themselves with an immaterial, invisible weapon which simply paralyses the aggressor, and ultimately leaves them masters of the field. The extraordinary part of a Chinese boycott or strike is the absolute fidelity by which it is observed. If the boatmen or chair-coolies at any place strike, they all strike; there are no blacklegs. If the butchers refuse to sell, they all refuse, entirely confident of each other's loyalty.

"Foreign merchants who have offended the Chinese guilds by some course of action not approved of by those powerful bodies have often found to their cost that such conduct will not be tolerated for a moment, and that their only course is to withdraw, sometimes at a considerable loss, from the untenable position they had taken up."

As the result of the revolution, China will now enter, no doubt, into a period of great industrial development which will profoundly affect the commerce of the world.

"Beloved Judges"

"I love the judges; I love the courts; they are my ideal on Earth, and typify what we shall meet in Heaven under a just God."

WHEN Taft, ex-judge, said all this, no doubt he had in mind that "All the world loves a lover."

But there are lovers and lovers so to speak, and the lover of the nine fickle old gentlemen who solemnly sit in black gowns on a bench in Washington is not the kind of a lover that all the world loves.

I have no doubt but that Taft has many a pain when he thinks that he might be on the Supreme Bench himself, above and beyond all this Recall turmoil, had he not felt called upon by heaven and Teddy to accept the Presidential crown.

When Taft compared our judges with beings especially manufactured by God, he might have at the same time explained a little more definitely exactly what is his idea of a "just God in Heaven." The last time he referred to God publicly was at Cooper Union in New York, when he replied "God knows" in answer to a questioner as to how to solve the unemployed problem.

However, while Taft may put on to God the solution of the unemployed problem, when it comes to going out of his way to show the people of Arizona how to make a constitution, he is quite accommodating.

The "Saturday Evening Post" has the following, showing that Taft did not always think all judges heaven-born.

"In his first annual message to Congress, December, 1909, Mr. Taft said: 'The deplorable delays in the administration of civil and criminal law have received the attention of committees of the American Bar Association. . . . I do not doubt for one moment that much of the lawless violence and cruelty exhibited in lynchings is directly due to the uncertainties and injustice growing out of the delays in trials, judgments and the executions thereof by our courts.'

"In his message of December, 1910, he said: 'One great, crying need in the United States is the cheapening of the cost of litigation by simplifying judicial procedure and expediting final judgment. Under present conditions the poor man is at a woeful disadvantage in a legal contest with a corporation or a rich opponent.'

"Much else in the same strain might be quoted from the President's utterances—suggesting, certainly, that his conceptions of Heaven are deplorably inadequate.

"Away back in 1895, Mr. Taft, then a judge of the United States Circuit Court, said:—

"'The opportunity freely and publicly to criticise judicial action is of vastly more importance to the body politic than the immunity of courts and judges from unjust aspersion and attack. . . . But non-professional criticism also is by no means without its uses, even if accompanied, as it often is, by direct attack upon the judicial fairness and motives of the occupants of the bench; for if the law is but the essence of common sense the protests of many average men may evidence a defect in judicial conclusions, though based on the nicest legal reasoning and profoundest learning.'"

We do not quarrel with Taft for deifying the judges and wishing to put them beyond being recalled to earth by the mortal voters of Arizona and California, but we would suggest that inconstancy has not before been considered a God-like virtue. Taft loves the judges when they say that an income-tax is constitutional, and he still loves them when they say it is not.

He loves them when they say that all monopolies are illegal, and he loves them when they say only the "unreasonable" ones are illegal.

I wonder if he would love a California railway judge freshly picked off the political plum tree by the "Recall"?

Free Speech in America

"There is too little respect in this country for the principles of freedom of utterance. It is a sinister weakness of our people, which, unless it is cured, will work their own ruin. All other freedoms, all national happiness, depend upon this freedom. We cannot guard it too jealously. We Americans are confident that our liberties are greater than those of any people who tolerate an aristocracy or are subjects of effete monarchy. Yet the Englishman is sturdier in his support of the guarantees than the American, and his speech is freer. It was one of the wisest Englishmen of our day, Sir Leslie Stephen, who said: 'Toleration implies that a man is to be allowed to profess and maintain any principles that he pleases; not that he should be allowed in all cases to act upon his principles, especially to act upon them to the injury of others. No limitation whatever need be put upon this principle in the case supposed. I, for one, am fully prepared to listen to any arguments for the propriety of theft or murder, or if it be possible of immorality in the abstract. No doctrine, however well established, should be protected from discussion.'"

The above is not from any crank Anarchist paper, but from an editorial criticising our criminal Post Office in the "Chicago Tribune," which is an organ of the Republican Party.

It shows that the Post Office autocracy has gone pretty far when a protest comes from the "Tribune."

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Railway Strike Threatening in England

THE Royal Commission appointed to arrange a plan for the settlement of future strikes upon the British railways has reported its inability to obtain a recognition of the unions. This really was the crucial question.

Upon the handing down of their decision, says the London "Observer" of November 5:—

"The Joint Executive Committee of the men met and decided to take a ballot of their members in order to ascertain

1.—Whether they are prepared to accept the findings of the Railway Commission, or

2.—Whether they are prepared to strike in favour of recognition of the unions.

"The decision was conveyed to the Press by Mr. Williams, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, at the conclusion of the committee's four days' conference on the Railway Commission's report. His statement showed that the executive have been in communication with the Prime Minister with the object of bringing about another meeting with the companies, an object in which they failed.

"The following are the resolutions which Mr. Williams stated the Joint Executive adopted:—

That this Joint Executive Committee, having considered the reply of the Prime Minister to the resolution of this committee, wherein we asked that the railway companies should meet the signatories to the recent settlement with the view of endeavouring to arrive at the basis of a settlement on the Railway Commissioners' finding, we deeply regret that His Majesty's Government has failed to bring about such meeting, which, in our opinion, may have resulted in a settlement satisfactory to both parties.

We have, therefore, decided to now ascertain the wishes of our members in the following manner, provided for in this second resolution:—

That this Joint Executive, whilst not agreeing with the findings of the Railway Commission, are prepared to meet the railway companies to consider what amendment would be acceptable to the proposed scheme.

This suggestion being refused by the railway companies, this Joint Executive Committee decides to take a ballot of all members as to whether they are prepared to accept the findings of the Railway Commission as set out in the proposed scheme.

If not, are they prepared to withdraw their labor in favour of recognition of the trade unions, and of a programme for all railwaymen to be agreed upon by the members of the committee.

It was also decided that the ballot of the members be made returnable by December 5.

"Mr. Thomas, M.P., was asked whether that part of the resolutions referring to the Government meant that they had made an attempt and had failed to bring about another conference with the companies, or that they had declined to help in the matter. He replied that he would not add to, or attempt to explain, the resolutions. They must be taken according to their exact wording. He also declined to say whether they were carried unanimously.

"'Everything points to a great railway strike at Christmas,' writes a labor correspondent. 'The companies on one side and the men on the other are determined upon divergent lines of policy, from which the Prime Minister has been unable to turn them. The men will accept nothing short of recognition and the discussion of their national programme; the companies will not discuss the point with them. Unless the Government has some better card to play nothing can avert the disastrous stoppage of the nation's railways six weeks from today.'

"Union workers at the London railway stations last evening regarded a strike as inevitable."

It is difficult to forecast whether the men would win a strike or not. They are really very badly organised, considerably less than a third being in the unions.

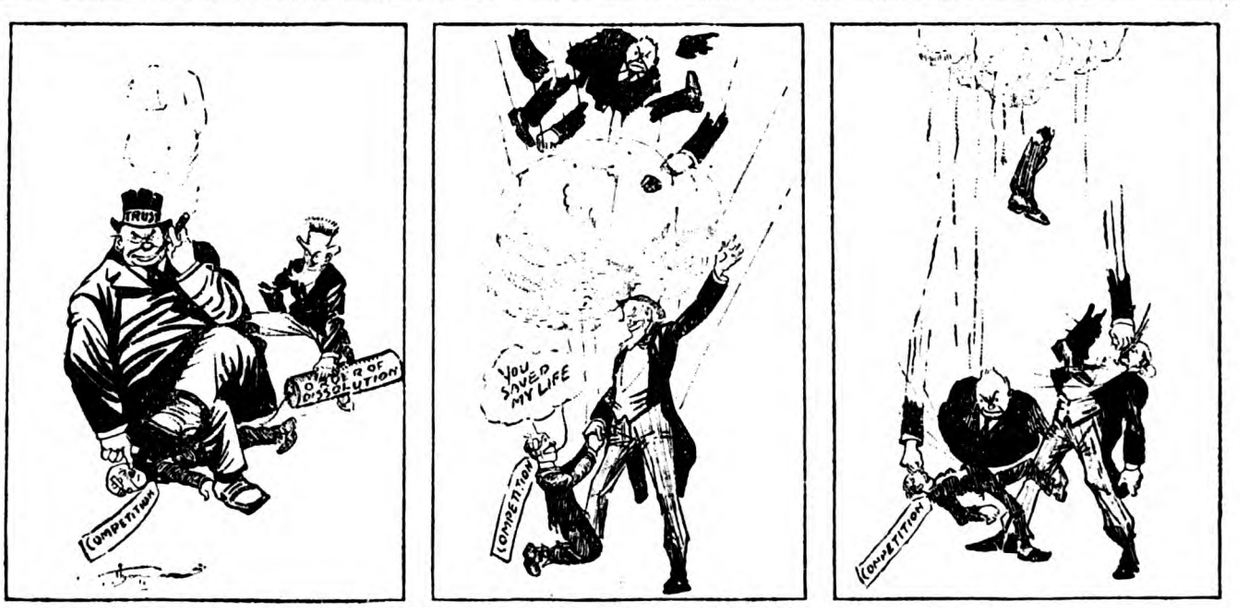
However, they will certainly cause an infinite amount of anxiety to the Government, and a complete upset of business.

The principle of recognition of the unions has been accepted so widely in England in most other businesses that it seems incredible that the railway directors should risk bringing England to the brink of a social revolution in order, only at best, to defer an acceptance of that principle.

I say defer because, no matter whether the men win or lose the strike, the final recognition of the unions is a foregone conclusion.

The agitation is rapidly converting public opinion in England to the Nationalisation of the Railways.

The saving that would be made in the lower rate of interest on the bonded indebtedness of the railways which the Government would obtain would, if applied to increased wages, go a great way toward satisfying the demand of the unions.



WHAT GOES UP MUST COME DOWN

Thomas in the Detroit "News"

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American Clothes in London

Selfridge, the American who has a big department store in London, finds that it's cheaper to get men's clothing made in New York of English cloth and sent to London than it is to get them made in London. Perhaps the sweat-shop law is not so rigid in New York as in London.

A Threat that Did Not Work

La Follette, in his autobiography in the American magazine, tells an amusing story about Taft endeavouring to silence him by ordering his "patronage" cut off. It was then discovered, much to Taft's chagrin, that the threat would not work because La Follette had no "patronage."

Better Cultivate the Boll-Weevils?

Cotton is selling for 36 per cent. less than it did last year.

A Birmingham banker, addressing the recent Cotton Growers' Convention at Montgomery, said: "Something is wrong when the boll-weevil and the worms are called a blessing because they reduce the size of the crop. Something has gone awry when a crop of eleven million bales will sell for more money than a crop of fourteen million bales!"

Un-Scrambling the Telephone Trust

If there is one thing in which competition is an obvious absurdity it is in telephoning.

For each new company you must have an additional telephone in your house if you would be in touch with everyone.

Competition is a nuisance and an expense, a general damfulishness in the telephone business, and yet it is exactly what the Sherman Anti-Trust law insists upon, and Taft says he will enforce the law.

However, as yet we have not heard of any attempt being made to unscramble the Bell telephone companies, and yet it is logically in the Taft program.

We might also ask, how about the Western Union Telegraph Co.? It is not only practically a monopoly itself, but is owned by the Bell Telephone Co. Will it be un-scrambled, too?

Our Post Office Censorship

The "New York World" says that:—

"The Post Office Department is becoming extraordinarily active in the censorship of publications. It does not stop with what needlessly outrages the common sense of decency. It extends to the publication of disagreeable matters related to the administration of public justice. . . . No more powerful engine of oppression can exist than a postal service which is used by a Government bureaucracy to spy upon the opinions and actions of men for their correction according to bureaucratic standards. No more effective cloak could be devised for the exercise of personal and party malice. Few newspapers are strong enough financially to stand up even under a threatened Government prosecution. To most of them the terrorism of a postal censorship could easily be made crushing. And to men seeking the possession or the perpetuation of power the temptation to use such terrorism might become, with habit, irresistible. The business of the postal service is to carry the mails. It is not to reform the world through an espionage of the mails. Letter-opening to ferret out unorthodox political opinion was a feature of the early English postal service which this country did not inherit. No more is our postal service entitled to assume a general newspaper censorship."

I don't know why the "New York World" should have suddenly awakened to the criminal activity of our Post Office whenever it wishes to kill off an editor obnoxious to the administration.

Ten years ago, when Roosevelt allowed the Post Office to drive "Wilshire's" into Canada, I tried in vain to get the "World" to take up my case.

Last year when the Post Office, with its lying reports from its army of criminal spies, again tried to ruin this Magazine and myself, the "New York World" was its chief supporter. Has the Post Office trod on the "World's" corns meanwhile?

As for letter-opening, I have had many of my private letters opened by the Post Office, and it is so careless and defiant that there is hardly any care taken in the re-sealing to cover up the outrage.

The only reason the P.O. stopped opening my letters was because they discovered nothing damaging in them.

A Paradise on Earth

Lloyd George, the leading figure in the English Cabinet, had this to say in a recent speech upon his Labor Insurance Bill which he is fathering:—

"I am taunted that I have promised a new heaven and a new earth. I should like to be able in a humble way to help its advent, that of a new earth where the health of the multitude will be more precious in the eyes of the law than the wealth of the few, a new earth where the superabundance with which Providence blesses labor shall be directed and controlled, so that the home of the laborer shall be saved from wretchedness, penury, poverty, and privation, a new earth where the best of all shall be concentrated and organised to avert the worst from each."

Such talk may or may not be sincere; that's unimportant.

The important thing is that it is this talk that makes George the commanding figure in English politics.

It shows that the people of England have set their minds upon making England a "new earth."

If George will lead them straight, all right; if not, then they will get someone else who will.

In fact, they don't need much leading, as they already see their goal.

Manchus Dethroned in California

The California Initiative and Referendum and the Recall amendments to the State Constitution were carried by an overwhelming majority. Both the majority and the vote for the Recall (including judges) were largest of all. Following are the returns as unofficially reported:—

For the Initiative and Referendum	138,181
Against the Initiative and Referendum	44,850
Majority for the Initiative and Referendum	94,331
For the Recall (including judges)	148,572
Against Recall (including judges)	46,290
Majority for the Recall	102,282
For the equal suffrage amendment	119,836
Against the amendment.....	117,779
Majority for woman suffrage	2,051

Consequently women now have the full voting right in California. They had it already in Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Colorado and Washington.

The election returns must have given poor Taft a shock. He had solemnly advised California that the "recall of judges," his "beloved judges," was equal to the destruction of free government.

It's the destruction of the freedom of the Southern Pacific Railway to govern California.

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The Imminent Trust

I CAN quite imagine easy-going Bill Taft, who merely wishes to live and die at peace with all the world, especially the world of the rich, crying to heaven with Hamlet, "Oh! cursed spite that I have been set to put it right."

And it is pretty tough on Taft, too, this settling of the Trust problem. "There's the law," he says to the Trusts, his old friends and backers, "now obey it." To say that the Trusts are astonished at Taft's order is putting it mild. Falstaff's amazement at being turned down by Henry the Eighth is alone comparable to it.

It is said that the Trusts are discouraged with politics, and saying that they might as well have had Bryan, or even Roosevelt, as Taft, and that next election will never see them contributing to any G.O.P. campaign fund, although they might back Harmon.

If Taft is merely enforcing the law, then next time they will call for someone who will explain what the law is before they contribute.

They thought they knew Taft, for had he not all the earmarks of a trusted friend of the Trusts? Had not all his judicial decisions been uniformly in favour of Capital? Did he not go to church regularly? Did he not wear a silk hat even when he toured in an automobile? Did he not play golf? Was he not the brother of Charley Taft, who had married the richest woman in the State of Ohio? Was he not a lawyer, the son of a lawyer, and son-in-law of a lawyer? Was he not against all reforms? Did he not hate the initiative and referendum, the recall, and woman suffrage? Was he not a good friend of the Roman Catholic Church?

When the Trusts saw all these qualifications in Taft is it a wonder that they felt no hesitancy in supporting him?

But Taft now tells them to obey the law, and when they say they can't obey, he says they must.

We have heard of the tale of the man who said he saw a badger chased by a dog escape by climbing a tree. "But," said the astonished listener, "a badger cannot climb a tree." "Why, stranger," replied the man, "that badger simply had to climb a tree."

Well, the badger may have climbed his tree, but the Trusts can never climb their tree, even if Taft is after them. "You can't unscramble eggs," says Morgan.

It's obviously impossible to anyone but Taft to divide the Trusts into their component parts; and, furthermore, even if it were done, there would be nothing gained by the disintegration.

The Trusts are the natural result of accumulated savings having become so great that capital has become redundant. Something had to be invented to prevent competition between surplus plants ending in mutual annihilation: the Trusts were born. That's the story, succinctly.

If we refuse to allow the Trusts to live, then we must either break up our machinery and go back to the steamless Middle Ages, or we must "Let the Nation own the Trusts."

Taft himself, judging from his Pittsburg speech, is now seeing that Nationalisation of the Trusts must be the alternative to his failure in re-establishing competition. His speech is the first in which any prominent politician, let alone a President, has suggested nationalisation. It is most significant of the progress of ideas. True, Taft mentioned nationalisation merely to scoff at it, but this scoffing is significant.

The Progressive Convention

THE "Progressives" who met in Chicago in October and nominated La Follette are admittedly representative of the best reform element in this country.

But when we examine their platform, we see absolutely nothing in it, except La Follette himself, that Taft would not endorse. It says:—

"The Progressive movement is a struggle to wrest the control of government in the nation and States from the representatives of Special Privilege and restore it to the control of the people. The issue is the same in all the States of the Union, although the problem may be presented in different ways. In the national field the control of government by Special Privilege is evidenced by the influence and the power of the reactionary leaders of both parties in checking or preventing the enactment of the Progressive policies pledged by the Republican party. The Progressive movement aims to nominate and elect as candidates of the Republican party men who will with sincerity and singleness of purpose represent its rank and file and carry out their will. The present condition of uncertainty in business is intolerable and destructive of industrial prosperity. It is worse than idle to leave the question of whether great business enterprises are legal merely to judicial determination. Industrial corporations should by affirmative legislative enactment be given definite rules of conduct, by which business conducted in accordance therewith shall be made safe and stable, while at the same time the interests of the public shall be fully safeguarded. We seek constructive legislation, not destructive litigation."

It's all right to denounce the Sherman Anti-Trust Law as fomenting "destructive litigation." But I would remind the Progressives that they have been in the Republican Party for twenty years sleeping with that bill, and never before have they told us that they sought "constructive legislation" in its stead.

Taft is quite right in declaring it's either the Sherman Law or it's Nationalisation, and there is no use of La Follette and the Progressives deluding themselves by thinking there is any middle path. I hope that "Constructive Legislation" will not prove to be buncombe legislation.

The phrase "constructive legislation" is absolutely meaningless unless it means "*regulation* of Trusts."

Regulation of Trusts means an American Manchu plutocracy tempered with Rockefeller-Morgan benevolence.

Let the Nation own the Railways

"The Mining and Scientific Press, of San Francisco, asks why the Government does not at once open a colliery of its own in the Bering field, primarily to supply naval needs, but incidentally selling the surplus product at a fair price based on cost of production. This the Government might well do without prejudicing the question of the ultimate disposal of the coalfield. It owns the coal; it has the money to develop a mine; and in the Bureau of Mines it has a corps of experts abundantly able to handle all the technical questions. The bureau's chief coal-mining engineer, Mr. Rice, has had much experience—'He has,' says the Press, 'opened, equipped and run a number of collieries as large as or larger than any needed in Alaska.'

"If the Government is finally to lease the Alaskan coalfields it should know all about mining conditions there—cost of production and transportation, the state of the Pacific coal market, and so on. By operating a mine of its own it could gain this knowledge much better than in any other way. If a twenty-five-mile railroad to tidewater is necessary as part of the mine's equipment, why shouldn't the Government build it? After Panama, the silly old talk that the Government can't successfully handle practical matters of this kind will impose on no one."

I again quote the "Saturday Evening Post," because of the great significance of a paper of its standing coming out for nationalisation. It's only a logical step now for the "Post" to advocate nationalising the railways in the United States proper.

Certainly if it's a good thing for Alaska and Panama there is no inherent reason for its being a bad thing for California and Pennsylvania.

South Africa is preparing to establish and operate a Government steamship line to London; she already has nationalised her railways.

Canada, through her new Minister of Finance, Mr. White, declares for the principle of State ownership of railways, and has decided to build and operate the Hudson Bay Railway.

France, of course, already has

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State railways, and now she proposes as a remedy for high prices to establish municipal butchers' shops and bakeries.

Nationalisation of industries cannot proceed very far without the question of the co-operative distribution of products coming up for debate.

It may be absurd for men to starve when they can vote to themselves the ownership of the means to produce food, but it would be still more absurd if after they owned these means of production they did not feed themselves.

The Heaven that Italians find in America

Arno Dosch in "Everybody's Magazine":—

Near Hackensack, on the Erie, Concetto Laferta was killed last year, and some time afterward the Italian consul, at the request of his relatives, ferreted out the fact and asked the railroad whether it was willing to settle out of court.

"But the case is already settled," replied the railroad lawyer; "an administrator was appointed and damages were awarded."

When the papers were produced the administrator proved to be an undertaker, and the damages, for which a full release was given, consisted of $50, the cost of the funeral! This case was unusual only in the small amount of the undertaker's bill. Or perhaps the railroads have the undertakers trained. It is common custom in many parts of this country to give letters of administration to the undertaker as the chief creditor, and this has too often worked a terrible hardship to those dependent on the dead man.

It is a regular part of the undertaking business to secure bodies of the wops, learn whether they had any money in the bank, and, if they had, bury them in a style in proportion to the amounts indicated in their pass-books. Of course, this is a straight steal, but the sufferers are so far away that there is not much danger of trouble from them. Recently the Consul-General of Italy has sent an official notification to all probate judges, asking that the practice of making the undertaker the administrator be discontinued, and that not more than $50 be paid to the undertaker.

These human vultures have gone to appalling lengths. A young Italian, who supported his old mother, stopped sending her remittances; and the Italian Consul, when appealed to, found his name in the coroner's records in New York. Among his effects was a pass-book showing that he had had $233.30 in a certain Italian bank. This sum would have been a great boon to the old woman; but when the consul inquired about it at the bank, he was told that it had all been paid out. The bank, however, could not produce an order of the court to account for its action. The fact was that the undertaker, having found out exactly how much the Italian had, made out his bill for every cent of it, and the money was paid to him by the bank without question!

A "Maximum Price"

The extremely high price of food has again turned attention to the old remedy of "maximum price." Richard La Gallienne, in "Harper's Monthly," reminds us that a "maximum price" was at one period quite familiar to this country. He says:—

"When Congress, in answer to the tea duty, had forbidden the sale of tea, certain speculators had made what one would now call a 'corner' in tea, and held large consignments of it warehoused against the time when there would again be a demand for it. The war at last being definitely on, that demand was not long in coming, but against the speculators' human desire to make an unreasonable profit the Government interposed an order that the uniform price of tea should be six shillings a pound. The speculators, however, refused to comply with this order, and held on to their stocks.

"The result was that peaceable tea-drinking matrons appeared in the unfamiliar rôle of rioters, and the country all over was so upset over the matter that the Council of Safety had again and again to take it under grave consideration. In April, 1776, we find the chairman of the Kingston committee urgently notifying the New York Provincial Convention that 'the women surround the committee chamber, and say if they cannot have tea their husbands and sons shall fight no more.' A few months later we hear of a consignment of tea being withheld from the tea-drinking public in the house of one John Elmendorf, and, a few days later, that the impatient matrons have taken the law into their own hands, marched in a body to the Elmendorf house, and, forcing their way in, have weighed out the tea for themselves, leaving in exchange the legal six shillings a pound."

The Lesson of Medical Inspection

"Daily News," London.

Sir George Newman's report on medical inspection indicates that ten per cent. of school children have defective vision, three per cent. to five per cent. defective hearing, forty per cent. defective teeth, six per cent. to eight per cent. adenoids, while a considerable percentage suffer from malnutrition. He points out that it is now clear that the problem of treatment is now real and pressing. While inspection is compulsory, treatment is voluntary. Some local education authorities have seen the matter in that light and exercised their voluntary powers. The obvious lesson is that, quite apart from social and humanitarian reasons, the commonest business prudence dictates that all should do likewise; those who do not follow up inspection by treatment are getting no fair return from their expenditure on inspection. Sir George Newman urges that in so far as the provision of meals is undertaken by local authorities it should be dealt with as a branch of the school medical service. That is the advice of an expert, and its wisdom is plain.

One hundred Pennsylvania farmers have gone to New York to ascertain how the cost of living can be reduced. They have gone to the wrong place.—"Danville Commercial News."

Government Insurance: How Uruguay Solved the Problem

Correspondence, "London Times."

"The Minister of Finance, Senor Serrato's, arguments may be condensed as follows: The Government is decidedly of opinion that the present insurance regimen is contrary to public interests; its reasons for this being that the companies do not offer any guarantees, that they do not carry insurance into the quarters where it is most wanted (meaning the working classes), that there is no free competition (this refers to the convention between the fire companies for a uniform rate), and that the exportation of the premiums constitutes a serious drain on the public wealth which it is necessary to stop. The Government therefore proposes for the future to carry on all insurance business by the State, believing that in so doing it will be able to give better terms and offer greater guarantees than do the companies. It does not consider this step in the least unconstitutional, for although the Constitution guarantees the liberty of commerce and industry, it also authorises legislators to regulate the exercise of that liberty, or even annul it, when required in general interests, and the declaration of the Chambers on that point is sovereign, admitting of no appeal.

"With regard to indemnity, it is maintained that the companies have no ground on which to present a claim, for the Government takes absolutely nothing from them, leaving them in possession of all their funds and properties, their existing contracts, and in a position to wind up their business without loss, so they suffer no injury that can be assessed. Moreover, unless it is specifically stated in the law that the companies are entitled to indemnity (to which the Government is opposed), the Courts may not even consider their claims, for they have no right to grant what is not granted by the law. The Government is solely actuated by public interests, and it would still advocate the monopoly even if it thought that it would prove unprofitable to the State. Incidentally the Minister remarked that the huge capitals and reserves advertised by the insurance companies were little more than a mystification; insurance business required no capital for its working, as the capital was formed out of the premiums paid by the policy-holders, and the business was so simple that a child could work it. There were no efficient means of State control of the companies, and he fully expected that before many years had passed insurance business would be made a State monopoly in nearly every civilised country."

It is rather peculiar that little Uruguay should solve the insurance problem so easily when we Americans are not even thinking of it.

It is said that the additional Congressmen will cost the country $400,000. If the country gets off that easy it will be lucky.—"Danville Commericial News."

John D. Rockefeller is out with new advice. "Stick to one thing," he says. Most people find it pretty hard advice to follow, since John D. sticks to so much of the one thing that they cannot get any of it to stick to.—"Philadelphia North American."

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The Novel of the Future

H. G. Wells's Remarkable Article on the Future of the Novel

H. G. WELLS has an article on the future of the novel in the November "Fortnightly Review":—

"I consider the novel a very important and necessary thing indeed in that complicated system of uneasy adjustments and re-adjustments which is modern civilisation," writes Mr. Wells. "I make very high and wide claims for it. In many directions I do not think we can get along without it.

"There is, I am aware, the theory that the novel is wholly or solely a means of relaxation. In spite of manifest facts, that was the dominant view of the great period that we now in our retrospective way speak of as the Victorian, and it still survives to this day. It is the man's theory of the novel rather than the woman's. One may call it the Weary Giant theory.

"The reader is represented as a man, burthened, toiling, worn. He has been in his office from ten to four, with perhaps only two hours' interval at his club for lunch; or he has been playing golf; or he has been waiting about and voting in the House; or he has been fishing; or he has been disputing a point of law; or writing a sermon; or doing one of a thousand other of the grave important things which constitute the substance of a prosperous man's life.

"Now at last comes the little precious interval of leisure, and the Weary Giant takes up a book. Perhaps he is vexed, he may have been bunkered, his line may have been entangled in the trees, his favourite investment may have slumped. or the judge have had indigestion and been extremely rude to him. He wants to forget the troublesome realities of life. He wants to be taken out of himself, to be cheered, consoled, amused—above all, amused. He doesn't want ideas, he doesn't want facts—above all, he doesn't want—problems. He wants to dream of the bright, thin, gay excitements of a phantom world—in which he can be hero—of horses ridden and lace worn and princesses rescued and won.

"That is the Weary Giant theory of the novel. It ruled British criticism up to the period of the Boer War—and then something happened to quite a lot of us, and it has never completely recovered its old predominance. Perhaps it will; perhaps something else may happen to prevent its ever doing so.

"Both fiction and criticism to-day are in revolt against that tired giant, the prosperous Englishman. I cannot think of a single writer of any distinction to-day, unless it is Mr. W. W. Jacobs, who is content merely to serve the purpose of those slippered hours. So far from the weary reader being a decently tired giant, we realise that he is only an inexpressibly lax, slovenly, and undertrained giant, and we are all out with one accord resolved to exercise his higher ganglia in every possible way. And so I will say no more of the idea that the novel is merely a harmless opiate for the vacant hours of prosperous men. As a matter of fact, it never has been, and by its nature I doubt if it ever can be.

"Think what an abounding, astonishing, perplexing person Gladstone must have been in life, and consider Lord Morley's 'Life of Gladstone,' cold, dignified—not a life at all, indeed, so much as embalmed remains; the fire gone, the passions gone, the bowels carefully removed. All biography has something of that post-mortem coldness and respect, and as for autobiography—a man may show his soul in a thousand half-conscious ways—but to turn upon oneself and explain oneself is given to no one.

"Every novel carries its own justification and its own condemnation in its success or failure to convince you that *the thing was so.* Now history, biography, blue-book, and so forth, can hardly ever get beyond the statement that the superficial fact was so.

"You see now the scope of the claim I am making for the novel; it is to be the social mediator, the vehicle of understanding, the instrument of self-examination, the parade of morals, and the exchange of manners, the factory of customs, the criticism of laws and institutions, and of social dogmas and ideas. It is to be the home confessional, the initiator of knowledge, the seed of fruitful self-questioning.

"Let me be very clear here. I do not mean for a moment that the novelist is going to set up as a teacher, as a sort of priest with a pen, who will make men and women believe and do this and that. The novel is not a new sort of pulpit; humanity is passing out of the phase when men *sit under* preachers and dogmatic influences. But the novelist is going to be the most potent of artists, because he is going to present conduct, devise beautiful conduct, discuss conduct, analyse conduct, suggest conduct, illuminate it through and through. He will not teach, but discuss, point out, plead, and display. And this being my view you will be prepared for the demand I am now about to make for an absolutely free hand for the novelist in his choice of topic and incident and in his method of treatment; or rather, if I may presume to speak for other novelists, I would say it is not so much a demand we make as an intention we proclaim.

"We are going to write, subject only to our own limitations, about the whole of human life. We are going to deal with political questions and religious questions and social questions. We cannot present people unless we have this free hand, this unrestricted field. What is the good of telling stories about people's lives if one may not deal freely with the religious beliefs and organisations that have controlled or failed to control them? What is the good of pretending to write about love, and the loyalties and treacheries and quarrels of men and women, if one must not glance at those varieties of physical temperament and organic quality, those deeply passionate needs and distresses from which half the storms of human life are brewed?

"We are going to write of wasted opportunities and latent beauties until a thousand new ways of living open to men and women. We are going to appeal to the young and the hopeful and the curious, against the established, the dignified, and defensive. Before we have done we will have all life within the scope of the novel."

How About American Wives?

Has your Wife a right to your Name?

The following from the London "Standard" may be of interest to American women who fear sinking their personality by using their husband's name:—

"A ruling of the highest judicial court is being sought in Russia concerning the right of a woman to the use of her husband's name. The case arose out of the conduct of a divorcée whose subsequent career appeared so prejudicial to the reputation of the husband that he instituted proceedings to prevent her from using his name. The first court gave the case against him, and the court of second instance evolved the curious fact that there is no authority in Russian law for a married woman using her husband's name at all, even while they remain together; it seems to be a matter of convenience only, or analogy from usages of other countries, and in Russia is not based on law. At any rate, this point has been raised, and will now be decided by a ruling of the Senate. It would seem as if Russian women have been unwittingly in possession of an invaluable mark of independence which they have never utilised."

Mr. Rockefeller enthusiastically approves that hymn about the "Beautiful Isle." It does sound a good deal like oil.—"Pittsburg Gazette-Times."

An evangelist says it costs $545 to save a sinner in New York. Takes ten times that amount to convict one in Washington.—"Wall Street Journal."

Just now the quarrel is whether China shall be run on the European or American plan.—"Philadelphia Telegraph."

The following appeared in a village paper not long ago: "Amos Green and Mrs. Nettie Clark, both of this vicinity, were married here to-day. Amos leaves four children by his first wife and many warm friends."—"Everybody's Magazine."

During the campaign for the commission form of government at Keokuk, Iowa, an old German was arguing with a Swede who was opposed to the change on the ground that there would be too few men to manage affairs. The German clinched his argument with: "Himmel, man, it takes only the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to run Heaven—I guess three men ought to be able to run Keokuk."—"Everybody's Magazine."

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H. M. HYNDMAN: A Study

By HOLBROOK JACKSON in "T.P.'s Weekly"

ENGLAND is at last talking about Henry Mayers Hyndman, but England is neither talking about Hyndman for what Hyndman is nor for what he has done, but because he has written a book. It has been overlooked somehow that the book in question is the bye-product of a very remarkable life, and it is highly probable that the fact of Hyndman's existence at all may come as a surprise to a great many well-informed people. Still more well-informed people, knowing of his existence only from the daily newspapers, will be surprised to find that this Socialist agitator of the reddest type is a highly respectable member of the English bourgeoisie, born of wealthy parents, educated at Cambridge, experienced as a journalist and a traveller, and claiming among his friends many of the greatest men of his day. Four years ago Hyndman told a friend of mine, who had been offering him birthday congratulations, that he was sixty-five years young, and in his book, "The Record of an Adventurous Life," he describes himself to-day as an active man of sixty-nine. There we have the real Hyndman; the restless energy that has ruffled the surface of English politics and upheld the banner of uncompromising Socialism in England for well over a quarter of a century.

The revolution that is to be

Since the S.D.P. was formed many Socialist societies have come into existence to flutter briefly before the public gaze and fall to earth with broken wings; others, more yielding to popular prejudices and conventional expediences, like the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society, have come and worked, and had their brief moment of brilliance, only to settle into a premature and effete old age, but the S.D.P., with Mr. Hyndman bearing aloft the Red Flag proudly, seems to be eternal. In its early days Hyndman drew under its banner all the bright spirits who were coming into Socialism, but he was not strong enough to hold them together. Bernard Shaw left him for the Fabian Society, and William Morris left him for the ill-fated Socialist League, but, undaunted, he refused to capitulate, and continued to run his paper, "Justice," and his Federation, as it was then called, in company with his faithful comrades Harry Quelch and Belfort Bax. Innumerable pamphlets and leaflets were issued and scattered over England, and many elections were fought with heroically disastrous results. England showed not the slightest inclination to join the Social-Democratic Party, and even the majority of those who called themselves Socialists refused to be converted. But the S.D.P. did not die; it is alive to-day, its disciples go forth into the highways and byways preaching the only true Socialistic faith. Great halls throughout the land rock with the eloquence of Hyndman. But nothing else seems to happen. He is sixty-nine years young, and as he stands on the platform four square to his audience, pouring torrents of irony, invective, sarcasm, dialectic, and humour over the uplifted faces, you feel that it will always be so.

No outward and visible signs

There is really something incongruous about this respectable, frock-coated, silk-hatted, grey-bearded, high-browed, patriarchal figure even in the conventionalised Socialist movement of to-day. But what must he have looked in the Socialist movement of the Eighteen Eighties? For, save the fact that his frosting beard gives his years away, he looked the same then as he does now—something between a successful merchant and a Nonconformist preacher; but his comrades in those days considered homespun and corduroy, clay pipes, red ties, and sombreros, the outward and visible signs of an inward and revolutionary grace. Such conventions did not affect the father of the S.D.P., for he believes that men are equal before God, no matter what clothes they wear, so he abandoned all claims to distinction of birth and possessions except the sartorial badges of his social heritage. I fancy Hyndman would have pleased Walt Whitman. He is a superb person, the sublimation of the democratic poet's idea of the divine average. He is unique only in the greatness of his endeavour; ready and willing to make sacrifices, to do the dirty work, as any humble member of the rank and file; arrogant only in his persistency; original only in his enthusiasm for the phase of a cause that has neither lost nor found itself; persuasive, eloquent, laborious; yet, in spite of all these things, in spite of the spite and jealousy, the meanness and suspicion, of political propaganda, Hyndman has remained clean and lovable and honest, adored by his followers, honoured by Socialist conformist and nonconformist alike, and misrepresented by his foes.

The apostle of Marx

I said that his life did not represent an achievement, but surely to have achieved so much is to have achieved much. That such a man should have been, until now, comparatively unknown to his fellow-countrymen is a grievous fault, for his fellow-countrymen are the losers. But inspired by his own account of himself, the Press has made some amends by at length discovering that he is at least a forceful personality. What the future holds for this warrior of revolt, who has fought so valiantly without reward and without success, I know not. In his seventieth year he has been made the first chairman of the newly-formed British Socialist Party, which may be taken as an earnest of more strenuous work for the cause of his heart. But whatever the years may hold for him or us, Henry Mayers Hyndman will go on his way thundering his wrath against a system that, for him, is an iniquity, like a modern Isaiah hedged about not so much by the enmity of that system as by the doctrine of Karl Marx, whose apostle to the English people he is. It is good, however, for England to know of the existence of Hyndman, for, although his Party bear few direct records of success, as success is understood by most of us, he and his co-workers have been an indirect and underground disturbing factor in the comfort of our outlook upon social ideas. And it is good to be thus disturbed.

Hyndman's Great Book, "THE RECORD OF AN ADVENTUROUS LIFE," post paid, $3.50. Wilshire Book Co., 113, East 26th Street, New York

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
Editor.

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National Suicide or Nationalisation ?

THE Taft Anti-Trust policy is impossible of execution unless we are to commit national suicide. Our industrial Anaconda has for ever shed its old, competitive skin and is now out, fine and glistening, in its new monopoly skin. We may kill the snake, but we can never make it crawl back into its old skin. We may destroy the Trusts, no doubt ; we can also tear up our railways and burn down our factories—in fact, there is no law preventing us giving Taft a second term. We can, if we wish, do all sorts of foolish things.

There can be no doubt that Taft has been pushed on to his ridiculous trust-busting by the jibes and jeers of the Progressives.

It is a fortunate thing for La Follette that he is not now in the presidential chair with Taft's dilemma to face. He was born under a lucky star.

If Taft continues in his course he is sure to bring the country to chaos. The only chance lies in the Supreme Court making another "reasonable" tack and forcing Taft to undertake a plan of "constructive legislation." The Court's plan for the Tobacco Trust re-organisation foreshadows something like this.

The demand for the destruction of Trusts is really a spent force. It originally arose from the capitalists who owned competing plants, and who at one time thought that legislation would save them from extermination by their larger competitors. But this was twenty years ago, and these capitalists have long since ceased to clamor for legislative relief. They have either been swallowed by the Trusts, and therefore do not wish legislation against themselves, or they have been made such complete bankrupts that they know that no legislation can reinstate them. So, in one way or the other, the smaller capitalists who fomented the Anti-Trust legislation are now quiescent and wish Taft and his policy were at the bottom of the sea.

The larger capitalists who have not been absorbed by the Trusts have made treaties of peace, and now they are all allies. That this is the case was made very plain when Taft made his famous attack on the Steel Trust. Every one of the Trust's competitors declared that they would far prefer competition with the Trust as it is rather than with its disintegrated constituent parts.

Taft gets no backing from the competitors of the Trusts ; they much prefer Morgan's protection to Taft's.

As for the consumers, they don't count, and are never heard from in any event. If prices go up they simply adapt themselves to circumtances as best they may. The increase of price is passed on to the next man by manufacturers and merchants. The final consumer is the victim who pays the bill, and he is inarticulate except when he is a trade unionist, and then he may by striking get a higher wage to offset his higher costs of living. The increase of price due to monopoly is really inconsequential. High prices in this country are due largely to two causes : first, the increased world's gold supply ; second, the tariff.

If the impossible were accomplished, and every Trust in the country dissolved and competition restored, the reduction in prices of commodities would be quite immaterial—in fact, the chances are that the increased costs of production through competition would entail increase of price rather than otherwise.

The consumers are not particularly interested in trust-busting ; and, as for Labor, it as a rule has no particular Trust animus. The Trusts, as a whole being able to afford it, have probably paid better wages than other businesses. This is certainly true of the Standard Oil Trust.

What, then, is at the back of all this Anti-Trust agitation? If no one is particularly desirous of destroying the Trust, how is that that most conservative of men, Taft, has gone so daft on Trusts?

It is largely the impetus of the original movement fomented by politicians who think that there is political capital to be made out of such attacks.

Then, too, the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is a reality, and if Taft is called upon to enforce it he really has no chance of shirking, particularly when he thinks his political future depends upon his showing activity. However, it is a case of be damned if you do and be damned if you don't. Manchu Taft is a goner in any event, and really there is not much use of even considering him. Anyway, he was but a creature of Teddy's, and could not expect to survive very long after Teddy himself had gone where the woodbine twineth.

That the Sherman Law must be repealed is a foregone conclusion; practically nobody except a few belated politicians now stands sponsor for that piece of mediæval legislation.

But after the repeal, what then? Regulation of the Trusts necessarily implies recognition, implies permanency. The Trust spells industrial autocracy, and Regulating the Trust, at best, means a limited plutocracy. Competition in industry to-day is absurd ; but, at any rate, it did mean, in the beginning, more or less industrial democracy, or, rather, industrial aristocracy with a very large number in the aristocratic class.

Monopoly in industry not only means a very small and limited aristocracy, but one rapidly increasing in power and at the same time decreasing in numbers.

It is the recognition of this phase of the Trust that is in reality back of all the demand for its destruction. The natural conservatism of the race stupidly harks back to the competitive democrative system, notwithstanding that common sense makes us recognise that the day of competition has long since passed.

Taft is the champion of things as

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they are, but things as they are obviously cannot remain as they are. We must move either forward or backward.

La Follette and Woodbury Wilson, on the other hand, are sponsors of the yesterday of industry. They are in favor of democratic legislation like the initiative and referendum not so much because they are democrats by instinct as because they wish to give the people more power to turn back the hands of the clock.

The people instinctively recognise that both La Follette and Wilson are honest in their desire to turn back the hands, and they prefer to have such men do the back-turning to Taft.

But La Follette and Wilson have no better chance of survival on their programme than has Taft on his.

The future of industry is certain to be Monopoly, but it is to be public monopoly, publicly and democratically operated by and for the public.

The Monopolies are to be owned and operated by the people, and the products produced are to be distributed under a co-operative system. The worker will then be paid according to what he produces instead of, as now, according to the least he can subsist upon.

La Follette may come out in favor of the Nationalisation of Trusts—in fact, he is sure to do so sooner or later—but I greatly fear that when he does finally so pronounce he will do so not because he sees the ideal society of the future with poverty abolished and all men as brothers, but because he sees in Nationalisation a means of perpetuating the small capitalists of whom he is the champion.

Of couse, La Follette and his Progressive following may see the same vision of the future that is the guiding star of the Socialists, and may change their course accordingly. I hope so, for if they did it would make the transition stage from Capitalism to Socialism far easier.

But I admit that, as much as I admire and like La Follette, I do not see that so far he has given any indication of having made any long look into the future of society.

Washington did not look for separation from England, and Lincoln did not look for emancipation of the slave.

Thomas Paine and Wendell Philips were the pioneers of thought, but they were not the men who were the chosen leaders of their countrymen.

Cobden's speeches brought England to Free Trade, but the Premier who carried the Bill through was Sir Robert Peel, who was elected to oppose it.

It may be the irony of fate that Taft, the enemy of Socialism, will be the president who is forced to inaugurate it.

Massachusetts Aids Oregon

George Fred Williams called in to Defend the Oregon Initiative

You would never think that when Oregon adopted the "Initiative" that she thereby abandoned the "republican form of government" which the Federal Constitution guarantees to the citizens of all States.

Fact, however—at least, so that sturdy democrat, the Telephone Trust, says in a suit against the State of Oregon, which has dared, by the use of the Initiative, to impose a tax of 2 per cent. upon the Trust's gross earnings.

No doubt it is merely a question of pure principle—that of sustaining a republican form of government—that moves the Trust, but it is rather interesting to note that the Trust never awoke to the alleged violation of the sacred Constitution until it felt the sting of that 2 per cent. tax.

The Trust makes out a fine distinction between a democratic form of government such as is given by the Initiative and a republican form of government which the Trust says can only be given by a legislature acting on its own sweet will free of any dictation from its creator—the people.

Sounds amusing all this, kind of an opera bouffe suit; but, all the same, the case is now up to the beloved Supreme Court of the United States.

That Oregon doesn't think it merely funny is evidenced by the fact that she has gone out to Massachusetts to employ such distinguished counsel as George Fred Williams to represent and defend her in Washington before the Supreme Court.

I thought I had read all there was to say about Direct Legislation, but I have changed my mind since reading the exhaustive brief that George Fred has drawn up for the State of Oregon. It is a wonder, and should be re-published in book form.

While, no doubt, Williams will get a fat fee for his labor, nevertheless no one could have done such good work unless it were primarily a labor of love.

George Fred is at times spoken of as Massachusetts' Great Democrat, and a perusal of this brief justifies the title.

He shows very clearly that the fathers of the Constitution had no thought of any fine distinction between a republican form of government and a democratic form of government.

That to them republicanism and democracy were synonymous—one and the same thing.

That republicanism simply meant a government by the people, and that they had no thought of making it depend upon the use of the representative system undiluted with the Initiative and Referendum.

George Fred also shows that Direct Legislation in one form or other had always been in use by the towns and colonies for years prior to the drafting of the Constitution, and that there could have been no intention of the Constitution to prohibit the further use of such an excellent means of ascertaining the wishes of the people.

However, I am not sure but that it might be rather a good thing if the Supreme Court would decide against George Fred and Oregon.

There could be no quicker method of the Supreme Court committing suicide.

However, as a matter of fact, the adoption of the "Recall" practically gives the people the same power as the "Initiative."

If Oregon or California, or any one of the various States that has adopted this Initiative, should be deprived of the Initiative by the Supreme Court, all they would have to do would be to have an unofficial initiative to ascertain what the people wanted.

It would then be up to the Legislature to pass that law.

Any legislators who might refuse to give an affirmative vote would be promptly "recalled" and a new man sent up in his place who would obey the mandate of the people.

True, it would be a little roundabout method of passing the law, but there is little doubt, however, that no legislator with the "Recall" axe hanging over his neck would refuse to vote for any Bill that had been endorsed by a popular vote, even if the vote were not legally enforceable directly.

I am sure the Supreme Court will dislike pronouncing that George Fred has presented an unanswerable brief, but it would seem incredible that they can decide otherwise. However, if they should, then, as said, the "Recall" will nullify their decision.

The "Recall" itself is fortunately beyond attack, for its use in no way impugns the Representative form of government.

The Constitution does not tell us that we must elect our legislators for any definite length of time.

We can elect them for one year, or one month, or one day, or until we wish to kick them out with the "Recall."

As a vermifuge for Manchus the "Recall" has no equal.

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Women Go Socialist in Los Angeles?

A GOOD test of what is the immediate effect of giving women the vote will be seen in the election which is to take place in Los Angeles on December 5.

The official returns show the primary vote to be as follows: Harriman, 20,157; Alexander, 16,790; Mushet, 8,168; Gregory, 327; Becker, 59. Harriman's plurality, 3,367. His vote fell short 4,188 of the majority over all which was necessary for election.

Harriman not having an absolute majority, he and Alexander, being the two highest, will again go to the poll in December. A most excellent law, by the way, this Los Angeles second ballot law.

Meawhile, however, the women have had the suffrage bestowed on them in California, and so their vote will also be cast at this second ballot and be the deciding factor.

While Harriman, as a Socialist, has been a consistent woman suffragist for twenty years to my own knowledge, yet there is no good reason to suppose that this will weigh very much with the women.

Gratitude in politics, as in other affairs, is for favors to come, not for those given.

If the women prove to be as conservative as is charged, and turn down Harriman, we may soon expect to see the old parties in the Eastern States advocating woman suffrage as a preventive for Socialism.

That women will finally vote Socialist is true enough, but that they will vote so to-day is another story.

They are apt to be, politically, rather slow when neither sex nor whiskey are involved.

Certainly the Liberal Party of England appear to be afraid that the enfranchisement of women will be more than likely to the benefit of the Conservative Party.

They may be wrong, but they are afraid to make the test.

At present in England there is a very moderate financial qualification for the voters, and the women have been agitating to be given the vote on the same basis.

Their agitation has been so successful that there was even room to think that their Bill would soon be passed.

Asquith, the Liberal Premier, however, has just brought in a Bill to enfranchise all men without any financial qualification whatever. This will increase the electorate from 7,000,000 to about 11,000,000.

It is evident that a Bill of this character precludes the idea of a Bill giving the vote to women upon any financial qualification.

All women must get the vote just as all men are to have it. It is either that or no woman suffrage at all.

Now, while a great many of the Conservatives were willing enough to give the vote to women of property, when it comes to giving the wives and daughters of the proletariat the vote it is quite a different matter.

Therefore, there can be no doubt but that the new Manhood Suffrage Bill proposed by Asquith will considerably delay woman suffrage, and, consequently, the suffragists are very wroth at what they call a Liberal trick.

However, in California all women can now vote, rich and poor, and as there are many more women without property than there are with property it would be only logical to suppose that Harriman would get the majority of their votes.

On the other hand, the same argument as to men voters does not work out at all even after years of propaganda.

It would hardly be fair to expect the women to be to-day as far advanced as the men when we remember that their opportunities for political education have been so comparatively limited.

On the other hand, the women are not swayed by partisanship, and should vote as they think right without regard to party.

Most men vote for their ticket just as they take sides with a certain baseball team, only with less reason.

Los Angeles is a grand melting-pot for middle-class American society, people who have enough money to retire to a city with a good climate.

When I went there first in the '80's the census gave Los Angeles but 11,000 inhabitants; it now has 400,000, and is still growing fast; the climate is accountable for nearly all this extraordinary growth.

There has never before been such a hegira of well-to-do people to any one centre for a permanent abode. The throwing together of all these people, who have broken with the old customs and traditions of the Eastern States from whence they came, has been a grand stimulus to intellectual growth, albeit at the expense of the amenities of life one finds in communities where society is the result of a long period of crystalisation.

However, while Los Angeles is vulgar and crude, she is alert and up to date, and it would be unsafe to predict what her 70,000 women will say about Socialism on December 5.

We can only wait and pray that light may fall upon them.

As for the effect on the women of the MacNamara trial, I should be rather inclined to say that it ordinarily would effect Harriman very little one way or the other were it not that Otis is so universally detested by the women as well as the men that many may vote for Harriman merely to spite Otis.

Hyndman's Book at $1.89 Post Paid

There was a mistake in the announcement of price of Hyndman's "Reminiscences of an Adventurous Life" in our advertisement. The English edition is published at 15s. by the MacMillans, or $3.50, whereas they publish the American edition at $1.75 net, or $1.89 post paid.

All orders that came in to us at the $3.50 rate will, of course, have a refund.

All readers of this Magazine should be purchasers of this book, especially now when they can buy it at just half the English price.

Hyndman will probably deliver a series of lectures in the United States this spring, and the book will be a good introduction although he needs none to Socialists.

Astor on Free Speech

The following comment in W. W. Astor's London "Observer" upon Bonar Law, the new leader of the Tory Party, vice Balfour resigned, is rather interesting as coming from an expatriated American:—

"In Mr. Bonar Law's great speech at Leeds he advocated the claim of the Church of England as a bulwark against the growing materialism of the age—instancing the kind of oratory to be heard in the London parks, where the largest audience is attracted by the speaker who proclaims that there is no God. Our new Unionist leader shows himself in this respect more observant than the responsible rulers of the Church, who seem quite contented to leave this unpleasant state of things severely alone. Attention has repeatedly and urgently been drawn to the necessity of special preventive as well as remedial measures, but hitherto in vain."

I wonder what sort of a "special preventive" Astor proposes to gag free speech in the London parks?

The rich American who comes to London to reside invariably joins the Conservative Party and the Established Church.

Those are the two primary rungs in the ladder to social success.

Astor is the chief financial support of that amusing institution which calls itself the Anti-Socialist Union.

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Pornography and Roosevelt

Now that the Socialists are the predominant party in Los Angeles, one of the greatest cities in the Union, I wonder that Roosevelt does not rise again in the chair of the "Outlook" and denounce Los Angeles as a modern city of Sodom, which has given itself over to pornographic literature.

Roosevelt, when he was President, had the P.O. drive me and this magazine into Canada.

The nominal charge was that I was an egotistical self-advertiser.

I wonder he did not say that my phrase "Let the Nation Own the Trusts" was lewd and pornographic.

Mr. Carnegie Incorporated

If there is one thing that justifies the private control of wealth production for profit it is the argument that the capitalist may thereby satisfy his instinct for the philanthropic distribution of his accumulations.

But when Carnegie incorporates himself and proposes to have his doling done by a board of paid directors, then even this argument disappears.

At one time the motive of getting rich was first to protect one's future and then have a "good time" with the surplus. This is yet the régime of the vast majority of the well to do. But when wealth piles in as rapidly as it does upon Carnegie and Rockefeller these two avenues do not begin to suffice to distribute their accumulations, and so both have perforce gone into philanthrophy upon an hitherto undreamt-of scale. In order that the work may go on when they are dead they have both incorporated themselves into philanthropic institutions and thrown the work of distribution upon directors. When they finally die, and time passes on, these directors will undoubtedly come more and more under the control of the State, and the finality will inevitably be the nationalisation of these philanthropic corporations.

We should think that Carnegie and Rockefeller would forsee this finality and make their plans accordingly by taking time by the forelock.

However, even if they do see it, I presume that, not being Socialists, they can hardly pursue any but their present course.

Roosevelt and Trusts

Cablegram in London Papers.

NEW YORK, Nov. 17.

"Mr. Roosevelt's editorial article in the 'Outlook,' in which he opposes the present Governmental policy of regulating the Trusts by dissolution suits, is considered evidence that he has emerged from his retirement, and is ready to enter politics. His friends even express the opinion that it is an announcement of his candidature for nomination for the Presidency. Bankers believe he is sounding business feeling on this question."

"Sounding business feeling" is a good diagnosis. Roosevelt is a pretty-well-sized-up politician by Europe. What it cannot understand, however, is the stupidity of America ever having stood for him.

No doubt poor Taft is near political death, but it is certainly bad taste for his former friend and sponsor to rush in among the mourners in order to bestow the first kick after the death.

For is not Taft simply following up the "Roosevelt Policies"? He is merely enforcing the plain law.

True enough if Taft knew anything about business and economics he never would have been so foolish as to have gone into office pledged to enforce such a stupidity as the Sherman Law. However, he knows so little of business and economics that he never thought the Trust situation would reach its present critical stage.

Taft is much in the same position as were "Free Silver" Republicans at the beginning of the 1906 Bryan campaign.

Free Silver seemed so far from the realms of actuality, and at the same time such a good vote-getter, that most of the Republicans, including even McKinley himself, had endorsed it.

It was something like professing adherence to the Golden Rule; we all profess but never expect to be called upon to perform.

Then came along Bryan, and Free Silver became an actual possibility, and a very dangerous one too. The politicians were called upon to deliver the goods that they had been bluffing about. There was a sudden scurrying of rats in the political garret, and it was not many weeks before the "Free Silver" Republicans saw a great light.

Free Silver was dropped like a hot potato, and all lined up under the Cross of Gold.

Of course, Free Silver was a stupid heresy, and the vote-seeking politicians who endorsed it were either fools or knaves.

The "Trust-Busters," headed by Roosevelt, are in practically the same category, with the difference that they are being shown the futility and danger of their plan by seeing poor Taft floundering in the Anti-Trust law morass.

Roosevelt is the first to sound the signal for a retreat to his Manchu cohorts, but there is one Manchu that will not obey, and that is Taft. He would like to retreat, but he cannot get out of the bog. Teddy led him into it and now is heartlessly leaving him to his fate.

However, there is one thing that is certain, and that is that while Teddy can beat a retreat he will never again lead an army.

The Morgan crowd will never trust him even though he may denounce Taft, and the Progressives will have no use for him even though he may declare for "constructive legislation."

Teddy is even more of a deader than Bryan, for Bryan at least has friends even if no followers.

It would be most amusing if Taft should turn the tables on Teddy by declaring that the solution lies in "Let the Nation own the Trusts."

However, I fear Teddy is safe from such a counter attack. Taft is a large body that moves very slowly.

But Taft, at any rate, has said that if we do not destroy the Trusts we must Nationalise them, and this is several points ahead of anything that Roosevelt has ever said.

Taft is certainly pulling himself into a better position for a switch than is Roosevelt.

"The Significance of the Trust"

The pamphlet with the above title contains about all I can say about the Trust.

A 2 cent stamp will bring it to you.

Read it, and you need have no worry about the Trust ever being Regulated à la Roosevelt, or destroyed à la Taft.

Socialists carried Vicksburg (Miss.), New Castle (Pa.), Canton (Ohio), and nearly carried Columbus (Ohio), and Jackson, the capital of Mississippi.

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Expert Reports $181,457 Ore Ready to Mine and Mill at Bishop Creek

IT may be remembered that something about a year or more ago that I was made the subject of a very bitter attack by the *New York World* from a report originating with the Post Office.

The Post Office has always had a grievance against me ever since I defeated them by moving my magazine from New York to Canada, when, during the Roosevelt administration, an attempt was made to throttle me.

The substance of the charge, as made by the *World*, was that the P.O. had sent a man out to investigate the Bishop Creek Mine, and that he had reported that I had exaggerated things.

It was true that the P.O. had sent a spy out to inspect the mine, but he never got there. He heard so much good about the mine in the town of Bishop that he decided he would not visit the mine itself, as his report, if published, would be merely a good advertisement for me.

I had published my own engineer's reports upon the mine, and also knew its great value as well from my own personal knowledge, having been upon the property more or less for over three years.

I also had published letters from quite a number of prominent Socialists, among others, Odon Por, Upton Sinclair, and Ernest Untermann, all of whom had been on the mine and vouched for its value.

However, notwithstanding all this, there were not lacking a number of Socialist "friends" who were admittedly, by their own confession, anxious to see the mine a failure, and when the "World" published the Post Office story they were only too willing to join in the pack at my heels.

At the time of the attack I was endeavouring to raise capital to still further develop the mine and build a mill. Very naturally, this attack resulted, as was the intent, in making that task much more difficult; but I am happy to say that all this is now arranged satisfactorily, and that there is every reason to look for a mill to be erected and to be in full operation early next summer.

During the present summer development work has been steadily carried on, and with the most satisfactory results; the last report, received at this very moment of writing, indicates that we have a body of ore on our lowest level (290 ft.) of at least 7 ft. wide and over $23 to the ton in gold values.

Inasmuch as I never claimed that the ore would run over $5 per ton, it can be seen that there is a very considerable margin of safety from the P.O. charge of exaggeration.

A very eminent mining expert, Mr. E. W. Walter, has recently made a careful examination of the mine, and reports that we have over $181,000 in ore on hand ready to be brought up to a mill, which he strongly advises us to build at once. Meanwhile, one car-load of ore has been shipped to a custom mill.

Herewith are excerpts from his report:—

Gaylord Wilshire, Esq.,
President,
The Wilshire Bishop Creek Co.

Dear Sir,

Herewith I beg to hand you report of my examination of your Bishop Creek mines.

PROPERTIES.

The Wilshire Bishop Creek Co.'s properties consist of 92 mining claims, of which 12 are patented. Very little other than the initial location work has been done on the unpatented claims. The development of the patented claims **has been almost entirely directed on the one claim,** termed "Rising Sun," and my report and map is on this property.

GEOLOGY.

The geology is quite simple. The main mountain mass is granite, which in cooling, and along with some vertical movement, fissured by contraction the mass parallel with its axis. This fissuring was naturally of great extent, reaching many miles in length, **with a width of some 800ft.** Through infiltration of silicious solutions from the granite, the fissure filling became a quartzite, so that to-day this fissure stands as a huge quartzite reef, cutting the granite in N. 50deg. W. direction for miles. Its dip is 60deg. to the south.

LODE.

Subsequently within this quartzite itself, about the centre and in a line of weakness, north and south movement and displacement, at right angle to the strike, opened the fracture now known as the lode. The lode has no walls; is erratic in direction in comparison to the reef, being N. 76deg. W., and dips contrary, as shown on the Transverse Section Map, northwards towards the footwall of the reef, which dip south.

MINERALISATION.

The filling of this lode fracture was from precipitated silicious solutions, as indicated by the fine grain of the quartzite as well as the ribbon structure and extreme hardness. The mineralisation consists of a gold content in an infinitesimal fine state of division, the matrix being a close-grained, hard quartzite. A small percentage of arsenical pyrite, and at times pyrrhotite, occur; but these minerals have no bearing whatever on the gold content, the genesis of which is entirely separate. The gold content evidently came from the granite through a medium of manganese gold carrying solutions. The North and South watercourse, as indicated on the map, acting as the main avenue. The rhyolite dyke, likewise shown on the map, probably acting as a bar for such solution to reach westward. The rhyolite dyke, about 4ft. in width, as well as the north and south movement, faulted the fracture to its present pitch, as well as breaking and throwing same some 20ft., as shown on No. 2 level west drift.

It can be stated that the gold avenues have come from the south, flowing northward through the watercourse to the open fracture, and then eastward in the fracture, the same solutions making the silicious filling, likewise carrying the gold. The central core of this fracture is the richest in gold, the values gradually fading away on both sides; there being no walls, the distance of lode width is simply determined by range of commercial value. Due to reprecipitation of the quartz, the grain and hardness is pronounced. This very hard quartz is, for reasons as stated, the best ore. At times small kidneys of manganese or calc spar occur in the hard ore. The ore is harder than the casing of quartzite, and, in a measure, gives information as to the width of the fracture.

An analysis of the ore is as follows:—

Insoluble	86.3 %
Iron	4.67
Alumina	1.80
Lime	2.60
Sulphur	1.70
Arsenic	1.00

Silver content is approximately 1/10 oz. per oz. gold, or 1%.

ORE TONNAGE.

The sampling was conducted by cutting a groove 4in. in width across the roof of the drifts. Large samples were taken, the smallest being at least 15lb. These samples were taken to the company's assay office and crushed down to pea size, then quartered through Jones' riffles down to 3lb., which in turn was ground to pass a 30-mesh sieve, this again quartered down to 10 oz., which was then ground to pass a 100-mesh sieve. The samples were carefully assayed, and in some cases checked. **The results of the samples were also compared with the company's assay book, giving assay results taken at the time the drifts were driven, showing surprisingly close checks.**

The ore streak in No. 2 level west drift has not been taken into the tonnage figures, due to its undeveloped state, nor has any allowance been made for any tonnage below No. 2 level in depth. So little has been done in the way of development above that it would be simply conjecture to apply any figure for depth at this time; however, there is a sufficient tonnage with values to justify,

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without taking this important subject in hand at this time.

Several assays over 4oz. ($80) in gold were encountered in sampling, but, due to their abnormal richness, were not taken into account.

The gold is quite uniformly distributed throughout the ore zone, and check sampling and results readily obtained.

(Note by G. Wilshire.—Since Mr. Walter's visit the No. 2 Level has developed much richer ore, on November 1 the average for full face of drift being over $34 gold to the ton.)

	Tons.	
Tonnage above No. 1 Level—		
160ft. long × 75ft. high × 7.6ft. wide.	7,600	
7,600 tons at $13.94.		$105,944.00
Tonnage below No. 1 Level—		
125ft. long × 50ft. deep × 7.6ft. wide.	3,958	
3,958 tons at $13.94		55,174.00
Tonnage above No. 2 Level—		
90ft. long × 43ft. high × 4.9ft. wide	1,580	
1,580 tons at $7.81...		12,339.00
General average, $13.30 per ton	13,138	$173,457.00
Ore on dump from development work	1,000	
1,000 tons at $8.00...		8,000.00
GROSS TONNAGE AND VALUE.....	**14,138**	**$181,457.00**
Mining cost at $2.50 delivered to surface		32,845.00
Gross value delivered in the ore bin on surface		$148,612.00

ORE POSSIBILITIES.

On the Vertical Section Map is marked good territory; these points mark where conditions for ore are promising. The section along the watercourse in west drift No. 2 level, **should open excellent ore.** It will be noted, a watercourse similar to the one causing the enriched zone has been encountered. The heading on this same level east is also likely, but the main streak, as indicated on plan map, should be followed, in order to continue the ore which shows above in No. 1 level east. The area between No. 1 level and the surface, particularly above west drift, is very good prospecting. **The question of further depth is also one affording encouragement,** and should be proven by sinking the shaft another 100ft. **It is also possible,** as explained from the nature of the ore deposition, **that in drifting other cross watercourses might be encountered, which would likewise make ore shoots on the lines of the present one.**

ORE TREATMENT.

The treatment very suitable for this ore is simple fine slime grinding as the initial preparation, followed by agitation with cyanide solution. **There is no doubt but what 90% of the total gold value can be easily and cheaply obtained** through such procedure. This opinion is based on tests already made by the company or sent by them to outside cyanide mills for test. No deleterious substances are present to offer obstacles, and the very fine nature of the gold makes it readily soluble.

MINING.

In extracting the ore as figured under ore tonnage, ordinary shrinkage stoping would be cheapest and best—i.e., no timber being used, except in the ore ways. In the present work of drifting, the cost per ton of ore extracted and placed on the dump, including power charges, amounts to $3.50 per ton. From this figure it is calculated that the stoping charge will amount to $2.50 per ton ore delivered in the ore bin on the surface, under conditions of commercial mining and unforeseen expense.

WATER.

At the present time, the mine is making 35gal. of water per minute; this is being handled by a small pump on No. 1 level and a No. 6 Cameron on No. 2 level, both being driven by compressed air. As depth is obtained, this water will no doubt increase above present pump capacity.

WATER-POWER.

At the present time all power is derived from a Pelton wheel, driven from a 12in. pipe line under 410ft. head, developing 200h.p. The water is taken from North Lake; by extending this pipe line to the lake itself a further additional head of 400ft. could be obtained, making a total of 800ft., and a development of 500h.p. The company has also a trench dug to Middle Fork of Bishop Creek from the penstock of the present supply. By laying the necessary pipe in this trench a separate water source with same head of 400ft. can be developed, giving additional cheap and efficient power service for all purposes.

The California-Nevada Power Co. derive their water-power from electrical transmission from this same Bishop Creek, and have several units in operation within short distance of the mines. Any amount of power could be purchased from them, if necessary; however, it would be cheaper and best for the company to continue to develop its own power and maintain the water rights owned by them.

MACHINERY.

The machinery consists of an eight-drill compressor of Sullivan Machinery Co. make, and a three-drill compressor of Ingersol-Rand make. Both are belted to the line shaft driven by water-power, but only the larger compressor is used. A small geared hoist of 10 h.p. at the mine does all hoisting from the shaft; this is also operated by compressed air. Other buildings, such as blacksmith shop, boarding and bunk houses, main office, are all complete, and exceptionally equipped, while an assay office, as complete as any work might require, is at hand.

MILL SITE.

A very suitable mill site, devoid of any possible conflict, could be located on the north slope of the low range paralleling the gulch to the west. The distance from the shaft is probably 1¼ miles, while the elevation is some 300ft. higher than the shaft. There is good water within easy reach, while rock and sand for any masonry is at hand. The site has a gentle slope of 13deg. A wagon road branch of 1 mile in length from present gulch road could be easily and cheaply constructed.

REQUIREMENTS.

A summary of the requirements for equipping the property for milling is as follows:—

POWER.

The placing of a pipe line in the trench from Middle Fork to the present penstock, blue print and data concerning same has already been prepared. The laying of a pipe line from this point down to the present compressor house, thereby obtaining a fall of 410ft. The installing of another Pelton wheel to utilise this water to drive a generator. This generator to supply power for mill and tramline, etc. The present power plant to be continued for mine service solely.

TRAMWAY.

The erection of an aerial tramline from shaft to mill site, with ore bin at each terminal. As horse-power as above developed will be very cheap, there will be no particular extra expense attached to such transportation.

MILL.

The construction of a 50-ton cyanide process plant.

WATER LINE.

The placing of a 4in. line (light pipe) from the springs near mill site to the mill.

WAGON ROAD.

A wagon road to be built from a point of present gulch road to mill site. This will be simple pick and shovel work.

HOIST.

At the mine a larger hoist either driven by electric power or compressed air should be installed, and the shaft equipped with guides and cage equipment.

PUMPING.

As the mine will probably make more water as work is extended, and the present installation is already inadequate, a new plant will have to be placed. A standard station pump operated either by electric power or compressed air will be required. The present No. 6 Cameron can be used for as an auxiliary when sinking.

MINING.

At the mine a small station should be cut from the shaft, say 80ft. above No. 1 level, and a drift driven westward. Both headings in No. 2 level should be extended on ore streak. The shaft should be sunk another 100ft., and a crosscut drove to intersect the ore zone.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

In light of the tonnage already exposed—viz., 14,138 tons, or sufficient to operate a 50-ton mill ten months, along with the very excellent gross value delivered on the surface of $148,612.00, my recommendations are that the above list of requirements be carried out, and a cyanide mill of 50 tons daily capacity be erected.

As this year has advanced too far to permit of mill construction, due to heavy snows and prohibitive conditions, my recommendation would be to carry out the mine development as stated, and have all machinery ordered and shipped to Law's, Calif., to have same near at hand in order to take advantage of the earliest spring weather to begin construction. As the country as well as the

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mine is in an isolated section, it behoves to have everything well on the ground before construction begins, so that there may be no delay in rushing work to completion when once under way.

In conclusion, I beg to sincerely thank your manager, Mr. Paul Lodge, and your superintendent, Mr. J. S. Chapman, for the kindness and courtesy extended me during my examination.

I have the honor to be,

Very truly yours,

E. W. WALTER.

Mining Engineer and Metallurgist.

October 18th, 1911.,

Silverton, Colo.

In connection with the foregoing report Mr. Traylor, president of the Traylor Engineering Co., of New York, writes as follows:—

New York, November 6, 1911.

Gaylord Wilshire, Prest.,

Dear Sir,

We hand you herewith the report of Mr. E. W. Walter upon your Bishop Creek properties, and under separate cover take pleasure in sending to you the map accompanying the report in question. We also hand you herewith certificate from the Hendrix Cyanide Machinery Co., who conducted the test for you, under our direction, on your ore. By this report of the Hendrix Company you will note that they have made a total extraction of 99 per cent. of the silver, and 97.5 per cent. of the gold, or a total extraction of 97.5 per cent. of the total contents of gold and silver.

We believe this sample represents what you may consider a true average of the run of mine ore as it would be mined at the rate of 50 tons per day. The samples would indicate that Mr. Walter left out of same the samples which show something over 4oz. of gold per ton. Excluding these high assays you will note that Mr. Walter shows an average on level No. 1 of $13.94, and on level No. 2 an average of $7.81. Mr. Walter's report otherwise speaks for itself as regards tonnage and his recommendations for future operations.

In accordance with your instructions, we also enclose you herewith a flow sheet showing the arrangement we would recommend for a 50-ton plant for the exclusive treatment of this ore. The flow sheet will give you accurately the travel of the ore through the proposed mill.

We feel sure that you may fully rely upon all that Mr. Walter has stated in his report as being ultimately conservative, as we can unqualifiedly recommend Mr. Walter as being one of the most capable engineers in this country, a man who thoroughly understands his business, and one who has had a very large and extensive experience in the operation of mines, smelters and mills; and we use him on the most important examination work which we have entrusted to us.

Who Mr. Walter is

We would state for your further information that Mr. Walter was manager for a number of years of the Silverton Smelting and Refining Co., of Silverton, Colo., and was also in charge of a number of mines at that time. He was also General Manager of the Green Mountain Mining and Milling Company, near Silverton, Colo., and was also General Manager of the Giroux Consolidated Mines, Ely, Nevada, and to Mr. Walter is due largely the successful development of the large ore tonnage in the Giroux properties. In addition to these important places, Mr. Walter has been connected with other important mining operations.

We believe firmly that you have a good property, and with additional development we think there will be no difficulty in increasing your ore tonnage very largely.

Yours very truly,

Traylor Engineering and Manufacturing Co.,

S. W. TRAYLOR,

President.

Much More Ore in Sight Now

Mr. Walter says that "the ore streak in No. 2 Level West Drift, due to its undeveloped state, has not been taken into the tonnage figures"; and he also says that it "should open up some very excellent ore."

He was quite right in his prediction, as after he left we kept on work there, and actually have opened up a great quantity of ore running over an oz. ($22) to the ton, the last 35 ft. for the full width of the drift running slightly over this figure, and the last assay of the face averaged $34.

The work was so undeveloped when he was there that Mr. Walter only took into consideration 90 ft. of the No. 2 level in his tonnage, and figured that little at about $7.81 to the ton. If he had counted in "several of the 4 oz. ($82) assays" that he mentions as having intentionally left out for safety he might have made the same average we now get—namely, of $23. Our averages are the result of hundreds of assays with no assay taken above 2 oz. Mr. Walter mentions how closely his assays checked with ours.

The Lower Level (No. 2) is now 350 ft. long, and with fine ore in the face of each drift, with a general average of both faces of $23. If we take the height of ore above the level at 168 ft., as per Mr. Walter's estimate, that will give us 36,740 tons, and taking his average value at $13.30 per ton we have as ore reserves the fine total of $488,944. Adding to this the ore on the dump at $8,000 we have a grand total of **$496,944 Ore in sight** as a very fair probability.

Considering how strong the vein is, and how well the values are maintained, being even better on the second level than on the first, it would hardly be considered rash in counting as absolutely certain as many feet below No. 2 Level as we have above it.

In other words, that in reality we may justifiably say that we have over $1,000,000 of ore practically in sight upon one small spot of one of our 92 claims.

While it is always difficult to make a good guess as to how deep values may go in a mine, I may say that I had a good geologist tell me that if our pay ore did not go down for 2,000 ft., or more, he would be very much astonished.

Every foot we advance on the 290 ft. level means that we develop over 100 tons of ore between that level and the surface.

With an advance of only 2 ft. per day on $23 ore we would therefore add over $4,600 ore reserves per day.

In less than a year's time at this rate we would develop on one end of one drift more than $1,000,000 worth of ore.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

Taft's Pittsburg Speech

Report "Indianapolis News."

"The President's face grew red, his sentences were vigorous, and his breath came in short gasps. The thousand Pittsburghers leaned forward eagerly to see the President in a fighting mood. He hurried to Littleton, who sat at the table with him, and, waving his arms about his head, flail like, he almost screamed:—

"'My friend, brother Littleton, offers what? Does he offer anything but a repeal of this statute, and then an enactment of another statute which is to be subjected to the same construction and put in the form of a federal incorporation? I am in favor of federal incorporation; but that is no reason for repealing this statute. Let us enforce the statute, and then let the parts into which these Trusts that were formed for these illegal purposes go into the federal incorporation act and receive the protection that they are entitled to if they follow the law.

"'There is only one course open to us, gentlemen, and I say that with all the sincerity I can command, either we are going to have individualism and freedom from these combinations that suppress competition, that control prices and that establish a monopoly, or else we are going on to the point where the people will demand that the power which these few men are going to retain in their hands shall not be further exercised by them, but that it shall be transferred to the Government, and then we will have State Socialism.

"'I know I am speaking against the leaning of most of these gentlemen. I cannot help it. The law is on the statute book. I believe it is a just law.

"'The main point is that the law has got to be enforced, and this stifling of competition, this establishing of monopolies, this arrangement to control prices must cease, or we must deliver over to these gentlemen the entire business of the country, or, and then, the final step, turn it over to the Government to fix prices and to fix compensation for every one, and we will have a Socialistic republic.'"

Taft is quite right, it is one thing or the other.

The United States are on the verge of a transition to Socialism, not on account of any great Labor movement, but on account of inability to solve the Trust Problem except by Socialism.

This critical state in America is something that Europe seems quite unable to comprehend.

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Our Timid, Shifty Magazines.

Those that think they get all the thought of the day in the standard magazines are very much mistaken.

No magazine that depends upon advertisers can be free ; it's impossible.

Furthermore, we Americans are really far more conventional in many things and conservative as to new ideas than Europeans, and, therefore, our editors do not dare tell us the truth.

All this is quite clear to the foreigner who is conversant with our periodic literature

In the " International Magazine " of New York, H. K. Moderwell has this to say of the last October American magazines :—

" When you come to evaluate the October grist of magazines," he says, " you have to take a strictly American standard or you will be much discouraged. If you look for keen and closely-knit discussions of a public subject which assume that the readers know basic facts, discussions such as you would find in any half-caste English newspaper or review, you will discover that the American magazine article assumes the reader to have the information of a child.

" If you search for stories or editorials which discuss in a fundamental way the subjects long since opened up by the great theoretic writers—writing such as is abundant on the Continent—you will soon realise that the editorial generally wishes to dogmatise and the story to soothe. The editorial writer accepts one of the two or more common opinions on a current topic and writes down his conclusions in more or less ' trenchant ' jabs. The short story writer—well, you have probably discovered by this time that the story writer who is philosophic and heterodox cannot get published. ' Come, let us reason together,' is not written over our magazines; rather, ' Come, let me show you,' or ' Come, let me flatter you.'

" But this very fact gives the magazines a certain clinical value. It makes them a first-class index to the current popular ideals—those common assumptions which construct the prison of public opinion. Mrs. John Jenkins, in her modest home in Keokuk, observes while reading of the play to be given at the Opera House, ' I think there is enough evil in the world without going to the theatre to see more of it.' And this opinion of hers next month becomes glorified in the editorial policy of the ——— monthly, whose fiction would lead one to believe that nothing happens on earth which doesn't come out right in the end. This fiction does not, of course, prove that muddles are always cleared up, least of all in America, but it certainly indicates that the public would like to think they are.

" Politics is the one great subject that is alive in our magazines, although of course the professedly non-partisan character of most of our monthlies prohibits the direct and persistent discussion contained, say, in the English reviews. Sociology, especially that section of it known as ' social service,' can be handled freely provided the men and women responsible for the evil conditions be treated anonymously. Religion may be dealt with carefully in its phenomenal aspects, such as finances and membership. Economics as such can be discussed not at all. The growing national question of marriage and divorce can be touched only from the accepted conservative standpoint. Education (both the theory and the practice of it), on the other hand, is coming more and more to receive an interested and fearless treatment. Music and arts generally fall by the wayside, equally from a lack of capable writers and of interested readers. Any of these prohibitions, however, can occasionally be broken through by a writer of strong personality.

" With this catalogue in mind you find the October magazines quite below the average standard."

After criticising the magazines in detail, Mr. Moderwell concludes :—

" And so it goes. A great country in the tremors of awakening self-consciousness, a vast system of periodical literature unequalled in magnitude the world over, and for the most part nothing but timid and shifty writing to meet the tremendous demand. We are accustomed to charge it all to the prostitution of the Press and the tightening gag on the magazines. But don't forget Mrs. Jenkins in Keokuk, without whom the magazine system would be much smaller.

" And yet the view is not altogether drab. The small magazine, new, struggling, starving, counter-balancing low circulation with high courage—that is where things are done which are unknown to conventional magazinedom."

All that Mr. Moderwell says is quite true; but, on the other hand, we must remember that while the American magazines do not tell us all they might, and their editorial expressions are flabby, yet they are all a thousand per cent. better than our lying, mercenary, servile daily press, with its colored news.

"T. R." on the Recall

" It is, I believe, an advantage to have fixed in the Court the power to state that a legislative Act is unconstitutional, but only provided that the power is exercised with the greatest wisdom and self-restraint. If the Courts continue to use it with the recklessness that has too often been shown in the past, it is almost inevitable that efforts will be made to amend it. . . . . I do believe that this people must ultimately control its own destinies, and cannot surrender the right of ultimate control to a judge any more than to a legislator or an executive."

Near Socialism in the Cabinet

Secretary Fisher says :—

" In undertaking railroad construction there is ample precedent at Panama, and it must always be borne in mind that as a matter of principle the Government is not thus invading the legitimate domain of private enterprise, but is in effect simply resuming one of its own proper functions. . . . ,

" Indeed, the most important features of our railroad law are squarely based, and depend upon this theory of the relation of railroads to the functions of government. What has happened then, with respect to railroads, is simply that the Government has delegated one of its own functions to private agencies for what, at the time, are believed to be considerations of wise expediency. If, for reasons of equal expediency, the Government decides at any given time or place to resume its true function, it cannot be said to be in any sense invading the field of private enterprise."

Secretary Fisher was confronted in Alaska by banners and badges bearing the legend: " Let us mine our own coal." Fine, but needing to be punctuated as follows : " Let U. S. mine our own coal." We've got the men, we've got the ships, we've got the money, too! And, fortunately, we've got the coal and the consumers. So trot out your pick and shovel, Uncle Sam, and get busy.— " San Diego Sun."

From a Los Angeles Friend

R. R. SNOWDEN
Chemist and Soil Engineer
Los Angeles, Cal., Nov. 4, 1911.

Dear Comrade Wilshire,—Well may you feel proud of the foundation which *you* laid here in the years gone by, as such a sacrifice as you made at the time. I well remember the persecutions that you endured. The seed that you planted has now become a splendid plant budding for the bloom that will give the world universal brotherhood.

We have just won a splendid victory in the primaries, and are confident of a still greater one in the city election on the 5th of next month. Every one of our candidates got securely on the ticket for that election. Our organisation is perfect, and we are working with determination to win. Your correspondent has the honor of being one of the precinct captains—No. 155. The opposition is desperate, but we feel that we can cope with it.

The enclosed circular will show that I have done a work of great service for the citrus fruit-growers, but there is no knowing how long it will take them to discover the fact.

Wishing you all the success,
Very sincerely yours,
R. R. SNOWDEN.

Socialist Mayor in Schenectady, New York

Dr. Lunn, Socialist, was elected mayor of Schenectady, New York—where the General Electric Co. has its works—receiving 6,535 votes, being a plurality of over 2,000 over his closest competitor.

China to Ohio; Canton to Canton

Cablegram.

November 25, 1911.

To Socialist Comrades,
Canton, Ohio, U.S.A.

No, we are not in the market for discarded Manchus—in fact, have just succeeded in kicking out our own. With congratulations and fraternal greetings.—Yours,

SAM YUEN FAT,
Branch Secretary,
Canton, China.

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE NEW YORK & LONDON, FEBRUARY, 1912 Price 2 Cents per Copy

The MacNamara Brothers' Confession

FRANKLY, I think that the fact that the evidence against the McNamaras was so strong that they were compelled to confess is one of the luckiest accidents for the Socialist Party.

I myself had been practically convinced for quite a while of their guilt. That my belief last summer was crystallising to that conclusion was evidenced by my article in the September edition of this Magazine, which I herewith reproduce:—

"Socialists, in the eagerness to defend everyone connected with the labor movement from every possible charge, should not lose their heads in their zeal.

"We may say with confidence that the men charged with blowing up the Los Angeles 'Times' building were men devoting their lives to the cause of labor. However, that declaration does not carry with it the conclusion that it would be impossible under any circumstances for them to have used force to bring round a recalcitrant employer, especially when we consider the merry old scoundrel they were fighting.

"Force has certainly been used at other times by labor in its fights with Capital, and used successfully, too, for that matter. There is no doubt but that the fear of injury to property by strikers, either direct or indirect, has won many a strike. If a strike did not injure an employer why should he ever give in?

"Is it not illogical that, occasionally, some men seeking to force an employer to accede to terms should threaten him with injury? Certainly not, and the only reason why they would not carry the threat into execution would be fear of greater injury to the cause.

"The Los Angeles strikers are only human, and we must not set them upon a pedestal, taking the position that it is absurd and impossible to conceive of their having had anything to do with injuring the 'Times' building. May be they did, more probably they did not.

"On the other hand, we know that Otis and his gang would stoop to anything in order to inculpate them, guilty or not guilty. We even think that it is not an impossible suggestion that Otis had his own building blown up. He would if he thought that would have helped him win. We also know that there is quite a doubt as to whether the building was not accidentally blown up by gas instead of dynamite, and that no one was to blame for the explosion.

"Finally, we know that the men under indictment were illegally kidnapped and taken to California, and that procedure in itself is strong presumptive evidence that the prosecution had no evidence to justify extradition.

"The August number of 'McClure's' has an article on the subject written by Harvey J. O'Higgins that is certainly very convincing that McNamara was more or less conversant with the pursuit of dynamiting, if we accept the abstract facts as given. But we don't accept the 'facts.' We know that 'facts' are not so very difficult of manufacture when the capitalist wishes to get labor on the hip, and they are naturally *convincing* facts, otherwise they would be of no value.

"However, a reading of the article indicates that the trial is going to be no picnic for the defence. Whether the evidence is manufactured or otherwise, it is certainly going to be strong evidence with a jury.

"We must remember that in the Haywood-Moyer case the prosecution relied upon the testimony of one man only, Orchard. The story hung together pretty well upon cross-examination, its great weakness being the lack of corroboration.

"Clarence Darrow really based his defence in his speech to the jury far more upon the plea that the men if guilty had great justification than he did upon the theory of the impossibility of their guilt.

"Now in the McNamara case we must look for a far stronger case than was presented against Haywood. We must remember, too, that, if McManigle has really confessed, he is a man who will carry far more weight than that poor degenerate Harry Orchard.

"The defendants have a hard case to win, and those that sympathise with the aspirations of labor would do well to put their shoulders to the wheel in their aid and Do it Now.

"If guilty they have risked their necks for the sake of the cause of labor, risked them in a foolish reprehensible way, we may say, but nevertheless, they were fighting the fight. We may sympathise with their aim and at the same time denounce their methods—provided they are guilty, which we do not believe—as brutal and cowardly, and as being far more apt to injure than aid their cause.

"If they are innocent, and in the light of the facts so far brought forward we think they are innocent, then we say that their kidnapping and indictment upon manufactured evidence

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goes far to show how perilous is the path of those who dare to stand against the rule of the American dollar.

"But innocent or guilty, we consider that the industrial conditions in America which make the possibility of such a crime as being in the least plausible is a damning indictment of the capitalist system.

"It is to be remembered that the defendants are not members of the Socialist Party, nor are they Socialists. If they were it would be quite impossible for Socialists to conceive of their guilt. Not because they would be better men, but because the whole philosophy of Socialism is opposed to the use of force by individuals against individuals to redress social evils.

"We know that the only remedy of a social wrong is social action. The Los Angeles 'Times' is a typical representative of the present social system, and that the true method of attacking it effectively is by the ballot.

"Let California vote for Socialism; let her establish shorter hours and a minimum wage for printers as for all wage-earners, and there would be no reason for the craziest worker to think of coercing employers by dynamite.

"If the men are guilty then all the more reason for California preventing further outrages by voting for Socialism.

"If the men are not guilty, then in order to prevent a condition which might lead men to crime and dynamite in order to get a living wage California should vote for Socialism.

"Meanwhile, it is up to all true friends of labor to stand shoulder to shoulder and see that the accused have an absolutely fair trial. Let there be No Repetition of the Haymarket."

I say it is lucky we have a confession, for that precludes any futile attempt of misguided Socialists to make fools of us and heroes of the McNamaras, convicted or not convicted, upon the theory that they had suffered an unjust accusation.

As for blaming the McNamaras for not at once confessing guilt, that is absurd. They had used every method to cover their tracks, and naturally thought that proof of their guilt would not be forthcoming. It would have been absolutely inconsistent for them to have confided to Gompers that they were really guilty. A confession to him would have meant the withdrawal of his support, and that practically would have meant a confession to the world. Men trying to save their necks are not likely to confess their deeds in order that another man may escape the possibility of a mortifying position.

What's mortification alive to mortification dead? What?

And all this shriek from Gompers about their having betrayed the labor movement is rot. They were fools enough to risk their necks by committing murder for their cause, and murder was the very worst tactics they could have employed.

In reality their crime was just as much a political one as any assassination of a Russian Czar. There was no thought of personal gain and there was the knowledge of great risk.

We may condemn the crime as much as we like, but the fear that the proving of it upon the McNamaras, after we had been so vociferously declaring the impossibility of their guilt, may give a serious set-back to the party vote should not make us such cowards that we must forthwith join Gompers and denounce the McNamaras as traitors.

They have placed themselves in a dangerous position and us in a foolish one, but they are no more traitors to labour than Lincoln's assassin, Booth, was a traitor to the South.

That they, both the McNamaras and Booth, desperately injured the causes to which they were devoted is obvious, but the word traitor is not the epithet to apply to them if I know anything of the meaning of words.

However, I have no doubt that those who last week could see no possibility of their being anything except spotless angels will henceforth consider them the blackest of devils.

Once more deliver us, oh, God, from our friends. The whole trouble with Socialists is that they judge men by their hearts rather than their heads. And, moreover, they will not allow their own editors to tell them an unwelcome truth without crucifying them. Why, even that very mild editorial of my own which I have just quoted brought me a torrent of abuse such as Gompers and Mitchell are now pouring on the McNamaras.

John Stuart Mill said that the greatest difference between one intellect and another was the ability to judge correctly of evidence. to know when a thing is proved and when it is not. I would suggest that Mill did not place the seat of intellect in the heart.

Socialists are like everyone else, they hire editors to tell them what they want to believe, and they get the goods all right.

I hope that this will be the last of the dynamiting in America, and I further hope that if any more should occur that the event will not be exploited for either votes or yearly subscriptions, anyway not until the evidence is all in.

If anyone thinks that this McNamara confession is going to give a set-back to Socialism I would tell him that he might as well look for the sun to for ever cease shining because of a passing thundercloud.

The growth of Socialism does not depend nearly as much upon good or bad men as it does upon Teddy's good and bad Trusts.

Socialism is the result of the industrial revolution, and dynamite will neither retard its growth nor, on the other hand, accelerate its advent.

The McNamaras were not and are not Socialists, and they used dynamite as a punishment for the individual employer with no thought of changing the present order of society.

The Socialists have always condemned the crime; their sole mistake has been the impossible task in practically pledging the future of Socialism upon proving a guilty man innocent.

Next time they will not be so precipitous.

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Does Socialism mean "Good Government"?

Writing in the "Journal of Political Economy," on "The Rising Tide of Socialism," Professor Robert F. Hoxie finds that the number of Socialists elected to and now holding office in the United States is not less than 435—chiefly as follows: 1 Congressman, 1 State senator, 16 State representatives, 28 mayors, village presidents and township chairmen, 167 aldermen, councillors and village trustees; 62 school officers; 23 city or town clerks and treasurers. The remainder are sheriffs, coroners, supervisors, and so on. These Socialists were elected in 160 municipalities or election districts, scattered in 33 States, Milwaukee being the only large city they have won.

This roster of Socialist officeholders is interesting. Theoretically Socialism is the most ambitious of political programs, involving nothing short of a whole-nation-wide—or world-wide—revolution; but, except a solitary Congressman and 17 members of State legislatures, Socialists so far have been elected only to local offices, and those usually of an administrative rather than legislative nature—elected, that is, not to bring in a brand-new, all-embracing revolutionary program, but to work the lumbering old bourgeois machine in a little honester, more intelligent, kindlier manner perhaps than some Republican or Democrat would work it.

Designing a new world is more fascinating than scrubbing off some small particular dirtspot on the old one—but less practical.

The foregoing is an editorial from the "Saturday Evening Post." The "Post" is pretty straight in its economics of Socialism, but it is evidently considerably off in its knowledge of Socialist politics.

As a matter of fact, the successful Socialist candidates altogether owe their success almost to the ideal of the future co-operative commonwealth stirring the enthusiasm of the voters rather than any desire for local reforms.

If a man wishes to express himself politically as being in favor of Socialism, he can only do so by voting. As he has no chance to vote upon a Referendum "Shall we have Socialism?" he must express his Socialist views by voting the nominee of the Socialist Party. He votes for a Socialist pound-keeper not because he is dissatisfied with the present incumbent pound-keeper, but because that is his only way of voting for Socialism.

I would venture to say that practically none of the Socialist Mayors and Aldermen were elected in towns where the revolt against the local politicians was especially marked.

Certainly if Socialist successes were a revolt against local conditions, it is very strange that we should see such a great Socialist vote in Los Angeles, one of the very few cities in the United States where a Good Government Mayor, and a satisfactory one, was the incumbent. It seems to me that the example of Los Angeles is alone sufficient answer to the editor of the "Post." However, it may be remarked that he wrote before he had heard of the Los Angeles primary results.

Socialism is sweeping over the country like one of the great religious revivals of the days before the war. The following about the Los Angeles election from that admirable little paper, "The Public," by Edmund Norton, is most suggestive:—

"The Good Government organisation is full of Georgean philosophy and principle. Among the Good Government people it is principally intellectual; among the Socialists it is chiefly spiritual and emotional. These two forces are near fusion, and the tremendous meaning will not long remain covered.

The moral and religious enthusiasm of the Socialist movement is the most remarkable phenomenon here. "Not in 30 years," said a prominent District Attorney from an adjoining city, "have I witnessed such truly religious fervour in a political campaign as is here." I can repeat his statement for myself. At the Fiesta Park mass meeting, Sunday before the primary election, there were massed around the square platform in the centre of the field some 6,000 to 10,000 people. On this platform came nine ex-ministers of the Gospel. "Down from God, through the Church, out to the people—as Jesus of Nazareth from the synagogues of the Jews to the multitudes on the shores of the Sea of Galilee," said my companion. Then we listened to an outpouring of Christian ethics, moral and social philosophy, such as I had not heard on the Pacific Coast in 30 years. It was a great religious revival, comparable to nothing that I can think of but the early meetings of the Anti-Poverty Society when Henry George and Doctor McGlynn electrified New York. There was Duncan, Mayor of Butte; and Wilson, Mayor of Berkeley; and Harriman, hoping to be Mayor of Los Angeles; and Cantrell, Irvine, Williams and others.

On the evening before the primary a monster parade, reported to number 21,000, passed through the principal streets of the city. Men, women and children—some of the children trundled in go-carts by their mothers—marched to the music of bands. No disorder, no intemperance. In fact, there is a large contingent of Prohibitionists here who have learned that poverty causes more drunkenness than drunkenness makes poverty.

It is impossible to tell it all.

We are here in the throes of a new French Revolution. It is modernised and Americanised for the twentieth century, with its Girondins and Jacobins in their various clubs; with its new "Insurrection of Women," and snowing the city under with the products of the "pamphleteer." It may yet have its Mirabeau, Danton and Robespierre, while Marat may be somewhere in cellar or garret marking down the names; but up to the present time none of these are clearly seen. The Physiocrats are everywhere; and over the State, instead of the weak and pitiable Louis XVII., we have a strong man who is not afraid of the people."

Socialism, as Bellamy says, is like a stork: it stands equally well on either leg, the economic one or the moral one.

But, while primarily the discussion of Socialism must naturally largely partake of the intellectual or the economic side, I have always maintained that the final phase will be an emotional one; the people will swing to Socialism because they will *feel* that it is right, and that right must prevail.

The first phase will be an appeal to the material nature of man, the second will be to the spiritual nature, and it is that phase upon which we are about to enter upon.

From the standpoint of common sense, the Prohibitionists should welcome high license rather than insisting upon an impossible total prohibition, but any compromise revolts their moral nature, and they stand and fall with their ideal.

From the common-sense point of view of the economists, now that destruction of the Trusts is being recognised to be impossible, the people should compromise and decide to regulate them, as Roosevelt and La Follette are now advising.

But the people have decided that the possession of huge fortunes by the few while the many are in poverty is morally wrong, and they will not, they cannot compromise. Their emotions are now too much aroused, and I venture to say that the switch will be from Destruction to Nationalisation rather than to Regulation.

It is not because Nationalisation will be seen to be better for them economically, but because it will appear to them as the moral course.

There may be a transition period when an attempt will be made to satisfy the people with promises of Regulation, but I doubt if the moral sense of the people will allow such a proposal to appear popular enough to receive the endorsement of our politicians whose ears are to the ground listening to the public pulse.

It is one thing to convince the people that Destruction of the Trust is an impossibility, but it is quite another thing to persuade them to live in the same house with what they have been taught to look upon as the epitome of all that is evil.

What politician would venture to endorse the national regulation of prostitution? Regulating the Trust means the prostitution of mankind to the God of Gold.

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Wilshire's P.O. Entry Again Withdrawn.

Our Post Office is the most useful tool of despotism. It can do the most dishonorable things against the people whom our irresponsible and irremovable President may dislike, and yet the victims can never manage to force him to accept direct responsibility for the acts of his servant the Postmaster-General.

Roosevelt posed as the champion of free speech, and yet, some ten years ago, when my entry was withdrawn by his Postmaster-General, and I appealed, he referred me back for justice to the very man against whom I had appealed.

Taft poses as all that's honorable, and yet I know perfectly well that he will be deaf and blind if I point out to him the dishonor of his Postmaster-General in now withdrawing my entry on a point that he specifically agreed not to raise.

This is the story. It occurred to me last summer that it would be simpler for me to have "Wilshire's Magazine" printed under my own personal supervision in London, during my sojourn there, rather than in New York. Correcting proofs 3,000 miles across the Atlantic has its drawbacks.

However, I knew that any move like that might give an opportunity to the Post Office to strike at me, so I decided to get them committed beforehand.

Congress made a law giving newspaper publishers the low postal rate of one cent per pound, upon the theory that if there were a loss made by the Post Office in the carriage that it was a loss worth while, because the editors were contributing to the education of the people, a value far greater than any possible loss. In other words, that the Press was looked upon as of the nature of a free public school, and it was thought by Congress only fair that part of the expense of the school should fall upon the nation.

It will be remarked that the cent a pound rate was not made in order to benefit the American printer, worthy as he may be, but the American editor. It was a bonus to the teacher, the editor.

There was nothing in the law that called for the printing of a paper in the United States, and considering the motive of the law, there was no reason to think that any such intent could be read into the law.

However, I was taking no chances with our slippery P.O., so I wrote to the Postmaster-General at Washington, stating that I contemplated printing my Magazine in London rather than in New York, and asked if such a move would in any way interfere with my second-class entry in New York provided I kept up my publication office in New York. Of course not, he said. Here is his letter:—

92893

Washington, D C, June 9, 1911.

Sir: In reply to your letter of the 5th instant, you are informed that the place where a periodical is printed does not affect its right to admission to the second-class of mail matter, so long as there is maintained therefor "a known office of publication" (see section 435 of the Postal Laws and Regulations, page 9 of enclosed pamphlet, Form 3,500) within the postal district of the post-office at which admission is desired.

Respectfully,
James J. Britt,
Third Assistant Postmaster General

ENC
CMD-b.

All plain English enough, is it not? The place where you print cuts no figure as long as you "maintain a known office of publication" in New York City, and this I have done.

Well, to make a long story short, the very first number printed in London, the November issue, upon presentation at the New York Office for mailing under the pound rate, was held up until the Postmaster-General could decide whether or no it was a "domestic publication and entitled to the second-class entry."

The gracious privilege was grudgingly allowed me, however, to post under the pound rates, provided I would put up a deposit sufficient to cover the third class, or higher rate, until a final decision was reached.

I am still waiting that decision, and depositing postage at third-class rates, but if my money is not forfeited and my entry withdrawn then my past experience with the P.O. has been no lesson to me.

Business is Business

The last time I was fired out of the Post Office I got back through a printer in New York, who wished to get the job of printing the "Magazine," protesting to Senator Platt about the iniquity of the P.O. driving business from this country into Canada.

This time I suppose some other New York printer wants the job that is now being given out in London, and he is pushing on the P.O.

This number went to press December 11. The March number will be out in due time no matter what the P.O. may decide about my entry.

Regulating the Trust Impossible

It is impossible to regulate the Trust for two reasons.

First, the people are determined to absolutely abolish private monopoly, and are too much aroused to its immorality to allow its continuance, and therefore they will not consent to regulation. It is morally impossible to Regulate the Trust.

Second, it is also economically impossible to regulate the Trust.

The Trust is the outward and visible sign of over-production of capital. This means that we cannot distribute what we can produce, and we cannot distribute because the competitive wage-system restricts the mass of the people to the minimum of subsistence. Over-production of capital foreshadows a great unemployed problem. The Trust is not the cause but the effect of this over-production. The cause is the competitive wage system, and the only method of solving the unemployed question is to substitute the co-operative system for the competitive system.

We cannot have the co-operative system unless we own the tools of production—viz., the Trusts.

Regulation of Trusts will not in the least tend to solve the coming great unemployed problem, and as that problem must be solved if this nation is to live, therefore we must adopt the only means possible to solve it—viz., Nationalise the Trusts.

The Los Angeles Defeat

It could hardly be expected after the confession of the McNamaras just three days before the election in Los Angeles that the raw recruits to the Socialist ranks who voted for Harriman at the primary 30 days previous would not make a precipitous retreat. As for the women, I never counted much on them anyway.

Unfortunately, Harriman was counsel for the McNamaras, and as the trial cut such a great feature in the campaign naturally when the confession came it knocked the vote.

There is no use of complaining that Harriman and the Socialists should have kept the McNamara case out of the election. They could not have done so even if they had wished, and considering the tremendous advertisement it gave them, it was only human nature for them to use the event as a vote-getter.

We must remember that in cases of this kind that men think with their hearts and not their heads. The McNamaras were labor leaders, and

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Otis was the head of the capitalists, and it was but natural that the Socialists took the part of the McNamaras.

There can be no question now but that a great part of the big primary polled for Harriman came as the result of a belief that the McNamaras were victims of a conspiracy, and when the proof of their guilt came the vote faded.

However, it will come back. Once a man votes the Socialist ticket he is a different man than he was ever before, and when Harriman and the rest of our Los Angeles comrades rise from the dust of their defeat there will be formed a Party that the rise and fall of no one individual will ever defeat.

I am glad the confession came before the election. If Harriman had been elected prior thereto the voters would have felt they had been tricked, and having the recall at their hand, would have surely used it to retire him.

For Harriman to get 53,000 to Alexander's 85,000 is really remarkable considering all the circumstances. Those 53,000 are stayers.

The confession was no doubt, however, planned by the prosecution to take place just before the election in order to defeat Harriman. That the brothers should have consented to confess at that critical time shows that they are not particularly affected by Socialist sympathies, notwithstanding the great debt they owe to the Socialists who contributed so much to their able defence.

One thing the affair again proves is, that the way for labor to get its rights is through the ballot, and not through dynamite. This is what Socialists have always preached.

The confession undoubtedly gave Socialism a set-back, but it will be a most ephemeral one. The tide is with us, and no backwash can prevent the onward course of our ship.

The New Education of Children

One of the old traditions that is fast going by the boards is that the present method of teaching children is a good one.

It is generally recognised now that the result of the ordinary free public school course in America is to destroy the child's health, and what is more important his individuality.

The learning the child acquires is a mere nothing; not that the subjects "taught" are not numerous enough, but the method of teaching is so bad.

The December "McClure's" article, from which we quote in another column, upon the Montessori Method which is being introduced in the Italian and Swiss schools is most suggestive. The author will undoubtedly work a revolution in teaching young children.

A Republican Organ on Roosevelt and Taft

From "New York Press"

When we consider the source of the following editorial, it is rather amusing. With both Taft and Roosevelt out of the race, I suppose the "Press" will be reduced to La Follette. But then La Follette is for Regulation, too :—

But Theodore Roosevelt is to blame as much as anybody else, because this way of dealing with the Trusts is a failure. It is a policy begun by Mr. Roosevelt himself. The Tobacco Trust farce is no worse than the Northern Securities farce, and it was Mr. Roosevelt who began the Northern Securities suit. Nobody doubts that the "reorganisation" of Standard Oil is as sickening a fake as the "dissolution" of the Tobacco Trust. And it was Theodore Roosevelt's Attorney General, William H. Moody, who began the proceedings against the Standard Oil Company which resulted in the recent decree, and which will turn out the same way as the Tobacco Trust case.

President Taft simply kept alive the suits started by President Roosevelt. He followed Roosevelt's policy in the new suits. And it is the general policy begun by Roosevelt and followed by Taft that is wrong. Nothing but failure could come out of pursuing the joint policy of Roosevelt and Taft toward the Trusts.

Because President Roosevelt did not deal with trade conspiracies as crimes and send the law-breakers to gaol, his attack on the Trusts was just as much a failure as President Taft's is a failure for the same reason.

There is some ground for the opinion that to-day Mr. Taft's predecessor is no more Progressive than himself. Mr. Roosevelt boldly proclaims belief in the Socialistic program to the extent of Government control of prices of monopolised products. He offers no other remedy as a substitute for the nostrums administered by himself and his successor. And in proposing Government control of prices he adopts a program favored not only by the Socialists but by the monopolists too. Possibly this is what the American people want. Perhaps they have abandoned hope of restoring competition.

Maybe the American public has turned reactionary, and will follow Mr. Roosevelt now just as devotedly as it followed him when he posed as a Progressive. But if the American people turn back to Roosevelt they can hardly accept him as a Progressive when he is nearer a Socialist than a champion of free competition. On his record as President there is even less hope of smashing the Trusts with Roosevelt again in the White House than there is from President Taft. Yet it may be, as we have said, that Mr. Roosevelt is right in thinking that the American people no longer want to smash the Trusts, and that in bravely proclaiming a belief which he has hitherto expressed in deeds and belied only in words, he once more seeks to justify his claim to the title of ablest politician of his time.

HARD JOB TO KEEP HIM ON.—Hamilton in "Judge."

I might say that the "Press" is quite wrong when it thinks that the Socialists wish the Trusts regulated. They know that regulation is as great buncombe as is destruction.

It is now up to the "Press" to develop a Republican candidate of its own, with a program that will suit the people. I challenge it.

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The Montessori Schools in Rome

The Revolutionary Educational Work of Maria Montessori as Carried Out in Her Own Schools

By JOSEPHINE TOZIER

(An excerpt from "McClure's Magazine" for December.)

[Four years ago, Maria Montessori, an Italian physician and educator, opened the first "House of Childhood" (Casa dei Bambini) in Rome, and began to apply her revolutionary methods of education to the teaching of little children. Her work has set on foot a new educational movement that is not only transforming the schools of Italy, but is making rapid progress in other countries. In June, 1911, Switzerland passed a law establishing the Montessori system in all its public schools. Two model schools were opened in Paris this September, one of them under the direction of the daughter of the French Minister to Italy, who has studied with Montessori in Rome. Preparations are being made to establish Montessori schools this year in England, India, China, Mexico, Corea, Argentine Republic, and Honolulu. In the United States schools have already been started in New York and Boston, and Montessori has received applications from teachers in nearly every State in the Union who wish to study with her in order to apply her methods. To meet the demand for instruction, Montessori will open a training class in Rome this winter for teachers from England and America.]—NOTE BY MCCLURE'S.

THE Montessori system of education (a previous article describing the Montessori system of education appeared in "McClure's" for May, 1911) is more than a mere method of teaching young children: it is a branch of applied modern science—directed toward the development of a new race of men. "The external world," says Madame Montessori, "transformed by the tremendous development of experimental science in the last century, must have as its master a transformed man. If the progress of the human individual does not keep pace with the progress of science, civilisation will find itself checked."

Madame Montessori, who is an anthropologist of European reputation as well as a teacher, has adopted the inductive methods of experimental science to insure the development of the individual, under freedom, to his highest capacity.

"The conception of freedom which must inspire pedagogy," she says, "is that which the biological sciences of the nineteenth century have shown us in their methods of studying life. The old-time pedagogy was incompetent and vague, because it did not understand the principles of studying the pupil before educating him, and of leaving him free for spontaneous manifestations. Such an attitude has been rendered possible and practical only through the contribution of the experimental sciences of the last century."

The methods of this new system of pedagogy are exactly the same as are adopted by all modern investigators in the field of biology.

In the first place, Madame Montessori tries to give the child an environment that liberates his personality; she places him in an atmosphere where there are no restraints, where there is no opposition, nothing to make him perverse or self-conscious, or to put him on the defensive. His personality is thus liberated into free action, and the thing he is expresses itself.

Secondly, by her system of sense training she develops in the child a sense of his relation to his material surroundings and a facility in accommodating himself to them. As a result of the sense training, he learns to manage his body deftly, to walk without stumbling, to carry without dropping, to touch objects delicately and surely—in short, to move among the material things that surround him, whatever they may be, with ease and freedom, and with the least possible fret and wear to his spirit and to his body. Every element of embarrassment and self-consciousness is overcome, and he inevitably prefers harmonious action to the discord by which the untrained and awkward child so often tries to hide his inadeptness.

Thirdly, Madame Montessori tries, through her sense education, to reach and to stimulate the intellect itself. Through the child's interest in the materials with which he works, she leads him to purely intellectual concepts of form and the relation of numbers.

Madame Montessori starts all her system of primary training from the premise of independence and self-reliance which underlies the modern practice of infant hygiene—a comparatively new branch of medical science which, she says, has sprung out of the experimental methods of modern biology. A new-born baby is no longer allowed to be wrapped in folds of woollen or cotton cloth, to be shaken or patted into sleep, to be talked to and constantly handled. Its clothing is arranged to give its body as much freedom as possible. It is kept free from excitement, and is no longer made the plaything of its parents. The nurse has now become an observer rather than an arbitrary personage imposing her authority upon a helpless charge. The nurse's first duty is to watch the little animal grow; her second duty is to prevent the expenditure of energy by useless effort on the part of the child.

And these, Madame Montessori believes, are the first duties of the teachers of young children. The whole movement of society to-day is toward the protection of a child's individuality. Formerly, in hospitals, orphan asylums, and children's homes, the effort was to protect the child's life merely—to prevent infant mortality and to conserve so many living human organisms to society. But society is beginning to realise that it may have succeeded in preserving the living human organism and still have lost something that might have been infinitely valuable to the world. In other words, we have begun to give protection to the potential individual which is in every child's body—to keep it away from those things that would distort and destroy it, or force it into any given mould. We are trying to insure this individuality a chance to reveal itself, rare or commonplace, whatever it may be.

The protection of this individuality, then, is the foremost duty of the nurse in the first instance, and of the teacher in the second.

The most thoughtful modern teachers in America will find in the Montessori system all their best ideas reduced to scientific simplicity and precision. Dr. Montessori's chapter on discipline, one of the most important in her book, may be given briefly as follows:—

"Discipline through liberty. Here is a principle difficult for the followers of the common-school methods to understand. How shall one attain discipline in a class of free children? Certainly, in our system, we have a different conception of what discipline is. If the discipline be founded upon liberty, it (the discipline) must be *active*. We do not call an individual disciplined only when he is rendered artificially silent as a mute and immovable as a paralytic. Such an individual is *annihilated* not *disciplined*.

"We call an individual disciplined when he is master of himself, and can, therefore, regulate his own conduct when it shall be necessary to follow some rule of life.

"Such a concept of *active discipline* is not easy either to comprehend or to attain; but certainly it contains a great educational principle, and is very different from the absolute coercion to immobility.

"A special technique is necessary to the teacher if she is to lead the child along such a road of discipline, if she is to make it possible for him to continue in this way all his life, advancing always toward perfect self-mastery. Since the child now learns to move rather than to sit still, he prepares himself, not for the school, but for life; for he becomes able, through habit and through practice, to perform easily and correctly the simple acts of social or community life. The discipline to which the child habituates himself here is, in its character, not limited to the school environment, but extends to society.

"The liberty of the pupil must have as its *limit* the collective interests; as its *form*, that education of acts and manners universally considered good breeding. We must, then, check in the child whatever offends or annoys others, or whatever tends toward coarse or ill-bred behavior. But all the rest—every manifestation having a useful scope, whatever it be and in whatever form expressed—must not only be permitted, but must be *observed* by the teacher. Here lies the essential point. From her preparation the teacher should bring not only the ability to observe natural phenomena, but an interest in doing so. She, in our system, must be a *paziente* (patient one), passive much more than active; and her patience shall be composed of scientific curiosity, and of absolute *respect* toward the phenomenon that she wishes to observe. The teacher must understand and feel her position of observer; the activity must lie in the phenomenon.

"Such principles surely have a place in schools for little children who are exhibiting the first spiritual and mental manifestations of their lives. We cannot know the consequences of suffocating a *spontaneous action* when the child

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is just beginning to act; perhaps we suffocate life itself. We must respect religiously, reverently, these first indications of individuality; asd, if any educational act is to be efficacious, it will be only that which tends to help toward the complete unfolding of the inner life of the child. To be thus helpful, it is necessary rigorously to avoid the *arrest of spontaneous movements* and the imposition of *purely arbitrary tasks*. It is, of course, understood that here we do not refer to useless or dangerous actions, for these must be suffocated—destroyed.

"The training of teachers not prepared for scientific observation, or perhaps trained in the old imperialistic methods of the public schools, has convinced me of the great distance between those methods and this. Even an intelligent teacher who understands the principle finds much difficulty in putting it into practice. She cannot understand that her task is apparently *passive*, like that of the astronomer who sits immovable before the telescope while the worlds whirl through space. This idea that life *acts of itself*, and that to study it, to divine its secrets, or to direct its activity, it is necessary to observe it, and to come to know it without intervening, is very difficult to grasp. The teacher has too thoroughly learned to be the one free activity of the school, for too long it has been virtually her duty to suffocate the activity of the pupils. If, in her first days in a Casa dei Bambini, she does not obtain order and silence, she looks about abashed, as if calling the bystanders to witness her innocence; in vain we repeat to her that the disorder of the first moment is necessary. When she is obliged to do nothing but *watch*, she asks if she had not better resign, since she is no longer a teacher. But when she begins to find it her duty to discern which acts of the child she ought to hinder and which she ought to observe, then the teacher of the old school feels a great lack in herself, and begins to ask if she will not be quite inadequate to her task. In fact, she who is unprepared finds herself for a long time abashed or impotent, while the broader the scientific culture and the practice in experimentation of a teacher, the sooner will come for her the marvel of unfolding life and her interest in it.

"In those first days of training my teachers, I saw the dangers of blind intervention in the children's activities. These teachers almost involuntarily recalled the children to immobility, without *observing* and *distinguishing* the nature of the movements that they repressed. There was, for example, a little girl who gathered her companions about her, and then, in the midst of them, began to talk and gesticulate. The teacher at once ran to her, took hold of her arms, and told her to be still; but I, observing the child, saw that she was playing at being teacher or mother to the others, and was teaching them the morning prayer, the invocation to the saints, and the sign of the cross; she already showed herself as a *director*. Another child, who continually made disorganised and misdirected movements, and who was considered abnormal, one day, with an expression of intense attention, set about moving the tables. Instantly they were upon him to make him stand still because he made too much noise. Yet this was one of the *first manifestations*, in this child, of *movements* that were *co-ordinated* and *directed toward a useful end*, and it was therefore an action that should have been respected. In fact, after this the child began to be quiet and happy like the others whenever he had any small objects to move about and to arrange upon his desk.

"It often happened that, while the directress replaced in the boxes various materials that had been used, a child would draw near, picking up the objects, with the evident desire of imitating the teacher. The first impulse was to send the child back to her place, with the remark, 'Let it alone; go to your seat.' Yet the child expressed by this act a desire to be useful."

Madame Montessori here gives an illustration of a little girl of two and a-half who, finding that she could not see either under the legs or over the heads of the other children, who were crowded about a basin of floating toys, stood for a moment in deep thought; then, with her face alight with interest, ran toward a little chair, with the evident intention of placing it so that she might see over the heads of her friends. Just at this moment she was spied by a young teacher, who, before Montessori could prevent, seized the baby, and, lifting her up so that she could see above the heads of the others, cried: "Come, dear, come, poor little one, you shall see, too." Montessori says:—

"Certainly the child, seeing the toys, experienced no such joy as that she felt in overcoming the obstacle with her own powers. The teacher prevented the child from educating itself without bringing to it any compensating good. She had been about to feel herself a victor, and instead she found herself held fast in two imprisoning arms, an impotent.

The habits of order, the interest, and the sense of the importance of the work in hand, which is always found in the Montessori classes, is illustrated here by the following circumstance. On a day of great excitement, when Queen Margherita visited one of the schools, she asked a little girl, who was engaged in putting in order a box of cut-out letters, to spell some words for her. The child made no reply, but went on calmly dropping each letter into its own compartment. An older person, standing near, horrified at the child's indifference, exclaimed:—

"But, Rosa, you must pay attention! This is the Queen!"

"I know that," the child answered respectfully. "But the Queen knows that, before I begin to spell, I must first finish my work of putting the alphabet in order."

In her January article in "McClure's" Miss Tozier will describe in detail the Montessori educational apparatus, and will show what is accomplished with each toy. Arrangements have been completed for the manufacture and sale of this apparatus by the House of Childhood, 606 Flatiron Building, New York City, under the management of Mr. Carl Byoir. The manufacturers of the apparatus hope to place the material within the reach of parents and educators by the first of January. Dr. Montessori's representative in this country will collaborate in the preparation of a book of instructions and suggestions which will be sold with each set of the apparatus.

"Collier's Weekly" on the P.O.

"Importance, if nothing else, is attributed by Frank Hitchcock to his own position. Congress exists. He has it on his hands. But he can outwit it, unless the courts interfere, or unless Congress becomes even more explicit. After the House of Representatives last winter refused to be used as a club to punish muckraking, by raising second-class rates without any expert investigation of costs, Frank conceived the device of accomplishing his end by the extension of his own powers.

"Socrates: When Congress created four classes of mail, did it not intend to have the various components of any one class treated alike?

"Frank: I don't know what it intended.

"Socrates: Do you conceive that if you chose to send postcards by slow freight you would be justified in taking that step?

"Frank: I do.

"Socrates: Why would you object to an investigation of costs by expert accountants?

"Frank: You don't understand politics.

"Socrates: May I quote again, even if it produce anachronism, 'arithmetic is the mother of the sciences and the basis of safety?'

"Frank: You may quote anything you like.

"Hitchcock's exceptions are diverting beyond measure. 'The Review of Reviews,' to which time is important, as it handles news, is not excepted, but 'The American Brewer,' 'Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular,' and 'The Brewers' Journal' are excepted. We have the greatest respect for 'The Invited Guest,' but are not sure that it, 'The Evening Sky Map,' 'Olive Trees,' 'The Soda Fountain,' and 'Toilettes' need this special exception any more than it is needed by 'The World's Work.' Hitchcock's list is a joke. He has not come to the weeklies yet, but when he does we imagine that 'The Outlook' and 'The Literary Digest,' which need to keep up as far as possible to the hour, will be delivered five days later on the Pacific Coast, while 'Pick-Me-Up,' 'Welcome,' and 'The Household Realm' will be delivered promptly on time. If the head of the Post Office Department were a business man and not a politician, he would encourage Congress to appoint a joint committee with powers to look into this vast business organisation in the same way that a big modern private business proceeds when it wishes to discover how it can reduce costs or increase efficiency."

Note.—When the P.O. was persecuting "Wilshire's," "Collier's" joined in the pack.—G. W.

It's Up to You, Mr. President

"The Commoner"

Well, it is up to you now, Mr. President. You have been challenging Mr. Bryan to name a case that cannot be prosecuted just as well under the new construction as under the anti-Trust law as formerly construed. Mr. Bryan has named five cases, the Standard Oil Case, the Tobacco Case, the Steel Trust Case, the Traffic Case, and the Merger Case. You would not discuss these; but we now have a case in which you must act

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upon. The packers asked for a writ of habeas corpus, on the ground that a law which prohibits only unreasonable restraint of trade cannot be enforced criminally, because no one can tell what a Court or jury would declare to be unreasonable. The packers say :—

"The alleged criminality of the alleged transactions complained of in the indictments will depend entirely upon a particular jury's view of the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the particular case; it will depend not on any standard erected by the law which may be known in advance, but on one that may be created by the whim, prejudice or arbitrary views of a jury.

"There is no set standard fixed or attempted to be fixed to guide the citizen to a knowledge of his guilt or innocence of an offence charged before it has been adjudicated.

"The Act violates the fifth amendment to the constitution of the United States, which requires that petitioners severally shall be informed of the nature and cause of the accusations."

The Supreme Court has already held substantially as the packers claim, and Justice Harlan and the Judiciary Committee of the Senate took the same position in opposing the insertion of the word unreasonable in the law. You have contended, Mr. President, that the law was improved by the insertion of the word unreasonable; now that the matter will sooner or later get before the Supreme Court on this point we shall see what the law is worth as a criminal statute. The only trouble is that the final decision may not be rendered until after the next election. Can you hurry this case up and get a decision at once? Push the prosecution and let us know whether a man can be punished for doing an unreasonable thing with criminal intent when there is no definition of unreasonableness.

Down with the Manchus

Arthur Diosy in the "Contemporary Review"

The war-cry of the Revolutionaries is "Down with the Manchu!" but it would be an error to suppose that racial hatred alone inspires them; although it burns fiercely in the hearts of many of the rank and file, it has no place in the minds of the leaders, who are ready to admit the Manchu to his full share of citizenship in the New China they are striving to create. It is his privileged position they are determined to abolish; the annual dole of rice to which he is entitled, as a descendant of the conquerors, may be but a paltry item in the national budget, the fact that he performs no real service to the State in return for it rankles in the hearts of the Chinese people, amongst whom the Manchus have been so long quartered as an alien garrison but a garrison that has lost its efficiency retaining only the outward forms of mediæval military conditions. . . . . It is the system to which the Manchu dynasty has, in course of time, become inseparably wedded that must go if China is ever to breathe freely. Of this the revolutionaries are convinced; moreover, they firmly believe that the system cannot go unless the Manchu dynasty goes with it.

It is the firm resolve of the revolutionaries to establish the United States of China, a conception of the fertile brain of the Mazzini of China, Sun Yat Sen. . . . . The revolutionaries, influenced, no doubt, by the numbers amongst them who have studied in America, have taken the Constitution of the United States as their model, with this important exception, that their sound common sense has made them determined to avoid the glaring defects in that antiquated, inelastic charter.

The McNamara Confession

"Justice," London

It is very generally assumed and stated that the confession of the brothers MacNamara to having committed the outrage at Los Angeles, and their condemnation therefore, must inflict a terrible blow upon the Socialist Party, and the organised working-class generally, of the United States. Why this should be we are at a loss to understand. The MacNamaras were in no wise connected with the Socialist Party, and although they were trade union officials the working-class organisations generally, as well as the Socialist Party, who took up their defence only did so on the assumption that they were innocent. That their confession of guilt should cast any reflection upon those whose sole aim was to prevent innocent men being made the victims of a travesty of justice, of venal judges, suborned witnesses, and a corrupt jury is inconceivable. Had the organisations which were supporting these men acknowledged their guilt, and been seeking to secure their acquittal on purely technical grounds, it would have been another matter. As it is, we cannot see that any reflection whatever is cast upon them; except, may be, for a too simple faith in the innocence of the criminals. For ourselves, with only such means of forming a judgment as were afforded by the newspapers, we were by no means so assured of the innocence of the MacNamaras as our American comrades appeared to be. We maintained, however, that they were entitled to a fair trial and to the presumption of their innocence until they had been proved guilty. To their confession we attach little importance.

To Labor

Shall you complain who feed the world?
Who clothe the world?
Who house the world?
Shall you complain who are the world,
Of what the world may do?
As from this hour
You use your power,
The world must follow you.
The world's life hangs on your right hand,
Your strong right hand,
Your skilled right hand;
You hold the whole world in your hand—
See to it what you do!
Or dark or light,
Or wrong or right,
The world is made by you!
Then rise as you ne'er rose before,
Nor hoped before,
Nor dared before,
And show as ne'er was shown before,
The power that lies in you!
Stand all as one
Till right is done!
Believe and dare and do!

—Charlotte Perkins Gilman, in the New York "Evening Mail."

Settle this Problem Rightly

"La Follette's Magazine"

"Government-owned railroads and Government-leased coal lands is the only solution of the coal problem in Alaska. That is the substance of a splendid article in 'Collier's' for October 7, by Frederick H. Chase. Says Mr. Chase :—

"'The railroad and coal questions in Alaska of necessity become as one. It is so to-day in the United States proper, and always has been.'

"Mr. Chase begins his article with an excellent summary of the ownership and operation of railways throughout the world, showing that—

"'Government ownership of railroads is operated in four-fifths of the nations of the world. Forty-six out of fifty of the great Powers are committed to it, to a greater or less extent. Of the fifty countries above referred to, thirty-two own and operate nearly the entire railroad mileage.'

"Coming nearer home, he points out that—

"'Our Government owns and operates the Panama Railroad and operates it well. It also built and it operates the Alaskan telegraph lines, which, when divested of military red tape, at once became a successful Government-owned public utility. We are building the Panama Canal to benefit the world at large, and yet hesitate to build a railroad in Alaska to prevent our reserve coal supply from going forever into the hands of a group of greedy capitalists.'

"Government railroads in Alaska, coupled with the leasing of the coal lands, Mr. Chase concludes, will accomplish the following results :—

"First: Solve the perplexities of the coal question with finality;

"Second: Insure reasonable freight rates, with a corresponding development and productiveness of immense areas of low-grade deposits;

"Third: There will be thousands of individual miners and operators, instead of one company or group of capitalists who do not even live in Alaska, in control;

"Fourth: Conserve the coal to the nation as a whole.

"Fifth: Furnish plenty of cheap fuel as an inducement to the establishment of permanent homes.

"This program is embodied in a resolution now before Congress. It was submitted during the closing days of the last session by Senator La Follette. The problem in Alaska will never be settled until it is settled rightly. Congress has an opportunity to dispose of it now and for all time by adopting a constructive program for the development of Alaska's resources that will absolutely prevent those resources from falling either into the possession of private monopoly or under the domination of private monopoly through its control of transportation. By preventing monopolistic control at the outset Congress will spare the country from the travail of settling at a future time a 'trust problem' in Alaska. Our own experience in Pennsylvania affords a striking object-lession. Congress should not let it pass unheeded."

There seem to have been touching scenes at the election of Senator Stephenson.—"Boston Transcript."

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

Vol. XVI No. III NEW YORK & LONDON, MARCH, 1912 Price 2 Cents per Copy

The Socialist Victory in Germany

IN 1907, when the Socialists went back from 81 to 43 votes in the German Reichstag, notwithstanding having polled a largely-increased popular vote, there was a shout all over America that Socialism was dead. The Press declared that the result could bear no other interpretation.

In the present election, when instead of emerging with 43 votes the Socialists have become the largest party in the Reichstag with 110 votes, and their popular vote shows a gain of 979,899 and a total of 4,238,919, the Press still parrots that Socialism itself is really dead, but that the Germans merely vote the Socialist ticket in order to express their admiration of the American system of democracy as opposed to the Kaiser system.

It is said that if those voters were living here in God's Own Country that they would be all good Republicans or good Democrats, and never, never Socialists; at any rate, not the kind of Socialists who vote for the present "miscalled" Socialist Party, as Roosevelt calls it.

The "Outlook" claims that German Socialism is merely a sublimated Roosevelt policy, and it quotes with approval some of the "immediate demands" of the German Social-Democratic Party platform, inferring that these planks are their fundamentals. As a matter of fact, the German Social-Democratic platform is practically identical with that of the American Socialist Party platform. The two parties are at one in their aim—the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The fundamental literature of the two parties is the same, and both send their delegates to the same International Socialist Congresses.

If Roosevelt thinks that his Progressives are merely "good and sane" Socialists like the German Socialists, I would suggest that he try and send delegates of the Progressive Party to the next International Socialist Congress.

Of course, there are certain demands of the German Socialists, like that for universal suffrage and shortening the hours of labor, etc., which all progressive parties everywhere agree upon, but to say that such an agreement means that the German Socialists are merely Progressives is absurd.

As a matter of fact, the National Liberal Party, but more particularly the Radical Party, in Germany embrace what in this country we would call the Progressives, and they are the very parties which, in this election, have suffered most.

History will repeat itself in this country. The Roosevelts, the Woodrow Wilsons, and the La Follettes may possibly build up a Progressive Party out of the ruins of the present Republican and Democratic Parties, but they will do so merely to feed the future Socialist Party, which is bound to swallow all such Radical parties just as the German Socialist Party is swallowing the German Radicals.

There is no room in this country for any length of time for three parties. There will be one party which says the wealth of the country shall be owned by the workers, and one party which will try and keep it in the hands of the capitalits. The days are numbered for a Progressive Party which can successfully straddle the problem by making the workers think they are getting the wealth and at the same time make the capitalists think they are keeping it. That day passed when Bryan failed to show us that Free Silver would perform that miracle.

Bryan was far more plausible and convincing with "silver" than La Follette can ever be with "regulation." Free Silver at least pretended that wages would be raised somehow, but "regulation" merely promises us a dull future of a curbed Trust with certain profits which now go to steel, oil, and sugar being diverted to the smaller merchants and manufacturers.

Under the competitive wage system the whole of the product except the necessary living expenses of the workers must go to the capitalist class. To-day the Trusts are getting a larger share of the swag than the smaller capitalists think is their due, and they have chartered La Follette as pilot to help them "regulate" the stream more their way. They might as well try and divert the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico.

No doubt they will get a considerable number who are disgusted with the old parties to help them pull their chestnuts from the fire, but they cannot expect the working class to be for ever burning its fingers for the sake of the other classes.

Although the German Socialists have increased their seats held in the Reichstag, nevertheless they lost a dozen seats. It is significant that all these seats were held by the so-called "one step at a time" Opportunist Socialists—Roosevelt Socialists.

The German Party is fundamentally a revolutionary Socialist Party, as is the American Party, and yet neither is so foolish as not to take any half loaves that may be picked up on the way to the final goal provided the picking means no delay.

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Roosevelt on Suffrage

That woman suffrage will soon reach the importance of as live a political issue in America as it is now in England seems inevitable. If more evidence is wanted, the fact that Roosevelt has broken forth upon it in the "Outlook" is sufficient. Teddy always has his ear close to the ground, and when he barks you may be sure that some issue is approaching camp.

The following is quoted by the New York Correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" of London, with the remark that "all this is a repetition of the usual Rooseveltian platitudes, but the public here likes to read the ex-President's homilies, and an amazing number of Americans continue to consider them direct messages from on high."

I think it would be well to let women themselves, and only women, vote at some special election as to whether they do or do not wish the vote as a permanent possession; in other words, this is peculiarly a case for a referendum to those most directly affected—that is, the women themselves.

In our Western States, where the suffrage has been given to women, I am unable to see that any great difference has been caused as compared with neighbouring States of similar social and industrial conditions where women have not the suffrage. There has been no very marked change in general political conditions, nor in the social and industrial position of woman yet; what slight changes have occurred have been for the better, and not for the worse. Men and women alike must withstand the wicked folly which places the gratification of mean tastes and ambitions and the thirst for vapid excitement above the high happiness which can come only from a life of worthy effort spent with full and glad performance of duty as its first object.

The vice and folly of men and women which lead to the divorce court or take shape in the curse of voluntary sterility are fundamental evils of prime capital importance. The ruin of motherhood and childhood by the merciless exploitation of the labour of women and children is a crime of capital importance. Any tendency to permit a man to shirk his duty as the breadwinner, as the keeper of a household who owes his best effort to his wife and children, is an evil of capital importance.

Roosevelt, in the foregoing, while seemingly pretty well on the fence as to woman suffrage, is obviously against it to anyone who reads the least between the lines.

In the first place, there is no chance on earth of any practical method ever being evolved of taking a referendum vote of American women on the suffrage. If women waited for that event they would never get the vote, and Teddy knows it.

Secondly, it is illogical to ask women to declare, or men either for that matter, whether they should have a right to a say. The very fact that you ask them is your confession that they have the right quite irrespective of what their answer may be. If you should take a referendum of the women on a matter of such prime human import as woman suffrage, why not take their referendum upon such trivial matters as the question as to whether Teddy or Taft shall be our next President?

Thirdly, Teddy knows, as does everyone else, that with the present state of woman's opinion on suffrage, particularly in the South, that a vote of the women themselves would be most probably adverse to woman suffrage. But why should a majority, merely because it is a majority, have the right not only to enslave itself but the minority as well?

He says that woman suffrage has had slight effect in the West, where it has been tried out, although he admits that whatever effect there has been is good.

If we took results as a guide regarding manhood suffrage, then I fear that the men of New York and Chicago would not be able to show why they should retain their right to vote. It is not because men and women can run a State better when they are possessed of the ballot than when not that the suffrage is given, but it is because all men and women are units of the body politic, and unless we all have a medium of expressing what each of us wishes not only does the individual suffer, but the body as well. Suppose your finger was being crushed, and there was no nerve connecting the finger with the brain to let it know that it was suffering, not only would the finger be disabled, but the body also to the extent that a finger is useful to it. Suffrage is a nerve for the State, and if it does not work properly so much the worse for the State as well as for the unit not having a voice. Take away the nerves altogether from a man and you have a paralytic, no use to himself nor his members.

What "withstanding the thirst for vapid excitement" has to do with suffrage I don't know, unless Teddy thinks that the women thirst for the mere excitement of voting. True enough for most men voting, like art, is an end in itself; but even so, why deny women their share of the fun?

Nor do I see why Teddy considers that suffrage for women would make divorce or voluntary sterility any more of a dilemma for "men and women" than at present—not for men, anyway.

As for the "ruin of motherhood and childhood," if he had called it a crime of capitalism as well as of capital importance he would have shot nearer the mark, and he would have also indicated how women by voting against capitalism might help abolish the crime.

And why does Teddy talk about "permitting a man to shirk his duty as breadwinner"? Does he mean to infer that women are going to vote all men into the leisure class? If not, then what does he mean, anyway? Poor platitudinarian politician!

Try again, Ted.

In Competitionville

"Saturday Evening Post"

You live, perhaps, in a good, typical American country town. Passengers alighting at the railroad station are met by two or three dilapidated, dirty and uncomfortable hacks, any one of which will haul them to a hotel for a dime. Discriminating passengers would prefer to pay fifteen cents and ride in a clean, swift motor 'bus. There is business enough to support one such vehicle; but, if Hackman A bought a motor 'bus and made ever so little profit, Hackman B would at once set up a competing 'bus, insuring a loss to both. So passengers ride in a lurching, unclean hack.

Inquiring as to a hotel, the passenger learns there are two or three, all considerably run down at the heel and barely making a living. One really good hotel, getting all the business, would prosper. Three competing hotels give the traveller little pleasure and the proprietors no profit. The passenger learns there are four dry-goods stores; but the wives of the local merchants, lawyers, and doctors do most of their shopping in a bigger place, fifty miles away. Their own town might support one store as good as that which they patronise at a distance; but, of course, it cannot have such a store if the local trade is divided by four. There are thirty or forty or fifty automobiles in town and as many more in the surrounding country; but for certain repairs and supplies the owners go to the bigger place, because there are two or three competing public garages and no one of them can afford to lay in a complete stock and equipment, as a single public garage with a monopoly of the local business might well do. . . . . If his inquiries extend further he discovers that ambitious young men and women generally leave for a bigger place as soon as they are able, because everything is already overdone at home.

There is another side. A great many people do manage to make a living in your town; but competition's blessings are of a limited and relatively meagre nature.

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An Official German Reply to Roosevelt

ARE THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS REALLY SOCIALISTS?

By J. KOTTGEN (London Correspondent of "Vorwaerts")

The remarks on the German elections that appeared in the "Outlook" of January 27 for the illumination of the American people make some extremely amusing reading. At first I did not know whether to weep or to laugh over this exhibition of abysmal ignorance and self-assurance; but soon laughter carried the day. Imagine a writer who, either wilfully or ignorantly, caricatures the demands of the German Socialists by sandwiching some political and economical reforms demanded by all progressive parties between the abolition of plural voting and gratuitous burial (!), calling this hotch-potch the Social-Democratic programme. A simple reference to the Erfurt programme, which has been acknowledged by every one of the 900,000 men and women who contribute regularly to the party funds, might have shown him the real nature of the German Social-Democratic Party. On another page (presumably) the same writer says: "The German has no special love for revolution as a game, and he has not much faith in voluntary organisation, like trade unions, as have the English and Americans."

Considering that Germany contains at the present moment more trade unionists than any other country in the world, and that the organisation of the German trade unions is regarded to be so perfect that the British workmen are sending their leaders across the North Sea in order to study the German system of organisation, the "Outlook" writer can scarcely be said to be a reliable authority on Germany.

It would be a weary and unprofitable business to go seriatum through all the gross blunders and misrepresentations to be met with in the magazine named. The whole puerile exhibition would not be worthy of criticism if it were not intended to spread the idea in America that the German Social-Democratic Party is not a Socialist party, but merely a party of progressists who are out to obtain for Germany the same civil liberties which are said to be enjoyed by the English and American peoples. The statement is as old as the Party itself, and it is only natural that it should be assiduously propagated by the governing classes of every country now that the German workers have demonstrated the possibility of the proletariat conquering the political power and using it for remodelling society to their heart's desire. In Germany our enemies are accusing us one day that we have lost all faith in our Socialist ideals, that we no longer hope to reach our final goal, that we do not talk and write half enough about our intentions, and that we are merely a kind of Radical people's party; the next day they depict us to the public as the most violent revolutionaries, intent upon turning everything topsy-turvy, who should be outlawed. These political manœuvres, which serve the purpose to dishearten and bewilder new recruits, or to frighten the timid, are too thin to be taken seriously, and the best foreign observers of German politics have long ceased to pay any regard to them. Undoubtedly there are some German Liberals and Radicals who honestly believe that the Social-Democratic battalions are but the somewhat misguided auxiliaries of the Progressist army, and that with the greater advance of democracy in Germany Socialist ideas will tend to disappear from the programme of the Party. These pettifogging politicians, whose principles consist in the abnegation of principles and whose chief concern is to oust their Conservative opponents from the favour of the Government, are constitutionally unable to conceive a political party following steadfastly the broad and straight road leading to social transformation. They resemble those village oracles who, in the beginning of last century, used to explain to the assembled countrymen that the steam-engine which ran snorting through the country must have a horse hidden in its inside. There is no Radical or Liberal mare hidden in the Social-Democratic steam-roller that is flattening out all opposition to Socialism in Germany.

However, the statement that the German workers are simply fighting for the democratization of their native country has an alluring ring. For various reasons the German middle classes never succeeded in getting hold of the machinery of government as they did in Great Britain. Historical study seems to suggest that the next step in the evolution of the German Empire must be the introduction of more democratic institutions similar to those existing in Great Britain and America. But it must not be forgotten that democratic institutions may mean very different things in different countries. The German middle classes can never hope to lead the German working class by the nose as the British and American working classes have been led by Liberals and Tories, Republicans and Democrats. The introduction of more democratic institutions into Germany would not mean a bourgeois democracy, but a Socialist democracy. And that also explains the protean nature of our Liberals and Radicals: their heart tells them to follow the democratic traditions of their forefathers; but their reason leaves them in no doubt as to the results of a democratization of Germany.

Moreover, the German Social-Democratic Party is not out for social reformation, but for social transformation. And although quite naturally supporting any reform measure brought in by its opponents which may alleviate the distress of the people or advance popular government, the Party has always recognised and held the final goal. the socialization of the means of production for the benefit of the people, can only be reached when the proletariat has conquered the political power. The "Vorwärts," the chief daily newspaper of the German Party, published a leading article on this theme ("Our Final Goal") on January 28, 1912. The concluding remarks of that article were:—

"But it is just for that reason—i.e., the adoption of the policy of Imperialism by the governing classes—that the certainty is growing in our ranks that the question of the final goal is becoming more and more the practical question of proletarian politics. That is not to be taken in the sense that our political practice is becoming different. Now, as before, and at all times, all our comrades, however different the answer they may give to this question, are using all their power to obtain reforms, and are doing the work of the moment with all perseverance. But the very rapid development of capitalism has created all the conditions necessary for Socialism. To-day production has already been socialized. Only this socialization has been effected in favour of a small group of the very rich. To replace these by society, that is, to-day, not a question of economics, it is a question of the political power of the working classes. But that power the proletariat acquires through the consciousness of its mission, and it is just the capitalist policy of the most recent times, the policy of Imperialism, with its dangers and pressing burdens for the masses of the people, that causes the recognition of the necessity of Socialism to spread with ever-increasing rapidity. . . . But we know that Imperialism can only hasten on the fate of capitalism, and what to them (the Imperialists of all shades) appears to be a way to safety, appears to us as the last desperate *flight*. We know that we are sure to meet the opponent in this blind alley, and that is why we are again nearer to our final goal."

The above may be taken to be the view generally held by the members of the German Social-Democratic Party. There are, naturally, differences of opinion existing among the four and a-quarter millions of men over 25 years of age —not to speak of the millions of women and young men—who identify themselves with our Party; but these differences of opinion are as nothing compared with the differences existing between the Social-Democratic Party and the other non-Socialist parties. The Social-Democratic Party of Germany is out for Socialism, and hopes to be the first to achieve it. And this hope seems to be fully justified by the last electoral success. It is this success, which is bound to have a powerful influence on the development of the other divisions of the International Socialist army, which induces papers like the "Outlook" to throw doubt on the genuineness of German Socialism.

"Champ Clark says he thinks Taft is hurting himself by talking." Champ knows how it is himself.—"Richmond News Leader."

It might be a good thing if the decline in prices on the Stock Exchange would hit the provision market.—"St. Louis Globe-Democrat."

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Strikes and General Strikes

The days of effective strikes against individual employers are fast passing on account of the superior organization of the employers.

The only strike to-day that is of any account is one where the public is made the sufferer rather than the employer. If the men can make the public sufficiently uncomfortable to induce Government interference in their favor, then a strike is likely to be to their gain.

But it must be remembered the industries whose stoppage means much public discomfort are largely limited to coal mining and transportation. Once the men in those industries are made satisfied with the terms of their employment, then the use of a general strike as a weapon to redress the evils of the present social system is at an end. It is utopian to look for the coal miners or railway workers to come out to help other strikers if they themselves are satisfied.

There is no economic reason why the owners of both the railways and the coal mines cannot pay their men wages high enough to satisfy them, and then recoup themselves by raising rates against the general public. This, no doubt, will be done in the future, and then we will see a kind of aristocracy of Labor established among the workers in mines and on railways that will not be likely to succumb to the song of the strike agitator.

Strikes are a good thing to set the workers' brains working and to increase their solidarity, but they can never hope to be more than a means of bettering wages. As for accomplishing the co-operative commonwealth by a general strike, that is an insane idea.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt but that a general strike would educate the workers more in a month than anything else could ever do in fifty years.

High Prices and Gold

Prices of all goods to-day are much higher throughout the world than they were ten years ago. There have been all sorts of theories to account for this, but there is no denial of the fact.

In Protectionist countries like our own and Germany and France the tariff has been blamed, notwithstanding the tariffs are no higher now than they were before the rise in prices.

Trusts have also come in for the blame. England, not blessed with either tariff or Trusts, has settled down to the theory which I myself hold—namely, that the cause lies in the decreased cost of production of gold.

The "Appeal to Reason," however, scouts the gold theory, and says the trouble is that the "private owners demand more profits than formerly satisfied."

Why they should have suddenly grown more grasping all over the world at once is not said.

"Price" is merely the expression of the relative value of an article compared with a fixed given quantity of gold.

The "Appeal" says "the price of a thing is determined by the useful labor required to produce and get it." It adds that this would be true "if every mountain should pour forth a stream of gold."

Now, it seems obvious to me that if mountain streams poured forth gold free to the public that could be had for the dipping, that the amount of labor involved in "producing and getting" gold would become so small that the relative value of gold to other commodities would be very considerably different from the relative value of to-day. In other words, prices would rise.

An ounce of gold coins into a $20 gold piece, and that $20 piece exchanges to-day for, say, about 20 bushels of wheat. Why? Simply because taking one thing with another the amount of labor required to "produce and get" an ounce of gold is about the same as that required to "produce and get" 20 bushels of wheat. But if mountain streams ran gold and the labor required to get an ounce of gold became practically nothing, then does anyone suppose that the wheat growers would continue exchanging their 20 bushels of wheat for an ounce of gold? Not at all.

If so, most wheat farmers would rush to the banks of the mountain streams to dip out gold in order to exchange it for wheat rather than laboriously raise it. No farmer would raise wheat himself if he knew he could with practically no labor dip up gold from the stream and exchange it for his neighbor's wheat.

Wheat prices would rise until labor costs of wheat and gold had readjusted themselves to the new conditions.

Mountain streams are not yet running with liquid gold, but there is no question but that in the last ten years the amount of labor required to produce an ounce of gold compared with the labor required to produce 20 bushels of wheat has decreased very much. Therefore, wheat is higher in price.

The "Appeal" says that wheat to-day is produced with less labor per bushel than ever before. True enough, but gold is produced with still less labor, comparatively speaking. The improvements in gold production have exceeded those of wheat production.

Wages are paid in money having a gold basis, consequently a man who gets the same wages today that he got ten years ago is getting at least 15 per cent. less in purchasing capacity than he was. In other words, his *real* wages have decreased 15 per cent.

What has become of this 15 per cent.? Obviously it has not gone into thin air. Not at all, the 15 per cent. has gone to swell the share of the product taken by the capitalist class.

The decreased value of gold has automatically forced the working class to transfer 15 per cent. of their wages to the capitalists, and this partially accounts for the enormous increase of the accumulations of the rich in the last ten years.

True enough the workers by strikes have in some instances managed to get part of this 15 per cent. back, but as a whole it may be said that so far it is a dead loss to the vast majority.

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Theoretically, by the iron law of wages the workers are bound to insist upon real wages corresponding to what they regard as their necessary standard of life; but, unfortunately, economic friction prevents readjustments being made very rapidly. In fact, so slow is the process that very often the workers meanwhile reduce their estimate of the necessary standard of life and never get back ground they may lose.

It is customary to argue that the increased production of gold is accountable for the increase of prices. This is not true, it is the decreased cost of gold.

While it is true that there has been a large increase of production of gold, yet it is equally true that if this increased production had been the result of increased demand, and had been accompanied by no discovery of the cyanide process, we might easily have seen a largely increased production of gold accompanied by a fall of prices. The increased production would have been made at a greater expenditure of labor cost per ounce of gold than previously.

An increase of production of any commodity as a general rule means a decreased cost per unit, but this is not necessarily the case.

A small town may take its water from a convenient local supply at a cost of one cent per unit. The town may grow to a city and be forced to go 50 miles for its supply, and the cost may mount to two cents per unit, notwithstanding that the total supply is much larger than it was before.

Eggs are much higher to-day than a few years ago, and yet the production of eggs has largely increased.

Taft is now calling for an international conference upon the subject of the world-wide rise in prices. No doubt Taft sees that the real reason is the decreased cost of gold, and he thinks that if this could be shown to the American people that they would not be so insistent upon destroying Trusts and reducing tariffs.

Probably this is true; but, on the other hand, he should remember that if the people understood economics better they would give up tinkering with the tariff and the currency and Trusts, for they would see that the cause of poverty lies in the private ownership of the means of production.

It is a good thing for the class Taft represents that the people are ignorantly blaming the Trusts and the tariff rather than the capitalist system itself.

Ignorance of the people is what elects the Tafts and Roosevelts.

Lloyd George's Insurance Bill

The Bill as now passed by Parliament requires the worker to pay 8 cents per week, and for this it gives him $2.40 per week for 26 weeks' illness and $1.20 per week thereafter as long as he is disabled from work. It also gives him a free doctor and free medicine, and $7.20 to help along with the expenses at the time of his wife giving birth to a child. There are also very lenient arrangements as to delinquency in arrears of payments. It is almost impossible for a worker to forfeit his insurance through involuntary nonpayment of premiums.

The large benefits of the Bill compared with the small payment of 8 cents per week are accountable to the fact that the State contributes an additional 4 cents and the employers 6 cents more, making the total premium really 18 cents per week.

The Bill is of great complexity, and no doubt there are many features of detail that might be improved upon.

Also, from the Socialist point of view the worker is already getting too small a wage to be called upon to contribute even 8 cents per week, or any other sum, to the premium fund.

However, it seems to me that even taking it at the worst—namely, that the 8 cents per week can only be paid at the expense of less food for the workers—I would say that the resultant of $2.40 per week during illness would quite offset any loss.

Certainly there are thousands of workers in England to-day who pay far more than 8 cents per week to their friendly societies in order to get a benefit of $2.40 per week, and there can be no question but that, in their judgment at any rate, the stinting that they may do to pay in their insurance premium is money well spent.

Not only is the receipt of a weekly insurance payment during illness a preventative of physical deterioration to the worker and his family, but it is also calculated to be an immense protection against the moral deterioration which ensues to the absolutely destitute. Charity covers many sins, and it also kills many souls—kills the souls of both givers and receivers.

Lloyd George does not defend the principle of the workers contributing. He simply declares that with the present attitude of the House of Commons towards Labor legislation that if he had not made the Bill partly contributory he could not have got it through at all. It was that or nothing, and for his part he thinks the Bill much better than nothing, and with this I am sure most American Socialists will agree.

The English Socialists have possibly a better light upon what might have been done by George than falls on me; perhaps he could have passed a non-contributory Bill without courting political destruction. It must be remembered that there are only 42 Labor Party members out of the 670 members of the House of Commons, and outside of these there are very few who would have voted for a non-contributory Bill. However, very often, owing to political considerations, the House will pass a Bill that is not only in advance of the majority of the members but also of the electors.

Woman Suffrage is certainly of that order of Bills. Notwithstanding the majority it commands in the House, I doubt if it is really a Bill that commends itself to all those who vote for it. Many a member feels that he must vote for it or suffer political extinction.

That it would fail of commanding a majority of the popular vote if a Referendum were taken is admitted by practically everyone. Therefore, when it is proposed to take a Referendum upon woman suffrage there are no more strenuous opposers of this manner of settling the question than the suffragists. They denounce the suggestion as emanating from enemies who are too cowardly to oppose is openly. And no doubt the women are right. One of the great differences between politics in America and in England is that whereas progressive legislation has a far better chance in America when left to a Referendum, in England it would have a much worse chance.

The Irish would never get Home Rule if the question were left to a popular vote of all Great Britain. That is admitted by the Irish themselves.

However, to return to the Insur-

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ance Bill, while I can see that a non-contributory Bill would be a better Bill than the present one, I cannot see that Lloyd George is not right in declaring that the present Bill is the best he could do.

From a tactical standpoint no doubt it is good politics for the Socialists to denounce the Bill, and every other Bill which is proposed or passed by any party not a Socialist Party; but that is another story.

However, the Bill is now a law, and has largely passed the stage of political controversy. It will stand upon its practical results, and what those results are we will know very shortly.

I doubt if any party in the future would dare repeal the Bill, for I think it will be too strongly intrenched in the minds of the people as one step toward social justice. A feeble and halting step, maybe, but still a step. And a step far greater, by the way, than America has yet thought of making.

Certainly the German Socialist Party has never asked the repeal of the Bismarckian Insurance Laws, which are both far more onerous in the contributions demanded from the workers and far less generous in benefits.

For the British workers to regain the 8 cents per week they must pay by a few well-managed strikes is a mere nothing. The British sailors last summer, although they had practically no organization worth speaking of, gained $2.40 per week advance by a strike lasting less than ten days.

Coal Strike in England

As we go to press a big coal strike, taking in all the British mines, is brewing.

The men demand a minimum wage of about $1.25 per day for lowest paid labor; they already have the eight-hour day.

It does not seem possible but that they will get what they demand, and that without a strike. The threat should be sufficient. The day is past when England can allow the mine-owners to bring the nation to such crisis as that involved by a general coal strike when the demand on the part of the men meets with such popular approval.

The minimum wage is undoubtedly one of the reforms that is coming for all industries in every country.

The Wilshire Gold Mines

I HAVE no gold mine stock for sale. What I have I am satisfied to hold for myself.

I feel called upon to say this publicly as a general reply to the great number of inquiries provoked by the publication in the January "Wilshire's" of such a favorable report upon the Bishop Creek Mine by no less an authority than Mr. E. W. Walter.

The report was published not to sell stock, but as a sufficient and crushing rejoinder to certain fools who can find no better argument against Socialism than lying about Socialists.

They are of the order of asses who would disprove the theory of evolution by alleging that Darwin stole sheep.

However, it takes all sorts of men to make up a big Socialist vote, and as the vote of a fool cancels that of a wise man I have therefore always felt that, quite irrespective of any personal consideration, I should endeavour to prove to the public that the mines in which I am interested were all right.

Of course there are some men who on general principles think all Socialists knaves, and there are also some "extra-pure" Socialists who appear to agree with this verdict against their own compatriots.

In order to assure Socialists that the Bishop Creek Mine was all right I asked a number of well-known Socialists who had been on the mine to state what they knew about it. They did so, and the "extra-pures" merely derided them as either nincompoops who had no brains or as knaves who had sold themselves to Wilshire. Tommy-rot, so to speak.

Some of the "extra-pures" are now "extra" the Socialist Party, expelled to a purer atmosphere.

I had Mr. Walter, a man whose good judgment and honesty no one can impeach, report for the general public.

The Bishop Creek Mine was inaugurated by me on the basis that at $5 a ton we would have a profitable mine. Mr. Walter reports, however, that the values average $13.30. Last month we sent a carload of ore to the Custom smelter at Hazen, Nevada, and sold it upon the basis of a valuation of $19.40 the ton.

Herewith are copies of letters from the smelter company to Mr. Lodge, our agent, and from Banker Watterson, who knows the Bishop Mine from frequent personal inspection:—

Western Ore Purchasing Company
Purchasers of Gold, Silver, Lead and Copper Ore

Hazen, Nevada,
Dec. 22, 1911.

P. E. Lodge, Esq., Agent,
Wilshire Bishop Creek Mine,
Bishop, California

Dear Sir,

We are herewith enclosing our cheque for $165.41, being net proceeds of your car of ore, weight 35,760 lbs, at $19.40 per ton.

We deducted 5% loss in smelting and $5 per ton for freight and $4 per ton for the treatment.

Hoping that the results are satisfactory and to again receive your shipments,

Very truly,
Western Ore Purchasing Co.

Inyo County Bank
W. W. Watterson, President
Bishop, Inyo Co., Cal.

Jan. 17, 1912.

Gaylord Wilshire, Esq.,
London, England

Dear Sir,

We wish to congratulate you on the results of the carload shipment of ore you have just received returns on from the smelter.

On all that has been done to demonstrate the value of the Bishop Creek Gold Mines, there is nothing which speaks so well for the property as this ore shipment. Expert reports, mine assays, etc., are valuable and necessary to the men on the ground and in close touch with the property, but actual smelter returns of $20 00 per ton on ore, just as it is taken from the face of the drift, mean things to mining men, especially when it comes from a vein measured by feet and not inches.

It will be one of the big mines of the West, and I expect to see a thousand men working on that vein some day.

Hoping that you will be able to have the stamps dropping on Bishop Creek ore before another summer rolls around,

I am, yours very truly,
W. W. Watterson,
President.

As said, I have no mining stock for sale; the stockholders are so well satisfied with the Bishop Creek Mine that they are building the mill themselves without asking any help from anyone.

As to my South American mines, I would say we have pro-

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duced $294,000 in bullion, as officially attested by the British Guiana Government. Nevertheless, I have found that without additional capital and equipment they cannot be profitably worked.

Having resolved not to ask the stockholders for further money, and in view of the great uncertainty and difficulty in getting aid in the open market for mines in the tropics, I am offering my stockholders to exchange their stock for Bishop Creek stock.

Gorky and the Russian Spies

It may be remembered, some years ago when the Russian novelist Maxim Gorky while over in this country as my guest at the Hotel Belleclaire, in New York, that the "New York World," as usual, always ready to blacken any man's reputation if it can sell an extra dozen papers, published a scare-head story to the effect that Gorky had deserted his wife and children in Russia and was palming off an actress here as his wife. The story had some basis. Russia grants no divorces to the unorthodox, hence the custom is to separate by mutual consent, such separations having the moral standing of a divorce with us.

Col. V. Nicolaeff, late chief of the Russian Foreign Spies, has a long story translated by Ivan Narodny in the "Monthly Magazine" section of the Philadelphia "North American" of December 10, in which he confesses that the "World" story was a plant laid by the Russian Government.

Russia heard that Gorky was coming to America in order to raise funds for the Russian Revolution, which at that time was in full fire, and they wished to discredit him.

They furnished the details of the story to the "World," and the photographs of the so-called abandoned wife and children.

Nicolaeff goes on to say:—

It will startle the average American to learn that various noted Russian refugees, particularly Maxim Gorky, failed to find the open door in New York and Washington, and in society, entirely because of the machinations of the system for which I worked.

The Gorky scandal, I confess with shame, was partly of my instigation. Trepoff, who succeeded Plehve, after the latter's assassination by Sosonoff, wrote me from St. Petersburg that he had heard that Gorky, who was then in Helsingfors, intended to tour Europe and America, and make a personal appeal for the revolutionary cause. He, therefore, directed me to do all I could to discredit him.

We learned that Gorky and Andrieva were to be the guests of Mr. Wilshire, a Socialist, at the Hotel Belleclaire.

The second day after Gorky's arrival, there was a report that a dinner was to be given by his countrymen at Number 3 Fifth Avenue, and that among the guests were to be Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, Arthur Brisbane and many others.

Meanwhile, Baron Rosen in Washington did his diplomatic best to influence President Roosevelt not to receive Gorky. Miss J., an ardent Russian sympathiser, had gone to Washington to pave the way for Gorky's reception at the White House. The President seemed then to be very sympathetic, and said he would be glad to meet Gorky, Tchaikovsky and Narodny. The next day, however, Miss J. was told that the President had seen the Russian Ambassador and had decided that it would not be proper to see the revolutionary emissaries.

The dinner to Gorky at Number 3 Fifth Avenue took place.

The Wilshire reception at the Belleclaire also took place. There were present a large number of literary people, many reporters, and last, but not least, several spies. The latter were not idle. Furthermore, I have reason to suppose that other Russian agents in Europe had arranged for the sending to a New York paper of a cable from London, full of discrediting gossip. The fuse was lighted, and there followed the explosion. The story I had prepared in Berlin appeared, and the result was that Gorky and Andrieva were turned out of their hotel, and were glad to get a room in the apartments of a friend. Here they remained, until they secretly moved over to the home of a Mr. Martin, in Staten Island. These are the details of the great Gorky scandal, which not only humiliated Gorky personally, but which also changed the attitude of European literary circles toward the New World. It was thus that American conventionality became a weapon for the Russian department of espionage.

The interesting part of this confession to me is the disclosure that the "New York World" was merely a tool of the Russian autocracy.

Berger's Old Age Bill

Victor Berger, the one and only Socialist member of Congress, has introduced an Old Age Pension Bill which provides that every person, with a certain few exceptions, who is 60 years of age, and who has been a citizen for 16 years, shall be entitled to $4 per week if there is no other additional income of over $6 per week. If his or her income exceeds $6 per week, then there are a series of provisions reducing the $4 pension proportionately.

There is also rather a puzzling provision that if a husband and wife are not divorced and are living together that instead of their pensions being $4 each they shall be but $3 each.

Of course, the Bill will never pass, and probably never emerge from the committee where it is now buried. A Bill like that drawn up by John Doe, of Doeville, would have more chance of passage than one proposed by a Socialist.

Berger warned the House that "within a year a mighty wave would be rolling in on them from all parts of the country demanding the passage of some Bill like this."

However, if there is any Pension Bill to be passed we may be sure that the Democrats will never allow any Socialist to take the kudos, not as long as they have a majority.

But Berger is right, Pension Bills are in the air, and may alight any time; but, meanwhile, it seems to me that as a matter of policy his Bill might have been more generous and a little simpler. It should merely provide that all citizens should have at 60 years of age a pension of $1 per day.

No man can live on $4 per week; it is cruelty to deliberately ask them to try to do so. Sherwood, in his $30 per month Old Soldier Bill gauged sentiment on this point correctly.

A dollar a day is certainly the minimum that a Socialist should *ask* for; he might take whatever he can get.

Then, I think it neither good Socialism nor good policy for Berger to fine a married couple $2 per week merely because they happen to live together. Seems to me that, if anything, they should get $2 extra in these troublesome days of the divorce problem.

His deductions on account of "other income" may be all right for a final Bill that is up for actual passage, but they cumber the naked principle. I would have let the House itself, if the Bill ever emerges from committee, propose such encumberment by amendments.

What is wanted now is assent to the principle of an old age pension, and not debate on detail.

Probably the trusts allowed the postal banks to be started just to find out whether or not the ultimate consumer has any change left.—"Danville Commercial News."

Stephenson's managers assert that there was no vote-buying. They merely spent the money and depended upon the voters' sense of courtesy for an adequate return.—"Los Angeles Tribune."

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British Bishops on Labor

The "Christian Commonwealth," London

Bishops of the Church of England appear to be vieing with one another in blessing the Labor movement, and expressing their sympathy with its main aspirations and aims. In our last issue Mr. Snowden referred to the Diocesan address of the Archbishop of York, who described "with force and eloquence that no Socialist orator could surpass" the existing contrasts of wealth and poverty, of luxury and squalor, and of idleness and hardship. A few days later the Bishop of Oxford, addressing the Workers' Educational Association at Manchester, spoke of the "victory" which he held to be "the legitimate aspiration" of the Labor movement. He had, he remarked, a strong and decided opinion on the Labor movement in the industrial world. "It is," Dr. Gore said, "that, looking at the matter on the largest scale, in the vast industrial development which has characterised the recent advances of our civilisation, labor has had a wholly inadequate share of the profits. As a believer in the revelation of divine righteousness which is to be found in the Bible I believe that the first charge upon industry is the proper payment of the labourer—not the last charge, the first charge. I believe also that the acceptance of that principle would be not the death of industrial progress, but its new life, because if it might discourage a few it would encourage very many." At the Hereford Diocesan Conference the Bishop of Hereford declared that on the Church's attitude to the working classes and to the great Nonconformist bodies would largely depend whether the Church of England was in the future to be really the national Church or was to be in effect denationalised and to become a mere sect of denominations. "The aims and aspirations," he said, "of the working multitudes and their leaders lie in the direction of Socialism. An educated proletariat or working class is a new phenomenon in history, and it is not likely to remain satisfied with the present individualist organisation of industry and commence and all its glaring inequalities. Consequently we may take it as certain that the present condition of things will gradually give place to some form of Socialist organisation, or to individualism largely modified by Socialism. It will be beyond measure unfortunate if Church people, lay and clerical, range themselves in opposition to this uprising of the people, as we are in some danger of doing." Such utterances as these suggest what a complete and rapid transformation would be effected in the condition of England if all our right reverend fathers in God, acting in the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, made themselves the friends and spokesmen of the "common people."

Blessed Word Regulation

If you wish to see the fallacy of Regulating the Trust as now advocated by Progressive Teddy send us a 2 cent stamp for a pamphlet, "That Blessed Word Regulation," by Chas. Edward Russell.

Somewhere Mr. Taft is speaking.—"New York American."

A Cement Gun

"Daily Trade Report"

"The cement gun is manufactured by a New York company, and consists of an air-compressor, a 4-cylinder marine gasoline engine of 20 h.p., a 1-inch wire-wound rubber hose with walls three-eighths inch thick for delivering dry sand and cement mixed, an ordinary garden hose for delivering water to the nozzle of the gun, and the gun or nozzle itself. . . .

"A mixture (1 to 2½) of cement and fine sand is delivered to the nozzle at 30 pounds pressure, and just before being discharged is met by a circular spray of water at 30 pounds pressure within the nozzle, so that the wet mortar is projected on the surface to be covered. The water supply is regulated at nozzle to obtain the correct consistency.

"Triangular mesh is secured by staples to the studding of the structure, and is backed up by either heavy paper or wood placed so that the mesh will be in the centre of the mass of stucco 1¼ inches in thickness when the spraying is completed. In dwelling-houses the stucco is placed on the studding inside as well as outside, but is made only about three-fourths inch thick inside. Smoothing is done by shooting a fine light spray of wet mortar. No finishing is done with the trowel. The finished surface inside is to be painted. The resulting stucco is very hard and makes a fair appearance, though it is necessarily rough. . . .

"At this date (August 9) one gun is placing 90 square yards, 1¼ inches thick, per working day. The cost at present, including cost of studding and backing in place, is $1.13 per square yard."

Pensions for Mothers

"The Public"

Under the Illinois law, any poor mother may now receive a pension to aid her in bringing up her children. She is under no obligation to amiable persons of philanthropic instincts and means, nor to charity societies or church or other private associations. She gets the money as a right, and not as a favor, out of the public treasury into which she pays money, whether she knows it or not, as a direct-taxpayer or an indirect-taxpayer. The pension is paid to her for bringing up her children at home, as money is paid to teachers for bringing them up at school. The families of dead workers and those of poor convicts will not any longer be doomed to destruction where this law applies. The family home, not the charity institution, is the ideal of this law. May its principles progress until, out of the abundance which belongs to society but which goes now to individuals unearned, all families are thus provided for—but better.

New York is to spend $33,000,000 on education next year. It needs every cent of it.—"Philadelphia Inquirer."

John D. Rockefeller got his first and only job fifty-six years ago, and has just been celebrating the event. The men who lost their jobs because Mr. Rockefeller did not stick to his have not had their celebration yet.—"New York World."

Perhaps the Trusts would feel safer in jail.—"Wall Street Journal."

Steel and the Man

"The following verses by Charles Buxton Going in 'Hampton's Magazine' illustrate the new function of poetry,' says "Current Literature." "The poet has heard the voice of the rails and the wires. He celebrates their powers, but there is the fear in his heart that modern man may be the slave of the industrial Frankensteins whom he has called into being:—

Shot and furnace and forge—
Thus have ye set me free
On the roadway that leaps the gorge
And the ship as it takes the sea!

"God through infinite ages had given me rest;
Yours was the forest, the flint, the girdle of skin.
But primal lord of the beasts, were ye cursed or blest
When ye called me out of my slumber to serve your kin?

For what ye have launched ye mus ride;
Whither it tends ye must fare.
The choice ye have made ye must bide—
Ye perish, unless ye dare!

"That which ye think in your inmost souls, I do—
Build, or shatter; till, or ravage the land.
I am the sword, and I am the scalpel, too—
Unto your fertile brain, the tireless hand.

That I have grasped, ye must hold;
That which ye hold, ye must use.
Ye chose one to serve you, of old—
Now, are ye free to choose?

"The work ye plan and I do may raven your soul;
The pace ye set and I take ye never can drop.
Fast and yet faster I drive—but whither the goal?
Stopping were chaos: but what if ye do not stop?

Iron of hand and of heel,
Speeding the engines of fate,
Ye have wrought out a world of steel
Ye are helpless to uncreate!

Francisco Ferrer

To the Editor, "Daily Chronicle"

I have not seen any mention in the English Press of a noteworthy fact which has just come to my knowledge, namely, that the Supreme (Civil) Court of Madrid has practically reversed the judgment of the Barcelona Council of War, and declared the innocence of Francisco Ferrer. The Court declares: (1) that Ferrer was not concerned in the Barcelona disturbances; (2) that none of the rioters who were prosecuted acted under his orders; (3) that in none of the 2,000 prosecutions arising out of the riots was any trace discovered of Ferrer's participation or inspiration. The Court, therefore, orders the restitution to his heirs of his confiscated property. This news is communicated to a Belgian paper by one of Ferrer's executors, and there seems to be no reason to doubt its authenticity. It confirms what some of us had already suspected—that the King of Spain's recent act of clemency indicated an uneasy conscience with regard to Ferrer.

WILLIAM ARCHER.

London, January 26.

Printed for the Proprietors by the Twentieth Century Press Limited (Trade Union and 48 Hours), 37a, Clerkenwell Green, London, E.C.

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WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

Vol. XVI No. IV NEW YORK & LONDON, APRIL, 1912 Price 2 Cents per Copy

The Post Office and "Wilshire's"

TAFT is certainly continuing the Roosevelt policy as far as using the Post Office to suppress Socialist papers goes.

All my readers know how Roosevelt tried to stop this paper in 1901 by withdrawing its second-class entry and forcing me to go to Canada for my entry. They also know how he persecuted the "Appeal to Reason," and how Taft is continuing the job.

And what has happened to the "Appeal" and "Wilshire's" has happened to many other of the smaller Socialist papers in different parts of the country.

The "Appeal" says that the new rule of the Post Office regarding the sorting of papers by the publisher according to their destination will practically put it out of business, owing to the excessive cost, if it is enforced.

When Congress passed the One Cent per Pound Act it had no intention of forcing the publishers to do any more than hand in their papers to their postmaster and let him do the entire sorting and delivery.

All these rules are simply made by post-office clerks and have no real validity, and some day the Post Office Department will be called down when a President is elected who has some idea of serving the people rather than his own political advancement.

Congress made a cent a pound rate for publishers not because it thought it a remunerative rate—although, as a matter of fact, it is remunerative—but because Congress thought that cheap newspapers were a good way to educate the people.

What greater example of cheek from a subordinate clerk to his employer was ever seen than in Hitchcock advising Congress to double this rate? Hitchcock might as well tell Congress to close up the Smithsonian Institute because it is kept open at a loss. If he wants to save money let him reduce the exorbitant rates paid by the Post Office to the railways.

The one cent per pound rate is a rate made by the legislative department of the Government with full knowledge of why they made it, and it is not in the province of the administrative department to advise upon the matter.

It is not economy which moves the Hitchcocks to try and raise rates and make onerous rules for publishers, but it is the desire to make the task of the public educating itself as troublesome and expensive as possible.

In the last number of this magazine I told how the Post Office, after it had agreed that it was perfectly in order for me to print in London and mail under by second-class entry in New York, had held up my very first number printed in London on the ground that it was not a "domestic publication."

In order to make assurance doubly sure the Post Office also held that the subscription blank enclosed with the same number of the magazine was illegal.

On the date I went to press with the last number I thought it pretty certain, although I knew I was quite within my rights, that upon one charge or the other I would be debarred the entry and my deposit forfeited. A case of history repeating itself.

However, I suppose Taft finally decided that he did not wish to make a martyr of me any more than he did of Warren, and the result is that the Post Office withdrew both charges, and handed my money back, as will be seen from the following:—

United States Post Office
New York, December 19, 1911

Publishers of "Wilshire's Magazine"
Gentlemen,

Regarding the question raised in connection with the November, 1911, issue of "Wilshire's Magazine," relative to its acceptance for mailing as second class matter as a domestic publication, the Third Assistant Postmaster General states that if the "known office of publication" of "Wilshire's Magazine" is maintained at New York, N.Y., the fact that the publication will hereafter be printed in London, England, will not affect its second class status.

Therefore, in accordance with the authority from the Department, this office will continue to accept mailings of the publication as second class matter under its present entry.

Relative to the subscription blanks enclosed with the November, 1911, issue the Department advises that such blanks are permissible, and authorises the refund of the difference between the money deposited at the third class rate of postage and the second class rates.

Very respectfully,
E. M. Morgan,
Postmaster.

Now this letter only confirms what the Post Office wrote me last June. Why it should have held me up and demanded a deposit before it would take the magazine, except merely for the sake of a petty annoyance, is quite beyond my comprehension. I notice that Hitchcock is now asking that Congress nationalize the telegraph lines. As a Socialist I am in favor of nationalizing all public utilities, and yet I am free to admit that the private companies owning the telegraph lines of this country have never stooped to the petty meannesses which have characterized our Post Office, and I tremble to anticipate putting more power into the hands of such as the Tafts and Roosevelts.

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J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.

Chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the British Labor Party

I ATTENDED the Conference of the Labor Party of Great Britain held recently at Birmingham. The Labor Party is the result of an autonomous union for political action formed a number of years ago of the Independent Labor Party, the Fabian Society and the trade unions. It has now elected 42 members in Parliament, largely by co-operation with the Liberal Party.

The trade unions are not definitely Socialist, but there can be no doubt but that they are becoming more and more so every year, and that the ultimate outcome will be the adoption of a straight out-and-out Socialist platform by the Labor Party. The Social-Democratic Party—now the British Socialist Party—at one time sent delegates to the Labor Party, but owing to difference of attitude toward certain questions the delegates were withdrawn.

In some way this withdrawal seems a mistake, inasmuch as the Conferences certainly afford an unrivalled platform for Socialists to educate trade unionists. While the Independent Labor Party, with Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald with their opportunist Socialism, have done a certain amount of work—good work, too—on this line, nevertheless I cannot but feel that an injection of Marxian Socialism from men like Hyndman and Quelch would be of great leavening power.

At present the Labor Party is neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring; in fact, if it were herring at all it would certainly not be "red."

The workers generally are neither satisfied with the Parliamentary results of the Labor Party, nor of its general propaganda work throughout the country.

And no wonder. The party set itself out to "do" things rather than talk, and so far very little has been done, and whatever has been done the whole credit has been absorbed by Lloyd George.

It is all very well to complain, but when we reflect that the Labor Party is admittedly at best but an opportunist party, and when we remember that it has to contend with a party like the English Liberal Party, led by a master of strategy like Lloyd George, there is a valid excuse of having made little headway.

We Socialists in America have to meet no leader of the calibre of the Chancellor of the British Exchequer.

I will quote what the new leader of the Conservatives, Bonar Law, said in a recent speech about George to give an idea of what both the Conservatives and Labor Party must contend with:—

> Only a few weeks ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer reached the loftiest height—or touched the lowest depths—of demagogy—(cheers and a Voice: "That's got it")—when he made the interesting discovery that the whole annual income of this country, if divided, would give £200 a year to every family in the land. (Laughter.) It is not a new discovery, ladies and gentlemen. The same gospel has been preached for a score of years at least, by Socialist orators at street corners, but I am quite sure of this, that no Socialist member of the House of Commons could preach it now with decency—(laughter)—for he would know that his first job was to divide his own salary—(loud cheers and laughter)—and make two families happy instead of one. (Laughter.) How many families could be made happy by the salary of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—(laughter)—is a calculation which I leave you to make for yourselves. That doctrine, that utterance, if it means anything, is not Socialism; it is communism. (Hear, hear.) If it means nothing, it is cant. (Loud cheers.) These methods, as I have said, are not new. They have been tried many times in many countries, and they have always ended not in disaster, but in utter ruin. (Cheers.)
>
> That is one alternative. Tariff Reform is the other.

Bonar Law's suggestion that Tariff Reform, and by that he means a higher tariff, is the alternative to Socialism is, of course, supremely ridiculous, especially so to us Americans who have been feeding on the husks of Protection for 50 years and growing thinner every day.

On the other hand, when George talks about dividing up the national income equally it is pretty hard for Ramsay MacDonald and his Labor Party to hold the ear of the public with shouts for the repeal of the Osborne decision and other similar reforms.

I bring in MacDonald's name because he is chairman of the Parliamentary group, and generally admitted to be the ablest spokesman of the party, and probably their ablest man generally.

However, that he is not of that type which makes unity between the Labor Party and the British Socialist Party easy may be seen from the following extracts taken from an article by him in the current number of the "Socialist Review" entitled "A Plea for Puritanism."

I might explain that the British Socialist Party is a strictly Marxian Socialist Party, the inheritor of the Marxian tradition of scepticism as to both bourgeois religion and bourgeois economics. Hyndman and Belfort Bax were founders nearly 30 years ago of its predecessor, the S.D.F., and both are still active spirits in it, Hyndman being chairman of the Executive Committee.

On the other hand, the Independent Labor Party rather follows the Nonconformist or Puritan attitude toward religion; there is a great deal of black-coat wearing and church-going of a Sunday among its members, especially in Scotland.

It is unnecessary to say that in the various squabbles between the two parties the I.L.P. has had good reason very probably to think that their "Puritanism" has been remarked upon by the Marxians.

Says MacDonald: "Puritanism does not fall into the error of putting history on an economic basis."

I doubt if the Puritans ever attributed the course of any historical events to anything other than the will of Jehovah, but certainly it sounds queer to an American Socialist to hear MacDonald going so far in his disavowal of Marxian theory as to indicate his sympathy with the belief that an historical event of, say, the invasion of the Goths, to which he alludes, had not an economic basis.

"It (Puritanism) can, therefore, be easily laughed at by the Pagan, whom, when its time comes, it can cleave to the brisket with its sword, or smash to pulp with its fist, if he has not drunk or rioted himself to death before that time comes."

I am not sure what MacDonald means by the foregoing. Apparently it is a warning to Marxians that they had better sign the

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pledge and practise ju-jitsu if they expect to avoid being cleaved or pulped.

They can't hope to escape by any disguise, because Puritanism "has the insight to know the devil when it sees him. . . . It has even the divine faculty of seeing their approaching shadows when they themselves are still afar off."

Puritanism, according to MacDonald, "accepts oatmeal as sweet, and spiced foods it rejects as poison." Evidently he, for one anyway, don't think the Scotch are healthy in spite of their oats and not on account of them.

The ordinary idea of Puritanism is that it is unbending and stern. But not so according to MacDonald's protean definition. "The Labor movement must welcome Puritanism . . . the reasons are . . . that our young men who join us . . . must learn how to face the elements as well as to scud away. I often think of the many gay vessels that have been launched . . . the majority of them have foundered. My own little craft has been there for a quarter of a century."

Puritanism evidently believes in the theory of he who talks and scuds away will live to vote another way. Why founder when one can scud? Why? I don't see why not myself. John Burns scudded into the Cabinet. What?

The "Puritan Sabbath taught the mind to surmount difficulties. . . . One sombre day in the week is not a bad thing for men who, like Socialists, have to carry on a war which calls for moral weight. . . . In the shadows a man is taught to value himself and his circumstances. He can discover where he is . . . and make up his mind what to do."

"But even if he fail in this . . . he will at least acquire the faculty of holding in contempt all dandies whose principles consist merely in an adornment of red ribbons, and whose attractiveness to the virgin eye of the yokel is so often that they (the ribbons?) do not always cover nakedness. In fact, about the new British Socialist Party and similar movements there is a variety of pose like what one sees in the women at a fashionable society dinner, or, later in the evening, on the streets."

However, MacDonald, notwithstanding this comparison of the posing of the British Socialist Party to that of "the women on the streets," declares that "the power to censure is the badge of the slave-driver, and if our 'comrades' had got to the moral root of the matter they would be above that sort of thing, they would reason with their weaker brethren (nor would they) blather out the first thing that comes into their heads."

I give MacDonald's article not on account of its intrinsic worth, but because I think that his position in the Labor movement in England justifies the publicity.

He is "sane and sensible."

Mere Government Ownership No Solution

Most Socialists will agree that Government ownership under the present competitive system presents many difficulties and shows many failures both in this country as well as in Europe.

But this is no argument against Socialism, inasmuch as the difficulties a Government encounters under a system of capitalism, when the people have divergent interests, are largely removed when these interests will be reconciled under a Socialist system.

There is a fast-growing sentiment in this country that the present system of private ownership of railways is played out, and yet the alternative of Government ownership is, as said, seen to have many alternative drawbacks.

One of the men who sees this dilemma is W. W. Cook, the great New York corporation lawyer and counsel for the $100,000,000 Mackay Telegraph and Cable Company.

He says in "McClure's" for January:—

> Commissions may reduce rates, regulate abuses, and stop further issues of watered stock; but commissions cannot reach the root of the trouble—namely, Wall Street control of the railroads, and to that extent a tremendous influence over the Government; the rapid heaping up of colossal fortunes by means of that control; the pushing of the middle-class man into a niche where he gets a living and no more; the growth of a proletariat which is always ready to give trouble, especially in hard times; and the gradual absorption of wealth and power by the capitalistic few. Other remedies more recently proposed—such as a federal incorporation act—are equally impotent. The process of corporation control continues, and under present circumstances will continue.
>
> The fact is that, in spite of all efforts to prevent it, the power of our American railroads is being every day more than ever before concentrated in Wall Street. More than that, private capital—principally centred in Wall Street at present—has an almost absolute control not only of the railroads, but also of the great industrial companies owning the natural resources of the country other than agricultural. This means the control of prices, and the control of men, and ultimately the control of the Government itself, unless that control is wrenched from the grip of capital. The question is whether capital shall control the public and its government, or whether democracy shall control the Government—whether men shall allow their employers (the corporations) to be controlled by capital in a few hands, or whether men shall be free and capital be subject to their control, directly or indirectly. That is the great question which faces modern nations. It is a world-wide and colossal problem, but nowhere so great as here.
>
> History tells what happened when the privileged classes of Rome absorbed the wealth of the Republic. There, too, arose the question of whether concentrated wealth, with all the power it represented, should dominate the Government and the people. The proletariat grew in numbers. The debtor class increased and became desperate. The common people became discouraged. Then a few daring and unscrupulous men raised the standard of revolt. Confiscatory laws were passed and civil war broke out. Cæsar became Dictator to restore order—and the Republic was gone for ever.
>
> Now, anyone with the slightest foresight can see that the present condition of things cannot continue indefinitely in the United States. As the "Outlook" for July 30, 1910, said: "The railway question is another form of the fundamental issue between oligarchy and democracy."

However, Mr. Cook's solution by means of a twenty-five billion dollar quasi-Government company to own and operate the railways is impossible, not because it would not be better than either the present system or of Government ownership, but because it would be a logical and formal admission of the rights of a permanent plutocracy.

If we were to have a continuance of the system of the private ownership of wealth, then Mr. Cook has a plan well worth considering, but as we are not he is wasting his time.

His remedy should have been offered thirty years ago.

The mortality statistics of the Turco-Italian war continue to lead those of football.—"Pittsburg Gazette-Times."

"The per capita circulation of the country is now $34.35." Then why all this kicking because speculators boasted the price of baseball tickets? The best seats did not cost over $20.—"Rochester Democrat and Chronicle."

The Sugar Trust has engaged twenty-five lawyers to defend it in the New Jersey case. After the lawyers get through collecting their fees the ultimate consumer may consider himself thoroughly avenged.—"Grand Rapids Press."

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The Duty on Sugar

The meanest and at the same time the greatest robbery that our Government practises against the poor is involved in the duty on sugar.

It is mean because it falls heaviest upon the poor, for the percentage of their income which goes to pay the duty is infinitely greater than that of the rich. A rich man's family and a poor man's consume about the same amount of sugar, but where an additional $8 per year is not noticed by the one it is a heavy burden to the other.

The sugar duty is about 2 cents per pound, and brings in a total revenue of about $150,000,000 per year.

Approximately every family in America pays $8 per year to the Government on account of the duty on sugar.

The duty is not wanted by the refiners; they are quite able to take care of themselves.

Our American beet-root growers have only a faint interest in the tariff, because they to-day are selling their beets at the same price to the factories that the European grower gets for his beets. There could be no importation of beet sugar owing to ocean freights, quite apart from a tariff.

The only people who get any real benefit from the tariff are the Louisiana sugar-cane growers, but they produce less than 1 per cent. of the sugar we use.

Louisiana is no place to raise sugar, anyway; there is always so much danger of frost that they must cut their cane green, consequently their cane yields only about half the per cent. of sugar compared with that of sugar cane in Cuba.

It is absurd that the people of the United States should pay out $150,000,000 per year to keep a few Louisiana sugar growers alive when with all the help they get they produce less than 1 per cent. of the total.

We have noticed a great revolt in the late German elections of the people against hunger duties. The German tariff on sugar, which, by the way, is the highest in Europe, is just one quarter the American sugar tariff.

However, this is God's country, where the people are quite at liberty to starve themselves if they have a mind to do so.

Hichborn's California

I don't know of any book that gives such a concrete account of the reforms the American people are now striving for, and how they are getting them in California, than Franlin Hichborn's story of the California Legislature, 1909-1911, published by the J. H. Barry Co., of San Francisco.

Being an old Californian myself, I have always taken a great interest in State politics ever since the time when, in Los Angeles over 20 years ago, I ran for Congress as a Socialist.

True enough, although, even in that early day I had the Initiative, the Referendum, the Recall, and Woman Suffrage in my platform, with all my enthusiasm I knew that I was battling for a cause hopeless of immediate success. The old parties would listen to no reform proposals of any kind. They were tied hand and foot to the Southern Pacific Railway.

There was no Socialist Party in California in those days, and while of course I knew that some day and somehow light would break upon the State, the how and the when were not very clear.

The strange thing about the final carrying of all the important reforms mentioned, as well as the throwing off of the Southern Pacific Company yoke, is that it has been done by "Progressive" members of a Legislature elected on old party tickets.

There is not a single Labor or Socialist member in the California Legislature, not even an "Independent," and yet in the teeth of the opposition of the most powerful and corrupt machine in America the most revolutionary measures have been carried through and made into law, including a straight-out Eight Hour per Day Labor for Women Act.

In addition, an Employers' Liability Act has been passed, the efficacy and stringency of the same being evidenced by the fact that it costs me 8 per cent. on the total wages bill to insure the Bishop Creek Company in a liability company.

This practically means that wages throughout the State have been raised about 8 per cent., and the rise has been put into a fund to insure labor against accidents.

The Bill was passed as approved by the trade unions.

No doubt a great deal of all this progressive legislation has been due to the initiative of Governor Hiram Johnson, who is the best governor California has ever had. In fact, for many years she has had no governor, but merely some tool of the Southern Pacific Railway masquerading as governor.

Mr. Hichborn gives the history of the various reform Bills presented to the Legislature, and the story he tells of the tricks the machine tried to prevent passage is most illuminating.

However, with all due honor to the "Progressives" for the good work they have done in California, I cannot but help believe that they have simply prepared the way for the Socialist Party to become supreme there.

By passing all the minor planks of the Socialists, and thus proving to the people by actual trial and experience that they were good Bills, the logical thing is for the people to keep on demanding more and more of the same provender.

And since the Californians now have the Initiative, it is up to them to get what they want; they no longer can whine that the Southern Pacific Railway won't give it to them.

California is rich enough to give everyone a good living. If it is not had, then it is simply because it is not demanded. It is not a mark of any great intelligence when old dog Tray learns how to put his paw on the latch-key to the cupboard and pull down his own bone.

The Initiative is the latch-key for California dog Tray, Labor.

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Less barking and more thinking, Tray, if you want your bone.

Resolved: That the State of California guarantees every worker, man and woman, a minimum of $3 per day, and that in case employment is not offered by private employers at this rate, then the State itself shall establish co-operative communities with a State guarantee of $3 per day minimum to the members thereof.

How would something like that do for an Initiative? It would probably not receive a majority of the popular vote the first time, but it would call forth a lot of valuable discussion.

The Aldrich Money Bill

WE have been through two money crazes in America, and I am hopeful we will never again think there is any short cut to the millennium by anything similar to either the "greenback theory" or "free silver."

However, because no changes or reforms of the money system can bring the abolition of poverty as long as we let Rockefeller and Morgan own the earth, that is no reason for saying that during the period of the R. and M. ownership we cannot improve the present financial system under which America labors.

Our money system is the laughing-stock of the world, and our only satisfaction in it is that bad as it is we felt, quite rightly, that Bryan would have made it worse.

See how it works. Smith, of Podunk, is accustomed to borrow $5,000 every fall from the Podunk National Bank to carry along his fall trade. This year we will suppose he goes to the bank and is astounded to learn that, owing to war in Tripoli or revolution in China or Morgan's influenza, the bank can't let him have his money as usual.

The bank is not afraid of Tripoli or China or Morgan, but somehow or other it finds that it has no funds to loan. The bank is just as much disgusted as is Smith. The result is that Smith cannot carry on his business and certain workers lose their jobs. It is a "dull season" in Podunk.

Smith is solvent, worth $20,000, and his note for $5,000 is perfectly good.

The Aldrich Bill provides a method by which the local bank can practically get the Government to print, or allow to be printed, greenbacks, or, rather, national bank notes, to exchange with Smith for his note.

The bank must pay something to the Government for this privilege, but as it makes Smith pay still more it is quite satisfied. Smith is of course satisfied, for he gets the Government printed money with which he can transact his business.

While the money is paper, nevertheless it is exchangeable for and redeemable in gold. The very fact that the banks throughout the country will be enabled to get such notes printed whenever there is a demand for money will absolutely prevent any "money panic" ever happening in the future.

Such an improvement in our money system would make the industrial machine move along more smoothly and with less jerks. It would enable the capitalists to pile up profits faster, because there would be more profits made. The working man would get steadier employment and possibly better wages if he was insistent enough.

Fundamentally the Aldrich Bill has nothing to do with Socialism, for all Socialists recognize that the cause of poverty is the private ownership of the means of production. Fiscal legislation does not touch upon this ground.

The Aldrich Bill merely allows the workers a better opportunity to make more profits for the capitalists. As this better opportunity means steadier employment, I can see no reason why Socialists should not let the Aldrich Bill go on its inevitable way to become law without getting unduly excited about it.

It may be a good policy to get Socialist votes, this denouncing of every reform measure proposed by anyone who is not a Socialist, but it is bad economics.

It may be argued that all banking should be conducted by the Government, and that the Aldrich Bill gives over to private bankers a function of the State.

I reply that the same argument might be made about allowing a private water company to improve its water supply to a city. True enough the city should own the works, but until it does own them then let the company give the best water possible.

However, as to the feasibility of the State taking over banking under present conditions, that is a far more debatable question than of taking over a waterworks or a railway. The private banker today bases his loans upon the security of private property owned by his customers.

It requires considerable judgment to be a good banker, and the commercial penalties for lending money to the man who cannot repay are visited upon the banker in a very direct way. He loses his money.

Therefore, when it is proposed that the Government take over the banking and appoint a town banker to lend the public money as it now appoints the city postmaster to sell stamps, it does not take much imagination to see that the two cases are not on all fours by a long shot.

That the Government could establish public pawnshops, where for every loan something tangible in the shape of a silver teapot or the like were put up as security, would be admitted. But that the Government as it is now constituted could go into the business of commercial banking is quite another matter.

It seems to me that banking would be one of the last functions to be undertaken by the State.

I can see the logic of the State taking over the property of the private owners, but I cannot see the logic of the State lending those owners money upon their private property.

If the State can afford to lend the owners money upon their property it can afford to buy their property, and that would be a much more sensible undertaking.

German military experts predict that the war between Italy and Turkey will be long drawn out. Let us hope not. Somebody may be killed if it is not brought to a speedy close.—"Rochester Democrat and Chronicle."

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Milwaukee Deserves Better Luck

GREAT credit, judging by the final test of results, must be awarded to the Socialists of Milwaukee for their success in carrying the local elections there, and also for their apparent success in municipal management.

However, I would suggest that the petty underhand tactics which the Milwaukee "Social-Democratic Herald" has been accustomed to use in the past are hardly adapted to the present, when success has brought it more or less into the sunlight of national publicity.

The "Herald" is now engaged in two arduous tasks. One to stifle all opposition to the Berger opportunist brand of Socialism, and the other to raise money throughout America for the upkeep of the new Socialist daily paper in Milwaukee.

Certainly no Socialist can object to a straightforward argument on the part of his opponent against any particular line of tactics. If the Socialist cannot bear to have his plans debated, then he had better quit, but the attack must be a fair one.

Milwaukee's ideas as to Socialist tactics differ from the rest of the country. For instance, I doubt if it would be possible for a Socialist anywhere else than in Milwaukee to advise his party to leave one office on the Socialist ticket blank in order that Socialists might vote for an old party candidate, as did Victor Berger not so very long ago.

I am not criticising this action at this juncture, but simply calling attention to the fact that Milwaukee tactics are not the conventional American tactics. They may be better, they are certainly different.

Probably one of the severest critics of the general Milwaukee policy is Wm. D. Haywood, who has recently been elected to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Now I wish to say that I myself am no supporter of the Haywood policy of, what shall I call it? Well, say, "impetuosity." However, that is no matter. I would be as impetuous as Haywood did I think that the American people could never get Socialism except through the Berger opportunism of "wait a hundred years, and meanwhile be glad to get $4 per week after you get to be 60."

However, it seems to me that the method that the "Social-Democratic Herald" adopted in trying to defeat Haywood was remarkable for a stupidity only exceeded by its maliciousness.

It may be remembered that some time ago in this magazine I exposed a certain H. T. Jones, a correspondent of the "Social-Democratic Herald," as a self-convicted extortioner, who on the one hand paraded himself as wishing to save the innocent from Wilshire, and on the other hand all the time was trying to force Wilshire to buy stock from him at 100 per cent. profit and later on begging him to publish his Berger eulogy in order that he might get a "footing as an author."

I also showed by the deadly photograph that Jones was accustomed to masquerade about under a great number of different names, and that he wrote me an especially interesting letter over the name of "Silas Hood" explaining what a great man Jones was and advising me to consider his proposition.

With all this history of Jones, alias Silas Hood, being pretty familiar to Socialists generally, is it not extraordinary that when the "Social - Democratic Herald" wished to attack Haywood it should print a letter signed by "Silas Hood"? The letter gave the broadest kind of a hint that the explanation of Haywood's policy was not honest conviction, but because he had sold out to the capitalists. That he (Haywood) was simply trying, in an underhand manner, to disrupt the Socialist Party. Rot, of course, but just think of the stupidity of an editor allowing such innuendos in his paper against a member of the Party backed up by no better authority than "Silas Hood."

I don't see why the "Herald" did not get Jones to sign the letter "Harry Orchard." It would have carried more weight. Harry is a much more artistic liar.

Now, Jones works in a dual rôle. He is not only a tool of the "Herald" employed to stab enemies in the back that cannot be removed by fair means, but he also travels to drum for the "Daily Leader."

As such he is evidently encountering difficulties in raising funds as rapidly as he might wish. Naturally, if he finds that anyone happens to be using his money for other purposes than the "Leader" he becomes disagreeable, especially so if the man is a friend of mine.

It is a difficult task raising $100,000 for a Socialist daily, especially when you try to convince a man that he going to get his money back with interest.

A good newspaper like the "Daily Leader," presenting all the expensive features of its competitive capitalist papers, costs a lot of money to get out.

In fact, it is only because of its advertising receipts that it can hope to live.

The "Leader" must prove to its advertisers that it is good policy for them to patronize it not only for the time being for the immediate profits, but for the long run as well.

An advertiser might think the "Leader" a good medium, but he might also decide that he is not going for the sake of a little immediate profit to build up an organ that advocates the destruction of the very profit system by which he lives.

Then, too, even if the advertiser himself might be willing to take his chance on both present and future, he very often is either in the hands of his local bankers or of New York capitalists, who will refuse to allow him to contribute to the upkeep of a Socialist paper.

Even the strongest of the capitalist papers is in the hands of the advertisers. Arthur Brisbane has often told the story of how near Hearst went under after the McKinley assassination owing to the big advertisers withdrawing their ads.

It was only the chance allegiance of a personal friend of Hearst's, Straus, the owner of the Macy Department Store, that saved the day.

The Labor Party in England are going to establish a paper, and they well recognize the difficulties they are to encounter. Notwithstanding that they have the backing of the trade unions with a membership of over two millions,

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and who have subscribed $250,000 to the paper fund, they have set their mark at no less a capital than $750,000 as being necessary to establish the paper. They think this very modest.

The $100,000 that Milwaukee is setting out for on the same kind of a venture rather tends to show the courage of Milwaukee than its experience.

I hope the Milwaukee people and the "Herald" will see that there are other reasons than the few dollars that some of my stockholders, many of whom are not Socialists, are subscribing for the Bishop Creek Mill that may account for their difficulty in raising money.

If the "Leader" could only rely upon the policy of the little Wall Street rag the "Herald" quotes as an oracle about Wilshire it might have a better chance.

There are a number of such so-called "financial journals" in Wall Street that no one by any chance ever hears about until he may happen to be floating a company. He then receives a call from an advertising agent, who very pointedly advises him of the policy of giving the "Financial Parasite" an advertisement, not for the advantage to be derived, but in order to escape an attack which might result if the grease were not forthcoming.

Capital is notoriously timid, and rather than take any chances the promoter will usually give up.

It is such papers that the "Silas Hoods" contribute to when they wish to bleed a victim, and then when their own communication appears in print they send a marked copy to such gullibles as the "Social-Democratic Herald" as expressive of what Wall Street thinks.

In order to still further impress the editor of the "Herald" they often send along another letter from themselves, but, of course, under one of their various aliases, something to the effect: "Would that we had the powerful pen of Silas Hood to awaken the working b'hoys of Boston." The gaff is stronger than the pen.

It is really too bad that the Socialists of Milwaukee, with all their opportunity to let the world see the true calibre of Socialists, should be represented by an editor having such a strange mixture of credulity, smallness and maliciousness.

Milwaukee deserves better luck.

Bergson and His Philosophy

JUST now there is considerable of a Bergson cult, which has been augmented by the success of a series of lectures recently delivered in London by the distinguished French metaphysician.

There is no doubt that much of the attention that he has attracted is based upon the idea that he is supposed to have evolved a scientific soul theory, which is reassuring to those fortunate ones who can take more interest in what may happen to them after they have left the earth than what is happening to them now.

The old religions, in the light of modern criticism, have no longer the power of making the average man absolutely sure of any future existence at all, let alone one of beatific joy.

Therefore the man who can come along with the backing of science to give a glimmer of hope to these longers for a future life is sure to attract a following.

The science which Bergson gives in "Creative Evolution" (Macmillan Co.), while not professing to be original, is up to date and illuminative. His argument as to the inadequacy of either the doctrine of the neo-Darwinians or the neo-Lamarckians to give a reasonable explanation of the evolution of such a complex thing as the eye is both sound and ingenious. He says:—

"And it may be granted, perhaps, that the process is a merely physical one in the case of the color changes of the skin. But if this sort of explanation is extended to the gradual formation of the eye of the vertebrate, for instance, it must be supposed that the physico-chemistry of light has caused the organism to construct a progressive series of visual apparatus, all extremely complex, yet all capable of seeing, and of seeing better and better. What more could the most confirmed finalist say, in order to mark out so exceptional a physico-chemistry? And will not the position of the mechanistic philosophy become still more difficult when it is pointed out to it that the egg of a mollusc cannot have the same chemical composition as that of a vertebrate, that the organic substance which evolved toward the first of these two forms could not have been chemically identical with that of the substance which went in the other direction, and that, nevertheless, under the influence of light, the same organ has been constructed in the one case as the other?

"The more we reflect upon it, the more we shall see that this production of the same effect by two different accumulations of an enormous number of small causes is contrary to the principles of mechanistic philosophy. . . . .

"Neo-Lamarckism is of all the later forms of evolution the only one capable of admitting an internal and psychological principle of development, although it is not bound to do so. . . . . But the question remains whether the term 'effort' must not be taken in a deeper sense, a sense even more psychological than any neo-Lamarckian supposes. For a mere variation in size is one thing, and a change of form another. That an organ can be strengthened and grow by exercise nobody will deny. But it is a long way from that to the progressive development of an eye. If this development be ascribed to the influence of light, long continued but passively received, we fall back on the theory we have just criticised. If, on the other hand, an internal activity is appealed to, then it must be quite different from what we usually call an effort, for never has an effort been known to produce the slightest *complication* of an organ, and yet an enormous number of complications, all admirably co-ordinated, have been necessary to pass from the pigment-spot of the Infusorian to the eye of the vertebrate. . . . . When we think of the enormous number of variations, all in the same direction, that we must suppose to be accumulated before the passage of the pigment-spot of the Infusorian to the eye of the vertebrate, we do not see how heredity, as we observe it, could have ever have determined this piling up of differences, even supposing that individual efforts could have produced each of them singly. That is to say that neo-Lamarckism is no more able than any other form of evolutionism to solve the problem. In thus submitting the various present forms of evolutionism to a common test, in showing that they all strike against the same insurmountable difficulty, we have in no wise the intention of rejecting them altogether. On the contrary, each of them being supported by a considerable number of facts, must be true in a way.

However, after Bergson has made what appears to me a very valid criticism upon the various theories of evolution, he is himself rather vague in his delineation of his own theory, and yet I cannot feel but that fundamentally he is correct and on the right track. He says:—

"According as the undivided act constituting vision advances more or less, the materialty of the organ is made of a more or less considerable number of mutually co-ordinated elements, but the order is necessarily complete and perfect. It could not be partial, because, once again, the real process which gives rise to it has no parts. That is what neither mechanism nor finalism take into account, and it is what we also fail to consider when we wonder at the marvellous structure of an instrument such as the eye. At the bottom of our wondering is always this idea: that it would have been possible for *a part only* of this co-ordination to have been realised, that the complete realisation is a kind of special favor. This favor the finalists consider as dispensed to them all at once by the final cause; the mechanists claim to obtain it little by little, by the effect of natural selection; but both see something positive in this co-ordination, and consequently something fractionable in its cause—something which admits of

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every possible degree of achievement. In reality the cause cannot, though more or less intense, produce its effect except in one piece, and completely finished. Accordingly, as it goes further and further in the direction of vision, it gives the simple pigmentary masses of a lower organism, or the rudimentary eye of a Serpula, or the slightly differentiated eye of the Alciope, or the marvellously perfected eye of the bird; but all these organs, unequalled as is their complexity, necessarily present an equal coordination. For this reason, no matter how distant two animal species may be from each other, if the progress toward vision has gone equally far in both, there is the same visual organ in each case, for the form of the organ only expresses the degree in which the exercise of the function has been obtained.

"But, in speaking of a 'progress toward vision,' are we not coming back to the old idea of finality? It would be so undoubtedly if this progress required the conscious or unconscious idea of an end to be obtained. But it is really effected in virtue of the original impetus of life; it is implied in this movement itself, and that is just why it is found in independent lines of evolution. If now we are asked why and how it is implied therein, we reply that life is, more than anything else, a tendency to work on inert matter. The direction is not predetermined; hence the unforseeable variety of forms which life, in evolving, sows along its path. But this action always presents, to some extent, the character of contingency; it implies at least a rudiment of choice. Now a choice involves the anticipatory idea of several possible actions. Possibilities of action must, therefore, be marked out for the living being before the action itself. Visual perception is nothing else; the visible outlines of our bodies are the outlines of our eventual action on them. Vision will be found, therefore, in different degrees in the most diverse animals, and it will appear in the same complexity of structure whenever it has reached the same degree of intensity."

It seems to me that Bergson has given a key to the solution of a very difficult problem. It is rather curious that while Bergson is so well up in the science of biology that he apparently knows so little of the science of sociology.

He tells the story of the boy who was set to turn on and off taps letting the steam into the cylinders of the early Newcomen engine, and who tied a cord to the engine beam to work the taps automatically. Berger assumes that then the boy was "free to go and play" if he chose. This shows how far Bergson is from the life of the worker. If the progress of invention meant more play for man there would be no social unrest, but, as a matter of fact, it means less play. There was far more playing done in the world before the days of the Newcomen engine than there has been since.

However, while Bergson evidently fails to understand all this, yet he is very suggestive in his discussion of what life really is. He refers to the bee, with its life so thoroughly bound up in the hive that if separated from the hive it cannot live for long even though fed. Bergson should logically follow the Socialist philosophy as to the individual man being nothing apart from humanity as a whole, that man is merely a cell in the body of organised man. That man cannot in reality live apart from society any more than can the bee. The soul of man exists not in the individual man, but in human society as a whole, and only to the extent that the individual man knows and feels this has he a soul. With the exception of the Socialists who see, and the artists and poets who feel there are none who really can be at peace with their own souls.

Referring to the individual organism, Bergson says:—

"There is already among scientists a tendency to regard the substance of the organism as continuous, and the cell as an artificial entity. . . . . Very probably it is not the cells that have made the individual by means of association; it is rather the individual that has made the cells by dissociation. But this itself reveals to us in the genesis of the individual, a haunting of the social form, as if the individual could only develop on the condition that its substance should be split upon into elements having themselves an appearance of individuality and united among themselves by an appearance of sociality."

The philosophy of Bergson is a Socialist philosophy, and no doubt he would admit it were he fully conversant with how social evolution is being determined by the industrial evolution.

He seems to understand the psychology of the bee better than that of man.

The hive makes the bee and society makes the man, the more perfect the society the more perfect the man.

La Follette says that party ties are vanishing. So are the collars.—"Philadelphia North American."

Dr. Wiley may yet be called upon to supplement his what-to-eat remarks with a chapter on how to get it.—"Washington Star."

England has just launched the biggest battleship afloat. It will come handy as a target for bigger battleships in a few years.—"St. Paul Pioneer Press."

We have not learned whether it was rain or a poor attendance that put such a crimp in the Turko-Italian championship games.—"Philadelphia Telegraph."

"How would a president look in a pigtail?" giggles an exchange, talking facetiously about China. Well, how did George Washington look in one?—"Cleveland Plain Dealer."

An average of 125 people drop dead in the United States every day. This average will be greatly increased in the year that the express companies come out in favour of parcels post.—"Danville Commercial News."

A Socialist Year Book

The Socialist Year Book; Published by the National Labour Press, Ltd., Manchester, England. Price, 12 cents.

Bruce Glasier, in his "1912 Socialist Year Book," gives us a most valuable collection of statistics regarding the Socialist movement of the whole world from America to Uruguay—thirty-eight countries.

It will be invaluable to the Socialist editor and to writers and speakers upon Socialism.

The Socialist vote of the various countries is given not only for the last elections, but previous ones as well. There is also a short statement of the aim and policy of the various parties as it may be modified to their particular country.

I should say that on the whole the book is very accurate, although I notice some small mistakes as to the United States. In referring to the Socialist Presidential candidate of 1906, he spells it Hatchett instead of Matchett. He also congratulates the American Socialist Party on its becoming Americanized, saying that formerly the movement was confined to foreign workmen whereas now, owing to the more progressive teaching of men like Victor Berger, Hunter, Hillquit, Simons, and Spargo, the character of the movement has been recast. Glasier does not seem to know that three of the five he names are not Americans. Berger is an Austrian, Hillquit a Russian, and Spargo an Englishman.

He also refers to the remarkable development of State Socialism in the "little independent Republic of Panama," although, funnily enough, later he quotes "such is the remarkable system of Government ownership in the Canal zone of Panama," showing clearly enough that he is referring to the operations of the big Republic of the United States and not that of little Panama. However, these are, as said, minor errors. The book is a valuable one.

Some men's love of country decreases in the same ratio as the protective tariff on the goods they manufacture.—"Puck."

Even the most confirmed skeptic must admit that the cost of living is exorbitantly high when an ordinary toga sells for $107,000.—"Kansas City Journal."

It will always be a source of comfort to Mr. Solicitor McCabe to know that he would have had Dr. Wiley ousted if a lot of fussy reformers hadn't butted in.—"Kansas City Times."

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WILSHIRE'S

Vol. XVI No. V NEW YORK & LONDON, MAY, 1912 Price 2 Cents per Copy

What is Syndicalism?

From "The Syndicalist," London

THE essence of Syndicalism is the control by the workers themselves of the conditions of their work.

The growth of the machine process has divorced the worker from the control he formerly exercised by his individual ownership of the tools of production.

To-day the capitalist owns and controls the tools formerly owned by the worker, with the result that the worker is practically his slave.

Syndicalism proposes that this control of the technical processes now exercised by the capitalist shall pass to the various groups of organised workers of the various industries. The product which is now the property of the capitalist would become under Syndicalism the property of the community.

The Syndicalist looks to the future organisation of human society to be an industrial society, as opposed to the present capitalist State.

The present capitalist State is represented by a Parliament composed of representatives from certain territories, from geographical sections of the country, whereas the future industrial society will have its national committee composed of delegates from the various organised industries.

The present political organisation of society is anarchical, inasmuch as the representatives in Parliament are not representative of men as organisations, but of unorganised individuals—or, at least, organised in no natural, vital, industrial organisation.

We look upon the present State as moribund, as a relic of an order of society fast passing away, and, therefore, we do not think Parliament as at present composed can ever do much of anything toward preparing the way for the future industrial society. Hence the Syndicalist thinks that the energy and strength of the workers should be mainly directed toward industrial organisation rather than to political action.

We set our faces toward the future rather than the past. We look forward to humanity organised in a world-wide industrial society, where the means of production and distribution are owned and controlled by the workers.

Syndicalism has no thought of arranging industry upon the basis of each group of workers in each industry holding up the community to the full extent of its economic power in order to extract the greatest amount of reward for its particular form of labour.

The remuneration of the worker will be determined either by deeds or by needs, as may hereafter be decided, but most certainly not upon the basis of allowing him a reward according to the importance of his industrial product to the community, for that would be merely changing the present system, with its small number of capitalist exploiters, to a worse system, with a myriad of exploiting workers.

We think that the workers, by combining their forces in the various industries, will have it in their power to determine for themselves the future course of society. We think the example of what the British coal-miners with their great strike have done is proof of our theory.

We think the craft unions have their place in Syndicalism, but only as they are united with other craft unions, to form a solid organisation, controlling completely the whole industry of which they are a part.

A union to be really powerful must be a union of all the workers in the industry affected, and a strike to be effective must be wide enough spread to not only seriously curtail the profits of the employers, but must also be a menace to the community itself through the stoppage of supplies.

With the workers properly organised there is nothing that they may not successfully demand from the capitalists by means of a general strike.

We part company with the Socialists in thinking that the effectiveness of sending men to a moribund Parliament of a moribund State can in any manner of way compare with the effectiveness of organising men into all-powerful industrial unions.

Both Syndicalism and Socialism look to a world-wide democratic organisation of the workers for co-operative production and distribution. But whereas Socialism looks to social organisation, proceeding from the present capitalist State downward to the workers, the Syndicalist looks to the evolution proceeding upward from the workers to organised society.

Instead of the community giving industrial control to the workers, as the Socialists fondly hope, the Syndicalists look to the workers taking such control and giving it to the community.

Syndicalism is inverted Socialism. The difference between Syndicalism and Socialism is the difference between a man and a machine. The man himself controls his own activities; the machine is controlled from without.

The Socialist imagines that he can assemble the parts of the future society as a watchmaker assembles the wheels of a watch; whereas the Syndicalist insists that future society must follow the natural lines of growth like a plant or an animal. Syndicalist philosophy is deductive, whereas Socialist is inductive.

Syndicalists look upon the new industrial unions of to-day as

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direct progenitors of the organisation of the future industrial community.

We think that the practical test of experience shows plainly that whereas it is a comparatively easy thing to get men to go out on a strike for the success of their unions, to face starvation for a principle, it is paradoxically almost impossible to get them to vote for a revolutionary candidate, to give a vote which costs them neither trouble nor pain, merely thought. The worker is guided more by his feelings than his thoughts.

We think the explanation of this phenomenon exists in the workers' understanding, sub-consciously, perhaps, that in striking for their union they are working for a living organism of which they are an integral part; whereas in sending their man to Parliament they are forcing him into a decaying organisation which nothing can successfully galvanise into renewed life.

However, to the extent that political action does not distract the workers from industrial unionism we have no quarrel with those who thus employ themselves.

During the transition period there can be no doubt but that a group of revolutionary Socialists in Parliament has some value to the workers. Especially in the control of local conditions, there can be no question but that the election of Labor and Socialist members to Boards of Guardians, of aldermen, etc., is a distinct advantage. But to those Socialists who look for a social transformation to come about by the election of a Socialist majority to the House of Commons we can but extend our pity.

We think the evolution of the social organism follows the law of the living organism; the development is from the extremity to the centre rather than the contrary.

The future industrial society will nominally take a valid possession of its tools of production in any certain industry, first through the gaining of the control by the workers in that industry, rather than through the control first passing to the present capitalist State.

Even when the present State does nationalise an industry, as it has already, for instance, taken over the Post Office, and as it will no doubt take over the railways and mines, this may be really of little, if any, benefit to the workers concerned in those industries, as, indeed, it is not always of any certain benefit to present society.

An industry will never become an integral part of future industrial society until it is under the control of its workers, and worked for the joint benefit of those workers and the community. Such a condition is practically impossible under the present capitalist State. Hence, Syndicalists view with more or less indifference nationalisation by the capitalist State. In fact, it is not difficult to foresee a condition in which the superior power of the State over the capitalist might even be turned against the workers in an industry that has become nationalised.

There can be no denial that the State has not in all instances been a model employer. What may be said in regard to nationalisation applies with even greater strength to the fixing of a minimum wage by the State.

The workers can have no guarantee when they have not only to struggle with the capitalist but also with the State, controlled by capitalists, that they will be in any better condition to insist upon a fair wage than they are to-day. True, they will be protected against lowering of the minimum, but there is no guarantee that the minimum fixed will not become a practically unalterable maximum, and a maximum which may not allow the necessaries of life.

The present Minimum Wage Bill is especially obnoxious, as its district boards tend to divide the Labor forces in the next contest.

Syndicalists refuse to be drawn aside by red herrings of any sort, and declare that the main object to-day in life for the workers is so to perfect their industrial unionism that they may have complete control of their own destinies.

In union there is strength, and in the just and proper exercise of strength lies happiness. In Syndicalism man will attain racial manhood; he will at last know his own soul.

Is Roosevelt an Anarchist?

IT is unnecessary for me to repeat that I do not look upon Roosevelt as the symbol of the emancipation of Labor, but, nevertheless, his campaign is significant of the awakening of the people.

Sometimes we can gather information from our enemies even better than from our friends, and I suppose there is no question but that the Roman Catholic Church may be set down as fairly certain to oppose whatever Socialists wish.

Taft, as is well known, has always been a friend of the Church, and in return it is his steadfast backer. It is rather amusing now to see him use the Church to smash his old friend Teddy, and still more amusing to hear him call Teddy a Socialist and an Anarchist.

The following is from the "Evening News" of Lynn, Mass.:—

Boston, March 19.—So-called "Rooseveltism" was pierced through and through last night by lightning from the White House at the 175th anniversary meeting of the Charitable Irish Society, held in the Hotel Somerset.

For President Taft was the guest of honor on the occasion, and his speech to an audience of nearly 800, which cheered him to the echo, left no sort of doubt as to his meaning.

"Socialism and anarchy," he said, "have found no lodgment among Irishmen. They believe in constituted authority; they believe in the institutions of modern society; they believe in upholding our national and our State Governments; they believe in the preservation of the checks and balances of our constitutional structure."

And like a thunder-clap after the President's speech came the words of Cardinal O'Connell, also applauded. He said:—

"Liberties, religious and civil, are always in danger when the foundations of law and the independence of the judges—be they civil or ecclesiastical—are imperilled.

"Law is not the people. The people is not the law. The law is the principle of justice governing the people, and its application to individuals, to associations, to business, to every relationship of civil life must be so hedged around with reverence and security that the civil courts may in a moment of popular passion save the whole people from the tyranny of lawless majorities."

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Parliamentary Socialism and Syndicalism

AS the readers of "Wilshire's" well know, I have never been a Parliamentary Socialist. I have always looked upon politics as valuable merely as a method of propaganda.

I have never thought that we would have to wait for Socialism until we elected a majority of both Houses of Congress, together with our presidential candidate, to say nothing of having a majority of the Supreme Court pledged to declare anything we wanted as quite constitutional. We could not legally turn this country into a Socialist Commonwealth until we had all this accomplished first, and the very recital of the task is sufficient to demonstrate its obivous impossibility.

My chief work heretofore has been to delineate the evolution of capital from competition to combination, and to show that this meant a social revolution. True, I have said that the people must own the means of production democratically; and while I have said the way to do this is to "Let the Nation own the Trusts," yet I have also declared that the nation could really never take over a single one of the Trusts—that is, the nation as it is. And, moreover, I have said that even if it did take over the Trusts it would do no good unless it also dropped the competitive system.

My idea has always been that the transition from Capitalism to Socialism could not come through the ordinary legal channels as laid down by our Constitution and our capitalist legislators.

The theories of Georges Sorel, the most scientific and learned of the French Socialists, which go under the general name of Syndicalism, have grown in the past few years with great rapidity. In England Tom Mann is his great exponent.

Odon Por, who has done so much good work in "Wilshire's," as well as in other Socialist periodicals, has long been a convinced Syndicalist, and there is no doubt but that his views have proved entirely acceptable to my readers judging from their reception.

It so happened that last month, when both Tom Mann and Guy Bowman, the editors and publishers of "The Syndicalist" in London, were put under arrest for seditious language, the task of continuing their paper, "The Syndicalist," rather unexpectedly fell upon me. As Odon Por and Upton Sinclair both happened also most fortunately to be visiting me in London at the time, I had some able helpmates on the job, not to mention my better-half, who is always on deck at the proper time.

It fell to me to write the leading article, "What is Syndicalism?" and I have reproduced it entire in this number of "Wilshire's."

I will not now declare that political action in America is altogether superfluous, but I unhesitatingly do declare that the direct action of the workers when industrially united will not only be of much the superior importance, but that the industrial organization which the workers will form will itself be the beginnings of the framework of the future Industrial Democracy which is destined to absorb and destroy our present political government.

The aim of Socialists should be to assist the workers in perfecting their industrial organizations until those organizations shall have become powerful enough to dictate to the present State.

Just as the State to-day dictates to the workers on behalf of the capitalists, so in the future should the industrial organizations of the workers dictate to the State on behalf of the community as a whole.

The industrial organizations of the future must be based upon class, not craft, as are the trade unions of the present. However, as the path of evolution indicates that the future builds itself from the past, it would seem to me that the present trade unions should be absorbed, utilized, united one to the other, rather than destroyed.

The process should be accompanied by unity and friendship rather than strife and hatred. However, whatever may be the way the new unionism is to be ushered in, it is coming anyway, and the sooner the old trade union leaders recognize the inevitable the better.

As for politics they may be eschewed. The main thing is to get the workers united on the industrial plane. That is where their strength lies. For those Socialists who are so much interested in getting the votes I will guarantee that when the workers are industrially united there will be no need to worry about the voting. The way to get their votes is to unite them industrially, and then their votes will come as a natural event.

A strong industrial union, even when in a minority to the general community, is relatively so much stronger than a political union.

For instance, in Milwaukee the Socialists polled 41 per cent. of the vote in the last election, yet they were defeated by a coalition of the old parties.

But even if they had polled 51 per cent. and retained their political control, the condition of the workers of Milwaukee would not have been materially different.

On the other hand, suppose the Milwaukee workers had had even 35 per cent. of the voters enrolled in a strong industrial union, which would really mean about 100 per cent. of the workers in many industries, then they would have had it in their power to have demanded almost anything in reason from the employing class. Wages could have been put at the maximum and hours at the minimum.

I am not forgetting that Milwaukee capitalists must compete with outside capitalists, and that the margin for the workers is limited; but I am pointing out that whereas the industrial union of a minority of the voters could easily get the whole of this margin, that a political majority could get little or nothing.

However, it is not for the immediate gains that an industrial union is of such importance, but because it forms not only the army of workers who are destined to transform the present capitalist society into the future Socialist society, but because it also is automatically creating the cradle to re-

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ceive the society of the future when it is born.

With these views I am sure most of my readers will agree, and I also would say that such views are what are now being called Syndicalism.

"The Syndicalist" is a monthly, and will be sent to any American address post paid on receipt of 36 cents. Remit to the London address of "Wilshire's Magazine."

San Diego Wars on Free Speech

San Diego is a peculiar place to see a volcanic manifestation of the revolutionary spirit which is now hovering over all the world, but nevertheless there it is.

The town is in the extreme southern part of California, not far from the Mexican border; the inhabitants, however, about 30,000, are purely American. There is little of either commerce or industry, the climate is the chief and only asset. Naturally, with climatic conditions attracting the unemployed and commericial conditions not affording any chance of their employment, the unemployment problem is chronic and difficult of solution. The inhabitants realising that unemployment is considerably a result of outside importation rather than home growth, are strongly inclined to try and make artificial conditions so offset the natural that there will be little temptation for anyone to remain in San Diego who has not visible means of support.

These energetic methods have been developing for the last year or so with rapidity, and in opposition the unemployed and revolutionists have been holding large meetings to denounce the ferocity of the police and the inhumanity of the city administration.

In turn the city council has passed fiercer and fiercer laws to prohibit free speech and the right of public meeting, and the methods of enforcement by the police have been inconceivably brutal.

Hundreds were arrested, and the town gaol, crowded to suffocation, has become a pest-house, rivalling the Black Hole of Calcutta. Men and women have been clubbed for merely being spectators of a free speech meeting. So extreme has been the brutality of the police that the attention of all America is centreing upon San Diego. It has become a crime to even sell the local "Daily Herald" or the San Francisco "Bulletin" upon the streets, merely because these papers have dared to give a plain recital of the events which have led up to the conversion of an American city into an inferno like unto some Russian village given over to a pogrom.

The brunt of the fight for free speech has largely fallen upon the Industrial Workers of the World, an organisation which has a strongly Syndicalist basis. But the various trade unions and the Socialists have united with the I.W.W., and all are making determined resistance. There is a movement now being made to direct a march of all the unemployed of America upon San Diego in order to convince the city that America is not quite Russia—at least, not yet.

A call for help is being sent out by California Free Speech League. Contributions may be sent to Kasper Bauer, secretary, Union Building, San Diego, California.

Merely to show solidarity "Wilshire's" will remit a small amount. We hope our readers will follow suit.

The Titanic Disaster

One of the striking things about the Titanic disaster was the evidence of the stupidity of the capitalist class, as exhibited in every capacity.

What shall it profit a man to live if he fail to take a chance of making an extra dividend, when to do it merely means risking the life of others, or, indeed, even his own life, seems to be the motto of the twentieth century capitalist.

Everyone who is the least conversant with ocean travelling knows, and has known for years, that not one of the big trans-Atlantic steamers carries lifeboats sufficient for half the people aboard.

It needed no Rider Haggard a quarter of a century ago to teach us this.

It was obvious to every observing man who has sailed on a liner. It is impossible that Colonel J. J. Astor, a man who had crossed more times than he had years, a man who, himself, owned a steam yacht almost as large as a liner, did not know perfectly well that the Titanic was short of lifeboats.

Mr. Bruce Ismay, the President of the Company, of course, knew it only too well as he stepped into the last boat and left 1,600 of his fellow passengers behind to their fate.

It is impossible to think that Mr. Guggenheim and Mr. C. M. Hays, and all the other millionaires did not also know the risk they were taking. But it may be said that they thought the Titanic was unsinkable. If this be so, then why did the law require her to carry any lifeboats at all? Why did the Titanic augment the legal requirement?

Why was Colonel Astor quite willing to pay $4,300 for a special cabin for himself and yet not insist that he should have a certain percentage of his fare applied to securing him a seat in a lifeboat as well as at the dinner table?

He would not think of going to a theatre without a seat engaged, where the lack of it would simply mean discomfort, yet he takes a ticket year after year on an Atlantic liner where the lack of a place in a lifeboat means the loss of his life.

Yet the workers are called upon to look upon the Astor and Guggenheim class as being of such a superior intellectual mould that commerce and industry would be unable to continue were it not at the helm to guide.

As for the loss of the crew and the third class, that was only to be expected. No one looks to the capitalist class to provide safety accommodations for such-like trash. But it has hitherto been the theory that it did have sense enough to look after itself, even if at the expense of profits.

With Colonel Astor perished another illusion.

Bishop Creek Mine

Work on Bishop Creek Mine is steadily progressing under the charge of Mr. Algernon De Mar, a prominent Californian mining engineer of large practical experience, and author of "Stamp Milling," a well-known text book on that subject.

It is hoped to have the stamps dropping some time this autumn. Water power for mining purposes is controlled by the company's water rights, which will very considerably reduce the operating costs.

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WILSHIRE'S

Vol. XVI No. VI LONDON, JUNE-JULY, 1912 Price 2 cents

The London Transport Workers' Strike

WHETHER the London Transport strikers win or lose the strike will go down to history as one of the most heroic achievements of British Labor.

With practically no funds and little public sympathy the dockers have held up the world's greatest port for over a month. Called fools by those Labor leaders to whom they might have looked for support, they have stuck grimly to their guns and gone ahead with starvation staring them grimly in the face.

They had one chance of winning the fight quickly, but they failed to grasp it. I refer to holding up the food supply of London. Possibly they did not attempt this because they were sure of being unable to make the attempt effective. But it seems to me the capitulation of this citadel of strength was made without any struggle indicative of their realizing what they were surrendering.

If they were going to be defeated anyway, as they must surely be unless they can get the railwaymen to come to their aid, then it seems to me that if they had lost in struggling upon this issue their defeat would have been more suggestive of real combat than the defeat now threatening them.

Asquith quickly saw the importance of this point very clearly, much clearer than the men. He has declared with especial pride that the Government has managed not only to keep order, but at the same time to keep up the food supply of London so well that prices have suffered no advance.

Strikes against the profits of the employers are played out. The employers can afford to wait for profits much longer than the men's stomachs can afford to wait for food. It is suicidal for the men to pit their miserable savings against the combined capital of an organized plutocracy.

The men employed at the docks of London had it in their power to hold up the food supply of London, and this should have been their aim when entering upon the strike. Let the price of food in London have risen 10 per cent. on account of the strike, I will guarantee that the strikers would have won almost forthwith. The Government would have been forced, as a matter of self-protection, to have seen that the food supply was resumed, and if it had been found impossible to coerce the workers, then it would have been compelled to coerce the employers.

Of course, it may be said that there were reasons which made it impossible for the men to have made such an attack. I doubt, however, if the main reason why the attack was not directed this way was simply because the men had their attention directed against the employers, and Asquith was clever enough to keep it directed that way and hence save the day for the Government.

However, the strike is an invaluable training for the men; and, win or lose, they will be far stronger for the next struggle than they were before, because they have had their class-consciousness aroused to a most remarkable degree. The same remark applies to the railwaymen and to the miners.

They all now know that the point of attack is the public rather than the employer, and they know the only way to make this attack effective is by combined action. It is not to the point to reply that the public not being responsible for labor conditions should not be made to suffer. The public must be made to accept responsibility, and the only way to make it accept is by direct coercion.

The dockers are coerced by the threat of starvation to accept inhuman conditions of work. They should in return threaten the public with starvation if these inhuman conditions are not relieved. The public may laugh at the threat and find means of forcing the dockers to go back to work under the old terms. But it will not do much laughing and forcing if the dockers are backed by the railwaymen, and the railwaymen are backed by the miners.

It is impossible to believe that what with three great national strikes having taken place in the three industries mentioned that there is not a strong probability that the day is soon coming when they will all combine for their next strike.

It is not a question of what the leaders may decide, or what funds they may have. It is a question of the psychology of the situation as affecting the minds of the rank and file of these three great industries. We know that there has developed in the last year among workers of all industries almost spontaneously a tremendous amount of class solidarity. Much more than would have been thought possible a twelve-month ago.

It is this that is to come into play in the next great strike in England, and its consequences will be most momentous.

It must be remembered that one clear-cut win of a great national strike will be almost a social revolution in itself.

If the combined workers win once through their power, then, unless the Government finds means of meeting them more successfully at the next strike, it is difficult to see what the workers will not insist upon demanding.

They will then know their power, and that the world is theirs for the asking. Is it possible that they will not ask for it?

At this writing it is impossible to say what will be the outcome of the dockers' strike. According to the

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Press reports they have been beaten every day since the first week of the strike, and yet somehow the docks are held up by this defeated army. If they can hold up the Port of London the way they do and still be defeated, I wonder what they would be doing if they were victorious?

That the strike is not over yet by any means may be gathered from the following taken from the "Manchester Guardian" of July 1:—

THE STAGNANT PORT.

The river below Gravesend is an extraordinary spectacle now. The ships, two abreast, lie down river waiting for this strike (which some people declare is over) to come to a real finish. Numbers of steamers are at anchor off Southend and by the Nore, and every day adds more to this idle fleet. The end of the strike may possibly be near, but at present it is veiled in a fairly thick haze. What is quite clear, however, is the fact that the Port Authority and the shipowners will have soon to qualify their statements giving so many thousands of men at work, statements which would show the docks are normal again. The docks are so far from being normal that the Port of London in all the history of its unfortunate industrial troubles was never in a worse case. Tilbury Dock, for instance, is so full of ships and outward and inward cargoes that the muddle there will take months of overtime to disentangle if the regular hands were to start to-morrow. The Albert and Victoria Docks are almost as bad. There is a general opinion among shipping officials that the Port Authority must be forced soon to change its optimistic tone. The merchants and consignees are now urgently demanding to know why, if the port is normal again, they can get neither their outward consignments shipped nor their inward goods delivered. But probably a factor other than their impatience will cause Lord Devonport to make an early change in his view of the situation. It is evident to-day that everybody underestimated the men's powers of resistance. It was not thought they could hold out so long. There seems no reason now why they should not hold out till the King is due next month to cut the first sod of the Albert Dock extension. Lord Devonport is the last man to desire an unfortunate coincidence of that sort.

THE STRIKE DEMONSTRATION.

Yesterday's big demonstration in Hyde Park certainly seemed full of fight—audiences as well as speakers. Every lurry was surrounded by at least as big an audience as the speaker could reach. Fierce gusts of cheering came now from one stand, now from another. Mr. Gosling, on a neighbouring lurry, was in the middle of a very persuasive speech when an explosion of cheers came from a gathering behind him. "That's Jimmy O'Grady," he explained. Mr. O'Grady had just mounted a platform, and his coming was evidently an event. Mr. Gosling at the moment was giving figures to prove that the Port of London was completely held up, and was impressing upon the men that it was important they should pay no attention to any rumours of a settlement which might follow to-morrow's doings in Parliament. "Don't you men get on the run," he said warningly. There would be no settlement until the leaders had fully considered any terms proposed, and that could not be on Monday or even on Tuesday. They were going to take a good twenty-four hours to think over any terms of settlement that might be offered.

However, as said, whether they win or lose they are fighting a heroic and historic fight, and victorious or defeated they are laying the groundwork and drilling the army which will sooner or later surely carry the Banner of Labor to its final victory in the Battle for a Free Humanity.

Socialism As it Is.

The MacMillan Co. By W. English Walling. 8s. 6d.

WALLING'S book is a mine of information of what various and divers people have had to say upon Socialism, beginning with the Reverend Dr. Lyman Abbott and winding up with Professor Woodrow Wilson.

His index is interesting, however, in a way quite as much by its omission as much as by its contents. With such catholicity it seems to me that the name of Fred Warren, the editor of the "Appeal to Reason," with 500,000 Socialist circulation, might have been included. I also notice that Wilshire's name is conspicuous by its absence. Considering that "Wilshire's Magazine" for many years had a circulation of over 200,000, and often of over 400,000, and considering that some of the pamphlets written by Wilshire had had over 3,000,000 circulation, it would seem that in a list of people who have determined, in a small degree anyway, what Socialism is that Walling might have ranged alongside of his President Eliots and David Lloyd Georges the names of Warren and Wilshire. And while he was quoting Winston Churchill he might have quoted Prince Peter Kropotkin.

Nevertheless and anyway, the book is worth notice, especially since it devotes so much attention to Syndicalism and its exponents. The great number of quotations, however, and the tiresome amount of italicising, makes it rather too disconnected for easy reading, and his digest of all the provender he provides is not all that can be desired.

The same fault was observed in his book upon Russia. A collection of facts, no matter how valuable *per se*, will never command a large circle of readers unless the facts are organized and digested in a manner easily assimilable by the ordinary reader.

If Walling would spend more time upon synthesizing his facts the truths he wishes to inculcate would have a much better chance of seeing the light of day.

I would like to see Walling write a book carefully presenting his own views of Socialism, quite free of any quotations from anyone, four-spots or otherwise. He would be much more satisfying.

Roosevelt and the Representative System

The turning to Roosevelt is a most significant sign of the general dissatisfaction in the United States not only with the present Constitution, but with the Representative System itself.

Americans are now practically saying, give us a man who will run this country as it should be run, and let us kick the rascals out whether they be an effete and corrupt Congress or a worse Supreme Court. Out, out, with them all, and let Teddy run the whole show!

True enough Roosevelt declares he is the embodiment of the demand for Direct Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum. But it is really impossible to appeal to the unorganized, unconscious, unintelligent mass of the voters upon anything but the broadest lines of policy. Hence a vote for Teddy and the Referendum is really but a still more marked sign of the swing of the pendulum in America from Democracy to Autocracy. However, it is but natural for the people to wish to meet Morgan the Financial Autocrat with Teddy the Political Autocrat.

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San Diego's Only Hope

SAN DIEGO and her refusal of the right of free speech is but another illustration of the necessity of industrial organization for protection of the rights of the minority.

There is no doubt that if a referendum vote were taken of the electorate of San Diego the verdict would be heavily against the I.W.W. agitators. A very large majority of the citizens undoubtedly support the Council and the vigilantes. The people there, generally speaking, want a quiet life and a ready sale for their town lots. What interest have they in hearing a lot of agitators spouting on the street corner? None at all; on the contrary, they have a decided and personal interest in having them fire-hosed off the streets. Their talk hurts real estate. What is a man's body, or his soul either for that matter, compared with their real estate? What?

On the other hand, there are a few who want to talk and give voice to the wrongs of Labor. They have a constitutional right to free speech, and even if not, it is generally thought so. How are they going to exercise this right if they get neither the municipality nor public opinion to give it to them? They call on the Governor of the State to protect them in their rights. He sends Weinstock as a Commissioner to investigate and report. Weinstock reports that the Council has failed to protect the agitators in their undoubted rights, and has practically connived at the brutality of the vigilantes in driving I.W.W. men out of town and beating them up.

The Governor ponders. He knows that it is up to him to perform his sworn duty and order the military force of the State if necessary into San Diego to protect the meanest citizen in his rights if it can be shown that the local authorities fail in their duty. But Governor Johnson, with all his "progressiveness," does not dare antagonize votes for any mere theory on the rights of man, especially when these rights come into conflict with the rights of a San Diego town lot to sell for a higher price.

And, anyway, he has been too busy shouting "thief" at the Taftites and leading the California Bull Mooses at the late Republic Convention to bother about such a little thing as the breaking of the Constitution and the murder of his fellow-citizens by the San Diego vigilantes.

But, after all, this San Diego outbreak serves a good purpose. It shows most conclusively that the capitalist class will not hesitate one moment to break every law and kill any man who even seems to stand in the light of their property. It is also noteworthy that "Conservative" papers like the New York "Times," among many others, quite approves of their tactics of "direct action."

If the capitalists do this when there is really no danger to their property, what will they do when there is danger? I say really no danger, for after all San Diego is no place to organize a revolution—not even a Mexican revolution—by street-corner orations. The I.W.W. men were wasting their breath, and the San Diego capitalists were fools not to appreciate it. As it is, the San Diego vigilantes have unexpectedly at one stroke given the I.W.W. a national boost, and the same time have delivered to San Diego real estate a horrible jolt.

If the capitalists squeal before they are hurt, what would they do if they were in any real danger? Does anyone think that the mere legality of an attack on property by voting would reconcile them into lambs almost willing to shear themselves?

If we would not have some "fighting tigers" then I am muchly mistaken. In fact, we even now see the capitalists ready for a fight when one set of them gets or steals more votes than another set. They will fight when a loss or a victory means absolutely nothing to them as a class and very little to many of them as individuals.

Does anyone think that such a simple thing as a shower of paper ballots falling on election day would be sufficient to wash off their golden fleece? What did the slave-owners do when Lincoln was elected?

What is the difference to the capitalists as a class whether Roosevelt or Taft is President? And yet the country is almost at civil war on the issue.

What, then, would happen if the workers as a class were successful at the polls, and the consummation of that success meant not a different division of spoils between the capitalists, but their total extinction as a class?

If they will commit murder for a small loss, what will they do for a total loss? I suppose that Mr. Berger would even suggest that the capitalists might resort to sabotage—whatever that may be—as the final weapon in class warfare.

The only way the San Diego workers will ever get the privilege of free speech is by gaining power to command it. The only way the workers of America will get the fruits of a revolutionary victory at the polls is by having the power to enforce their rights.

There is but one way of gaining this power—Industrial Organization.

If You See it in the "Sun" it's So

Our esteemed contemporary the "Daily News" of London learns from "a well-informed correspondent" that the Judiciary in the United States is "usually pro-capitalist in sentiment" when it is not "actually corrupt," and that "Americans have no faith in the impartiality or the independence of their courts." The fact that Mr. Roosevelt "catches up the suggestion that judges should be dismissed and judicial decisions be revised by popular referendum" shows, as the "Daily News" explains, "that the American Constitution has broken down."

It will add to the uncommon interest of this information to know that the name of the well-informed correspondent of the "Daily News" is Gaylord Wilshire.

—"New York Sun"

Note by G. W.: As a matter of fact the reason why the London "Daily News" called me "well informed" was merely because I submitted a number of American papers corroborating my conclusions. They are not Socialist papers either. Anyone but a fool must see that the days of the American Constitution are numbered. The next thing to go, I might say now, is the whole of the representative system itself, which has proved a world-wide failure. Let the "Sun" read this note, and again sit up and take notice to Morgan.

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Vote-Chasing and the Revolution

NEVER have I been anything else but a Revolutionary Socialist from the first day, along in the eighties, when I first became a Socialist.

By this I mean that I never thought it possible for Socialism to come except as the bursting of a new life in the world. My evolutionary concept of the coming of Socialism was as that of the hatching of an egg, and I have often made this comparison.

True, I admit that I wanted Socialism to come quickly, and maybe my wishes influenced my conception of what must be the method, but I do not think so. I have never taken any stock in the Fabian step-at-a-time, municipalize-the-water-and-gas Socialism so much favoured by the Bergers and Hillquits in America and the Webbs and Shaws in England.

It seemed to me that the best platform to advocate and predict the revolutionary change of society from capitalism to Socialism was the political platform, and with this in mind in 1890 I formed the first branch of the Socialist Party—then the Socialist-Labor Party—in Los Angeles. The same year I was the Socialist nominee for Congress from that city, and polled about 1,000 votes.

I take it that to-day the great majority of the rank and file of the Socialist Party of America hold practically the same revolutionary views as to Socialism as my own and those that I have always expressed in these columns, and yet in the last Convention of the Party a resolution was passed which practically would expel every single one of them.

I am not referring to the much discussed sabotage paragraph of Section 6, but the last one, wherein political action is defined as "participation in elections for practical legislative work." This reverses the whole attitude of the great part of the membership of the Party as to elections. Very few of us certainly ever went into elections "for practical legislative work." On the contrary, we always specifically stated we were for propaganda purposes alone.

We did not go in for "practical work" first and foremost because we thought propaganda for the revolution was the important thing, and we could not do both things at the same time. "Practical work" is only possible by trading with the old party politicians, either trading with them before election in order to elect your man to office, or trading with them after he is elected. Trading with politicians and at the same time preaching revolution to the people hardly go hand and hand together. If I were in America this election and wanted to get some "practical work" done, which I do not, it seems to me that I would work with "practical politicians" like Taft or Roosevelt rather than with Berger or Hillquit or Hunter.

But I am sure the immense majority of those who are to cast their votes for Debs are very far from thus giving evidence that they want to see something "practical" done. They don't want anything except the revolution, and yet nothing is more impractical than revolution if you take Berger's word for it.

As for the first paragraph of Section 6, referring to sabotage, that is merely another attempt of the opportunist section of the Socialist Party to ride roughshod over the revolutionary wing. In the first place, until we have a definition of what sabotage is, any member of the Party is liable to be expelled for advocating about anything that the opportunists may think unfashionable.

The ways of the vote-chasing Socialists are past understanding. However, there is still hope in the Party referendum.

Best Book on Syndicalism

The best book in English—and, in fact, the only book so far—on Syndicalism that gives a fair statement of its theory is by Dr. Louis Levine. It may be had at $1.50 from Longmans, Green and Co., of New York, or at 6s. from P. S. King and Son, of London. The title is "The Labour Movement in France: A Study of Revolutionary Syndicalism."

Tom Mann and Guy Bowman

Guy Bowman, whose sentence of nine months was reduced to two months, came out of gaol in time last month to take full charge of the job of editing the "Syndicalist" for June, and that paper was transferred from its temporary lodgings with me back to its parent.

Tom Mann's sentence was also reduced to the same period. So he, too, is now at liberty, and will resume his agitation in favour of Syndicalism just as soon as he has sufficiently recuperated from trying to sustain life on British prison food.

"Beyond War," by Professor Vernon Kellogg

Kellogg's book is a good argument against war from one standpoint of the evolutionist. The surprising thing about his argument, however, is that he does not see that it is the evolution of society and not of individual man that to-day makes war profitable, and that under Socialism will make it unprofitable.

Society is just as much the product of evolution as is man, but the Professor seems to ignore society and its needs altogether. The book is published by Henry Holt and Co., of New York.

EIGHT-PAGE PAMPHLET ON

SYNDICALISM

BY

GAYLORD WILSHIRE

Two cents each or 16 cents per dozen, post paid. Remit in Stamps or Postal Order, Wilshire's Magazine, 38, Clerkenwell Green, London

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The McNamara Brothers' Hell on Earth

THE Los Angeles dynamiting was a foolish and disastrous game; but, even so, no one would have the McNamara Brothers tortured for the rest of their natural lives. Hanging may have been too good for them, but certainly San Quentin is too bad for any one.

I wonder what our British Suffragettes would think if the British prisons were San Quentins? This not to say that the British method of treating convicts is not in some respects even more deliberately cruel and inhuman than the American.

The following are some extracts from a recent book on San Quentin Prison by an ex-prisoner, Donald Lowrie, entitled "My Life in Prison":—

My first glimpse of San Quentin prison was decidedly depressing. It looked bleak and ugly—a scar on the landscape. Somehow I thought of the black hole of Lucknow and that awful summer day in the fifties. As the train wound in and out through the Marin County hills and vales, the prison, silhouetted on a bare promontory, seemed beckoning me. Presently it was hidden by intervening hills, and the train drew up at a small, barnlike station. I expected the brakeman to call San Quentin, but he said "Green Brae!"

A rickety, dust-begrimed stage awaited us. There were several other passengers. Instinctively I knew they were connected with the prison, and I dropped the newspaper. The handcuffs did not attract attention. An utter indifference characterized the passengers—they talked and laughed among themselves quite naturally. But I caught a fleeting, half-shamed glance of sympathy from the brown eyes of an awkward, freckle-faced schoolgirl. It did me good—I still remember it.

Passing through the "patent gate" that marks the western boundary of the prison reservation, my attention was drawn to another scarification of the earth.

I gazed, appalled.

Slowly it dawned upon me that I was looking into the prison cemetery. There was no green thing near—nothing but bare, dirty-yellow earth. Rows of white boards, each with its black number staring out over the road, marked the last resting place of hundreds of men—and some women—who had passed that same spot, living, breathing entities, and they had gazed horrifiedly, just as I gazed.

What complete indifference to human sensibilities was responsible for placing this graveyard at the very entrance to the penitentiary?

The Mess Hall.

The mess hall is partly underground, with windows on one side only, and is about four hundred feet in length. An immense building—the old sash and door factory—cuts off the light from these windows, so that it is often necessary to have artificial light for the midday meal. An aisle extends down the centre of this cellar-like place, and long tables, each accommodating twenty-two persons, run out at right angles on either side of the aisle. The floor is asphaltum and is always wet or damp. The walls are whitewashed.

Of course, there are no tablecloths or napkins—just the plain board table. Tinware is used exclusively and is always rusty, save when a dozen or two new pans are added to the equipment.

The place smells worse than a stable always, but more so on some days than on others.

The prisoners filed into this place indiscriminately, the only segregation being that of the Chinese, who have separate tables. Negroes, Japanese, Hindus, syphilitics, old men without teeth, young boys with huge appetites line up as they may and march in, to the general trough.

Twelve minutes is the regular time allowed for meals, and the food is served in pans, each prisoner helping himself. No service spoons or ladles are provided. Each prisoner dips into the common receptacle with the spoon with which he eats. . . .

I do not want to disgust or sicken you, but if you ever wonder why a man coming out of prison is bitter and feels revengeful, perhaps this one minor fact will help you to understand and tend to make you charitable.

If the theory of imprisonment is purely punitive, why, of course, this and other horrors should not be condemned, but if there is the least idea of making the prisoner a better man, of reforming him—and I believe that is the theory—then these things should be known to the public.

The Women Convicts.

At 4.30 in the afternoon the key is turned on the unhappy women, and the long, gloomy night is before them.

The kitchen is a dark, smelly place, with numerous holes in the floor, through which rats find ready entrance. Beyond is the storeroom, and thence a doorway leading into a dark hall about fourteen feet long. It is here that the dungeons are located, two 6 x 10 cells, called "holes" by the matron, which are blacker than night, damp and altogether horrible. A thin straw mattress and a pair of blankets constitute the only furnishing of this awful place. Women are "thrown" into the dungeon at the pleasure of the matron, without a chance to defend themselves.

One woman who had not stood upon her feet for years was confined there for eighty-three days because she insisted on having a receipt for valuables that had been taken from her when she came into the prison. During part of that time she was in the jacket. Oh, yes, they use the jacket on women as well as on the men.

Without light, water or towels, this poor woman, unable to move save by crawling, survived. She is a living example of what the human body may endure. She was finally brought out into the light, given a pair of crutches, and put to work making buttonholes in the men's garments that are made by the women. Later, for a trifling reply, she was knocked to the floor by the matron, dragged to her cell, and locked in for three months, with no food but bread and water.

When she was released again, she was not permitted to have her crutches. Her mode of locomotion was to sit in a small rocker and hitch along the floor. In order to get anything to eat she had to hitch down eighteen steps, across the yard to the dining-room, and back in the same way. In rainy weather she did not get out at all, but used to depend for food upon the kindness of the other prisoners, who ran the risk of being punished by giving it to her.

The Straitjacket.

In January, 1908, a prisoner named R—— was caught making shell ornaments in his cell. The captain of the yard inferred that he was engaged in making these ornaments for the guards—that he was trading—and the man was sent to the dungeon and placed in the straitjacket for the purpose of forcing him to divulge with whom he was "doing business." For several days he was kept in the jacket—six hours in, six hours out.

On the afternoon of January 20, 1908, Ed. Morrell, whose duty it was to accompany the dungeon officer when he went down there, came into the office and called me into the plate room.

"This R—— case is getting fierce," he groaned. "I can't stand seeing much more of this kind of thing. I feel like throwing everything up and killing some of these tor-

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turers. R—— can't stand much more, and yet they intend giving it to him worse than ever. Just now the captain told Murray to put a coat on him to-night before he goes into the sack, so as to make it tighter. You see, he's shrunk so much since he first went in that the jacket is getting loose. The coat will make it fit tight—and hotter."

That evening the dungeon-keeper—a prisoner—rushed to the office with the startling information that he thought R—— was dying. The captain came into the turnkey's office for the keys, and went down to investigate. In a few minutes he returned, a look of fiendish satisfaction on his face.

"Has he squealed?" asked Murray, the lieutenant of the yard.

"No, the —— —— ——," was the reply, "but he will before I get through with him."

Men sentenced to the jacket are trussed up at 7 a.m., and remain that way until 1 p.m. Then they have the freedom of the dark cell until 7 p.m., when they are again trussed up, to remain until 1 a.m., at which hour the sergeant of the second watch takes the jacket off until morning. They are fed a few ounces of bread and water every twenty-four hours. This punishment continues as long as the captain of the yard desires.

The next morning an extra coat was placed on R—— before he was laced in the jacket. In a few minutes his screams of agony were piercing our brains. I can hear them yet. I shall always hear them. Every man who heard them unconsciously kept as quiet as possible. We moved about with light tread. Without reasoning about it, we wanted those screams to have full sway, to reach everywhere, all through the prison, over the walls, out into the world, into the homes of men and women, into the schools, into the churches. It was not R——, Convict No. 20,581, who was screaming; it was not the human soul that was being strangled—it was the composite, the group-soul of all the proscribed. But the screams did not seem to move those who had it in their power to relieve the victim. Only his fellow convicts suffered with him—

> And through each brain on hands of pain
> Another's terror crept.

The screams had to penetrate two steel doors and wind through the cellar-like passageway to the outer air. Their very faintness made them more horrible. It sounded like a man being tortured in the bowels of the earth. After the dungeon-keeper had timidly reported at the office twice—he was always fearful when he came to report screams, because he was sometimes sent back with a reprimand about being chicken-hearted—the captain went down to investigate, but refused to release the victim. He came back, jangling the keys at his side and humming "Annie Rooney." After a time the screams became fainter. Finally they died away.

R—— was carried to the incorrigible ward that evening. What happened to him up there he will have to tell himself—if he ever comes out of San Quentin alive.

* * *

That things are no better in San Quentin under the new Progressive administration of Governor Johnson is indicated by the fact that only last month a "hunger strike" broke out there, in which over 300 out of the 1,800 prisoners took part. It was not subdued until two men were shot—one fatally—and a large number "disciplined." The lucky man of the 300 was the one who was shot dead.

When men in San Quentin strike and face "hosing" and "strait jackets" it can be assumed that the food offered must have been of such a degree of rottenness that no self-respecting hog would touch it.

It must be remembered that it is not only ordinary criminals who are being tortured in our San Quentins, but that the coming social unrest is every day landing more and more men in prison whose only crime is seeking the betterment of humanity. No doubt some San Diego member of the Socialist Party will before long be undergoing the "discipline" of the "hosing" while tied up by his thumbs in San Quentin for merely expressing an opinion in consonance with the Declaration of Independence within the hearing of a vigilante.

It is all well enough from the vote-getting standpoint for the Socialists in Convention to solemnly declare that anyone who advocates illegal force to meet legal force shall be expelled from the Party. I have no doubt, however, that the San Diego Socialists who have had their primary course with the local vigilantes preparatory to getting their final University San Quentin degree will hardly be found among the vote-chasing crowd upon their liberation.

A very interesting book upon the American prison system that has recently come to my notice is published by the Fleming H. Revel Co., of New York, entitled "An Open Letter to Society," by Convict 1776.

The articles that have been running in the "American Magazine" are also illuminating, inasmuch as they show that one great reason for the rottenness of the prisons, in the North as well as in the South, is the fact that political bosses sell the convicts to prison contractors, who simply work the men to death as a matter of quick profits.

This is the sort of fate that Taft is striving his best to prepare for Fred Warren, editor of the "Appeal to Reason," of Kansas. However, Taft is doing it legally, so we ought to submit with pleasure or be expelled.

Rule of the Unjust Majority

THIS idea of the rule of the majority being necessarily the rule of justice is all a mistake. The rule of the majority may be the acme of all that is unjust to a weak minority. The only way a minority has of protecting itself against a majority that refuses justice is to be in a position to make life so disagreeable to the majority that it is forced to attend to the minority's complaints.

For a minority to be able to successfully resist a majority it must be organized. To-day the capitalist class is a small minority of the people, but it is a class-conscious, organized body, and therefore easily holds its own against the vastly greater body of unorganized "have-nots."

The mere question of having a voting majority does not necessarily mean that you have the power to carry out your wishes. You not only must have your majority, but you must also have the power. For instance, to-day there is both a popular majority as well as a Parliamentary majority behind the coalition of the Liberal Party and the Labor Party in Great Britain, and yet when it comes to their being able to carry out either the Insurance Act or the Home Rule Act it is quite a question as to whether the resistance of the minority may not defeat them.

Naturally, the most persistent advocate of illegality in resisting the Home Rule Bill is to be found in the "Observer," owned by the American plutocrat Astor. There exists no body of men to-day who have as little respect for law, whether it be in San Diego or

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London, as the American capitalists; and Astor, although a transplanted rose, is true to his early education. His editor, Garvin, suggests that the Conservative Party in Parliament prevent any further legislation in that body by steadily crying out: "Dissolve! dissolve!" He declares that:—

"The example of revolt once set in motion for a noble cause will be exploited for worse causes. In the mood which makes the devil quote Scripture for his own ends, every Syndicalist in this country will exploit the example of Ulster. If Government offices and post offices are seized in the North of Ireland, if citizens refuse to pay taxes, if conflict bursts out between the armed forces of the Crown and those who have been the King's most loyal subjects, if the railways are stopped or torn up, if the political strike of a whole community is declared—if these things happen in Ulster, who can doubt that the reflex effect upon Labor on this side will convulse Great Britain?

"We may be told that before things come to this pass Sir Edward Carson and his immediate friends may be prosecuted and imprisoned. If that is to be done, leader after leader will take their place, until the gaols are stuffed. If that is to be done, it must be done in the next six months, and when Sir Edward Carson and his friends are removed, the only moral influence which can prevent riot in Belfast will go with them. We venture to think that before hell is let loose in the name of Conciliation, Ministers will have to reconsider their refusal to dissolve. They refer to South Africa. In that quarter their policy, as they know well, was only rendered possible by agreement beforehand between the two races in South Africa itself. In Ireland their policy would fling a lighted torch into a powder magazine. That is why the country at any cost must be roused to stay their hand."

Whether there is any likelihood of such a policy of bold resistance to the State being successful is doubtful, not because the plan is a bad one, but because I doubt if there is sufficient at stake in Ireland to induce a popular revolt.

As a matter of fact, Home Rule will have practically no effect in the everyday life of the ordinary man in Ulster, and it seems incredible that he will go out in the streets to risk his neck for nothing.

However, that is not the point. The point is that the "Observer" shows not the least hesitancy in advocating resistance to a law of Parliament by force, and what it advises capitalists to do for sentiment certainly should give a line to Labor as to what it might do for its life. For after all, when Labor strikes for better conditions of work it is really asking for more life. However, as Garvin hints, Syndicalists might exploit the idea.

If there is any chance of a practically unorganized minority of capitalists resisting Parliamentary decrees, why is there not a better chance of an organized industrial minority of the workers?

If a minority of capitalists confesses that its only means of resistance is by ultra-Parliamentarian means, why should not the workers who are in the immense numerical majority also see that Parliament is not the final court of redress?

But it is funny that an Astor should point the way.

America's "Idle Rich"

Yale Professor's Idea

Dr. S. W. Farnam, Yale Professor of Economics, in an address delivered recently before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Washington, suggested that a scientific inquiry should be held on the question of America's "idle rich," who give "monkey dinners," "dog funerals," "all night snake dances," and engage in other similar abnormal pastimes.

"It is a matter of common observation," said the professor, "that wealthy families in our country often contain parasitic members who derive a large income from society without rendering economic or public service in return. These facts should be examined historically and statistically to enable us to judge of the reaction of prosperity on the human mind.

"These parasitic members of the so-called 'leisured' class should be peculiarly useful specimens for economic study in our country, because they are not under the social pressure of the feudal system inherited in the older countries of Europe from the time when wealth meant land ownership, which involved public duties. Many of this class walk our streets, eloquent but unconscious arguments for Socialism, terrible examples for the moralist, but comparatively neglected by the economist, the sociologist, and the statistician.

"If cows had the power to choose a life of celibacy we should find many a pedigree Guernsey chewing the cud in idleness, yielding no milk, just as we often find sons of distinguished parents displaying real ability when put to an academic test, yet doing nothing to make their lives useful or distinguished, for the lack of proper incentive. We should gather the budgets of club men and the statistics of voluntary idleness and study social conditions in the homes of the wealthy."

Yes, all this is perfectly true, and as we know it already, why not go after the remedy rather than seek for more proof of the condition?

Eating the Children

The "Saturday Evening Post"

Swift's modest proposal that the poor of Ireland ought to eat their younger offspring, thereby at once both increasing the scant supply of food and diminishing the number of mouths to be fed, has generally been regarded as a terrible satire. We don't know, however, but there are some very respectable persons now living who would ponder the proposal in all seriousness, and rather incline to the opinion that it was not without merit.

Legislative halls and lobbies in the South this year have resounded with some solemn warnings against child-labour laws, which Swift might have adapted to his modest proposal. In Georgia, where factory employment of children under twelve years of age was permitted and the children's work-schedule was sixty-four hours a week, two Bills proposing only slight ameliorations were bitterly opposed by manufacturers.

"I have been to New England, and I know how these laws have hurt them. If you want to ruin Georgia just adopt the same kind of laws they have got there!" said one enlightened employer of children. Another held up the dire threat that, if children under twelve were kept out of the mills and the workday reduced to ten hours, the manufacture of cotton in the State would be reduced by a hundred and fifty thousand bales annually. Similar Bills in other States provoked similar wails.

No doubt manufacturers can make some money by employing operatives in pinafores and working them for hours that would tire a robust adult. The mill-owners don't quite ask that children be served on their tables, but they demand them as food for their mills with an unblushing earnestness that brings Swift's satire uncomfortably near home.

A careful study of the best available evidence suggests that in a normal year one-half of the adult male wage-earners east of the Rockies and north of the Ohio get less than five hundred dollars each, and three-fourths of them less than six hundred dollars, while three-fifths of the adult female wage-earners get less than three hundred and twenty-five dollars. This calculation embraces an immense number of persons—literally millions. The sums named do not represent a decent living for free and industrious inhabitants of the richest country in the world in a prosperous time.

Unquestionably, as a general statement, wages ought to be higher; but where is the additional money to come from? Some industries that pay the lowest wages yield only a moderate return upon the capital employed; and if the price of the products is enhanced in order that wages may be increased, what will the people who already complain of high prices say to that?

There is a huge maladjustment here. Socialists think they know how to cure it, but they are only a handful, and other people prefer the disease to their remedy.

One point is clear: If a great number of industrious people are unable to get a decent living in normally prosperous times, as a country we are still considerable of a failure.

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The Real Peril to Middlemen

"The Irish middleman is trembling inside his coat and trousers at the advent of co-operation in Ireland," says the "Irish Homestead." "But there is a new form of economic enterprise which threatens his existence and profits far more than agricultural co-operation, indeed far more than urban co-operation, and the Irish middleman has remained altogether silent on the matter.

"We refer to the advent of the multiple shop. We propose to devote some attention to this economic phenomena, because it is here the real dangerous opposition to the democratic organisation of distribution on a co-operative basis will arise. Co-operators have really nothing to fear from the competition of the individual trader. The co-operative societies, allied with their federations, have advantages in joint purchase which will grow more obvious as the total turnover of the societies increase and as the trade done by the societies induces manufacturers to offer better and better terms. The individual trader will never be able to buy so economically as the co-operative societies, because the latter, bulking their orders through their federations, will be able to buy on a much larger scale, and can get better terms.

"But the multiple shop company has many of the economic advantages of the co-operative federation, and before its advent the private trader in English towns is melting away just as the individual weaver disappeared before the factory and mill. The extent to which this new system of distributive trade has grown in recent years forces serious consideration of the system. After over half a century of co-operation in England there are about 20,000 co-operative stores. But in a very short time the number of multiple shops in Great Britain reached the amazing figure of 70,000.

"If we take the figures relating to one firm alone it will give some idea of the way in which these multiple companies work. It had last year 714 branches. The amount of its subscribed capital was $4,900,000. Its net profit was $2,400,000, and a dividend of 20 per cent. was paid on its shares. Another company of the same kind made last year a net profit of $2,010,000.

"Now, here is a movement which is far more menacing to the individual trader than the co-operative movement. It is operating already on a much higher scale. It can attract capital far more than the co-operative movement can, because the latter limits the dividend, and the aim of the multiple shop company is to pay as huge dividends as possible. Capital will be on the side of the multiple shop company, and the small trader is bound to disappear before its advent.

"It is only a question of time before these multiple shop companies begin operations on a large scale in Ireland. There are branches already working and multiplying in our large Irish towns. The struggle for the control of distributive trade lies between these companies and the co-operative societies. This is so obvious a thing that we wonder the Irish middlemen strain at the co-operative gnat while swallowing without a murmur the multiple humped camel of the great company shop."

Why Send Men to the Rock Pile?

Monster Crusher being Built by Traylor Eng. Co.

(The "Call," Allentown, Pa.)

The Traylor Engineering and Manufacturing Company, of this city, have just closed a contract for the erection of the largest rock crushing plant that has ever been built. The machinery for this plant will be manufactured by the Traylor Company at its works in South Allentown, and consists of two mammoth jaw crushers, one weighing 450,000 lbs. and the other 300,000 lbs., and one heavy duty crushing roll, the largest of its kind, together with elevators, screens, conveyors, and other machinery.

This crushing plant is to be used by the H. S. Kerbaugh Company for the crushing of rock for the concrete work in the construction of the Kensico Reservoir at Valhalla, N.Y.

New York City is spending hundreds of millions of dollars upon its water system. Some of the reservoirs and conduits under construction are at a distance of over 80 miles from the city. One of the largest of these reservoirs is known as the Kensico Reservoir, at Valhalla, near White Plains, N.Y., which will have a capacity of 40,000,000 gallons. The Kensico Dam will have a length of about 1,800 ft., with a maximum height of 170 ft. above the present river bed, the foundations extending 120 ft. below the ledge rock. This dam will require more than 1,000,000 yards of stone, all of which will be crushed in the plant to be built by the Traylor Company. When completed this dam will be the largest single block of concrete and masonry in the world.

To give our readers an idea of the magnitude of this crushing plant, and of the machinery that is built by the Traylor Engineering and Manufacturing Company at their works in this city, a brief description of this crushing plant will be interesting.

The rock to be crushed is granite, and the quarry is being opened along the side of the hill, near the site of the Kensico Dam, for a distance of about 2,000 ft. There will be used a number of 4-yard steam shovels for loading the rock as it is blasted out on 10-ton cars, and these cars are hauled in trains of ten to twelve to the crushing plant located below the quarry, where they are automatically discharged directly into the first crusher.

Standard railroad tracks run along and under these bins and the crushed rock loaded into the cars through gates operated by air, permitting the loading of a car in less than one minute, and then hauled to any part of the operation required.

This plant is entirely automatic, no labor being required in handling the product from the time it passes into the first crusher until it is delivered to the storage bins.

This plant is not only the largest that has ever been built, but it will have by far the greatest capacity, and embodies all of the most modern machinery and improvements. The cost of crushing the rock, (including an allowance for wear and tear on machinery, will not exceed 4½ to 5 cents per yard of rock crushed.

New Transmitting Method

An improved method of transmitting cheap cable messages and wireless telegrams was demonstrated in London the other day by the inventors, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Varley. Advantage is taken of the fact that thin strips of metal or reeds vibrate in unison when their note is identical, but are otherwise unresponsive. By combining a number of these reeds, each driven by its own coil and having a corresponding receiver at the other end, it becomes possible to transmit each letter of the alphabet and other requisite symbols, such as figures and so forth, by single impulses, instead of having to make use of several impulses as is necessary by the Morse system. High tension electricity of very small quantity is employed, the charging of the cables with static electricity is thereby avoided. As the different impulses interfere with each other no more than the different instruments of an orchestra, it becomes possible to operate any reasonable number of machines simultaneously over the same cable. An adaptation of the principle to wireless telegraphy makes it possible by means of a triple receiver, which works independently for the three "tunes" of vibrations used, to pick up general messages to be sent throughout a system, semi-private messages to be sent only to a given number of stations, and secret messages which are received only by the special instrument with which the transmitter is in tune. In its finished form the transmitting apparatus will resemble a typewriter, and will be operated with a corresponding facility, the message being received in type form at the other end, instead of as at present in dots and dashes.

If the Chinese ever get a real independence day to celebrate they have the firecrackers to do it with.—"Philadephia Press."

Senator $107,000 Stephenson's general line of defence seems to be that he could not possibly have got there any other way.—"Ohio State Journal."

"The Wall Street Journal" says: "There is something so appallingly childish about the legal mind at times that the economist and the financier stand in speechless amazement. Mr. Wickersham is in control of an instrument intended for the measured and weighted enforcement of the law. He acts like a little boy with a new jackknife, turned loose to work his will in the Metropolitan Art Museum."

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Predatory Wealth Defies Parliament

PREDATORY wealth is a well-worn Rooseveltian phrase in America. The adjective is well chosen to designate the holders of such great wealth that its power gives them confiscatory rights over the smaller owners, which they are not slow to exercise.

Of course, it is pitifully absurd for the small capitalists to look to a Roosevelt or to a Woodrow Wilson —or, in fact, anyone else—to protect them from the Trusts, for their economic fate is sealed beyond hope. It is but a question of time for them to fall into the insatiable Rockefeller-Morgan maw.

In England, however, "predatory wealth" is entering into a new and interesting phase of its career. It is preparing to defy Parliament itself. And why not? If wealth is power, then why should wealth surrender to a mere voters' Parliament?

One point of attack is the new Home Rule Bill. Ulster having a larger percentage of wealth than the rest of Ireland thinks that it ought to have special political consideration, and threatens to insist upon this by force of arms. Ulster having wealth has might; therefore, quite logically, the Tory Party in England is shrieking that "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right." And, again, why not? What wealthy man from Ulster, or any other place, will give up his control of wealth without a fight?

Hubert Bland discusses the new phase of militant wealth in his usual convincing style in the current week's "Sunday Chronicle" as follows:—

"There are signs in the air, otherwise in the newspapers, that certain Important Persons, and some other persons who although not important are thoughtfully inclined, are becoming uneasy in their minds as to the attitude of not a few sections of the community towards the law. There is a spirit of disruption abroad, they think, an anarchistic spirit, a spirit which, if allowed free play, if not firmly suppressed, may, at no distant date, shake the very foundations of the social order.

"Speaking at Walthamstow on Saturday last, Mr. Lloyd George became momentarily and unwontedly philosophic. There are two great principles which help to bind society together, he said, and one is the submission of the subjects to the law of the land. The people who flout this binding principle he characterised as 'the new Anarchists.' He described them as people who think that

> they cannot merely prescribe the laws which they obey, but they can also choose the people who have to obey and who have not to obey. . . . . The laws they like are to be enforced against the people whom they do not like, but the laws they do not like are not to be enforced. This is a very extraordinary doctrine.

CONFISCATION DEFINED.

"Mr. George spoke feelingly, from his heart, we cannot doubt, for he had before his mind's eyes the great, or, let us say, the large, meeting at the Albert Hall, in which an audience made up of persons usually so peaceable and law-abiding that one never so much as thinks of them as among the possibilities of social peril, solemnly pledged itself to resist—if not to the death as far as the police-court—an Act of Parliament in the tranquil administration of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has a very personal interest.

"At the same time, and at the back of his mind, probably, there was hovering the disturbing vision of another class of person, whose attitude towards the law is not quite that which a constitutional statesman would naturally like to see it. In the current number of the 'Fortnightly Review,' Mr. Arthur Baumann, a well-known Conservative politician, and, therefore, one would presume, a stalwart upholder of legality and all things by law established, has written as follows:—

> When one class is taxed by income-tax or death duties or threepence a week in stamps, in order to provide moneys with which the wants, real or imaginary, of some other class or classes are to be relieved, the confiscation is indisputable, *unless those who pay clearly consent.* A portion of the income of the rich minority is transferred to a public trustee to be spent by him in making the poor majority more comfortable, and the thing is done by the vote of the poor majority. If that is not confiscation, the word has no meaning.

A DISTURBING PASSAGE.

"I confess that when I read that passage and remembered by whom it was written, a Conservative of the Conservatives, and, therefore, a legalist of the legalists, I was every bit as much moved as was Mr. Lloyd George by the threatened recalcitrancy of the duchesses and the ladies' maids. Taxation becomes confiscation, according to this doctrine, whenever it is not clearly consented to—not by the nation, observe, or by the majority of the nation, but by *the particular persons taxed.*

"And the implication is that this confiscation is violent and revolutionary, a species of plunder, and may justly and morally be resented and even resisted whenever and wherever the prospects of resistance offer a reasonable chance of success."

Now, the point of all this is simply that the rich, clearly recognizing that money is power, do not propose to give it up without a struggle. It is one thing to have a majority of the votes of England, but it is quite another thing to have the majority of the money of England, and this difference is what the rich of England have started out to demonstrate to Parliament. I would ask our Socialist Party friends if they think that with the rich making such a fuss about nothing—for, after all, Home Rule for Ireland and the Insurance Bill for Servant Girls is really nothing—that they will not make considerably more fuss when there is a more direct attack on wealth by a Socialist Parliament?

If the Liberal Party of England, in full control of the army and navy, and with a majority in and out of Parliament at the back of it, and with many of

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its individual members being men of great wealth, find a revolt in Ulster difficult to handle, I would suggest that the Socialist Party, even if in a majority, with no army and navy and no rich members, will find the coercion of the whole capitalist class still more difficult.

Again, I say that the one important thing for Socialists to do is to get power to back themselves up in their demands.

Power to take what is asked for provided it is not freely given when demanded.

Industrial solidarity is Power.

The Question of Violence

VIOLENCE may or may not be the best tactics for Socialists in the struggle for human rights. It is largely a question of men and geography. Just now the people of San Diego have decided, and no doubt decided *legally* too, to abrogate the fundamental right of free speech. It seems impossible to gain that right there by legal means, and probably not by violence. So far the Socialists there have merely turned the other side of their head to the vigilante's club. That may be the right way, the best in the end, but I am frank to say if I were in San Diego that I would certainly not seek to establish free speech on such lines. I would either not consider the game in San Diego worth the candle—certainly not worth one-tenth part of the physical suffering the men have encountered—or, if I did, I would take a vigilante along with me when one of them started something doing. Perhaps by pretending yourself to be a lamb will gain you permission to bleat when the suggestion that you are really a wolf would prevent your howling at all.

Two questions then arise: first, whether a wolf could bleat anyway even if he tried if he were really a howling wolf; and, secondly, whether it is worth a wolf's while to bleat even if he could and was allowed to do so.

San Diego affords an excellent illustration of the obvious futility at times of anything but violence as a means to establish a human right, although this is not by any means saying that violence could establish it there, nor of my advocating violence even if so. Perhaps it is better to suffer in silence than it is to howl at the expense of violence, especially when expulsion from the Socialist Party might follow free speech gained by impolite means.

The London Dock Strike at the present writing (July 8) also brings the question of the use of violence to the front owing to a speech made yesterday in Hyde Park by Ben Tillett, and reported in this morning's "Daily News":—

"I want to utter no threat, but, as sure as there is a God above, if we can't win by peaceful measures, if the capitalists and the Government say we shall not have the right to live, then we must take the power into our own hands. (Cheers.)

"We must use every means, and I openly say here that the only other means we have to use is violence and the use of every physical power we possess to make this brutal combination of capital realise that our women are as sacred to us as their women to them, and our children as sacred as theirs."

"We are anxious to discuss, and fairly and squarely put, our position. We cannot accept less than we are asking for. We merely ask the right to live, and the right to be paid our wages."

Referring to a distribution of free bread, organised by a London newspaper, Mr. Tillett said the bread was sent in a "blackleg van."

"I am glad the women of the Custom House and the other side took the bread and threw it in the road, and threw it at the blackleg driver. We ought not to be insulted. I think, after all, the newspaper was inspired with good motives, and I give them credit for their generosity. We want more. Good luck to them; but they must send trade union vans with trade union bread when they want to succour those in distress."

Ben, not being a member of the American Socialist Party, cannot be expelled, and therefore can risk speaking out his mind, but he must remember that he never again after this exhibition of positive rudeness can expect to sit at table with Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit when he next comes to America. He is now in their Down and Out Club alongside Tom Mann and Bill Haywood.

It is now seven weeks since the dock strike began, and the men seem to-day more determined than ever to stay with it to a finish. Indeed, it looks as if they would die with their wives and their little children rather than surrender. The suffering is unparalleled, and yet there is no sign of capitulation. The King, who was to have "cut the first sod" at a celebration next week in connection with the extension of the Royal Albert Dock, to-day gives notice of his cancellation of the engagement. Of course, this is owing to the strike. Exports from the port show a falling-off of over $20,000,000 for this June over that of June, 1911.

After such a heroic struggle and sacrifice the men simply must win.

The American Political Situation

WILSON'S nomination by the Democrats, following Taft's re-nomination by the Republicans, gives the American voters the first clear-cut opportunity they have ever had to cast their ballots for a Conservative or a Radical as they may choose.

For years there has been a division of the bourgeois parties in England and Europe between the Conservatives and the Liberals, but in America the Republicans and Democrats have been so near alike that it has been quite impossible to classify them as Rights and Lefts. On the whole, in recent years it may be said the Republicans have represented the plutocracy and the Democrats the middle classes, while both of course professed to represent Labor. But, as a matter of fact, the division was not distinct, and it was merely a matter of chance that Roosevelt was not nominated by the Republicans and Harmon by the Democrats, and had this been the case the present positions of the two parties would have been quite reversed.

Even now, with all Wilson's progressive ideas, it will be hard to reconcile one's ideas of a Radical Party with the Democratic Party when we remember that it depends for its main support on the conservative Southern States, where the black man is not allowed to vote, and where old-fashioned religious and social ideas are still predominant and State rights a fetish.

The effect of Wilson's nomination upon the Debs's vote is problematical. Of course, Wilson will get no real Socialist votes; but, on the other hand, if the Democrats had nominated a Conservative like Clark, or more especially Harmon, then Debs would have received many votes that will now go to Wilson.

If Teddy also runs it will still further tend to cut Debs's vote. Nevertheless, Debs seems sure of coming near the two-million mark.

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Section 6: Its Consequences

To the Editor of "Wilshire's."

NO STUDENT of "Section 6" of the Constitution adopted by the Socialist Party in Chicago need any longer fear that we have become mere politicians. A more impolitic paragraph was never written.

There is to be, it appears, something new under the sun: a Constitution that affirms not only what its makers believe, but what they do not believe. The Constructivists, having at last secured a majority, begin doing by telling what they will not permit to be done.

Why, however, do our leaders repudiate only the advocates of "crime, sabotage and violence"?

Is it because they disbelieve in these things? Then, since they as fervently disbelieve in other things, why have they not searched the dictionary and published a catalogue of all the things in which they do not believe?

Is it because the advocates of "crime, sabotage and violence" have, as well as the Constructivists, a plan for the reconstruction of the world? So has the Catholic Church, the Kaiser and the Theosophical Society. Why the invidious distinction?

Is it because "if we do not repudiate we shall be suspected of approving"? Then, for this excellent reason, we shall certainly be suspected of approving drunkenness, Christian Science and the Salome Dance.

Or, is it because we are specifically accused, not of intemperance, Eddyism and undue familiarity with Terpsichore, but of "crime, sabotage and violence"? Ah, but we are accused of free love and atheism. Was not a Massachusetts S.P. convention asked to repudiate these, and did not a national S.P. convention repudiate a proposal to refuse membership to persons not of what capitalistic ethics describe as "good moral character"? According to their own logic, to what affirmations and denials has the silence of our Constructivist leaders not committed us?

Half-way in this, why is "Section 6" half-way in other matters? Since advocacy of some tactics disapproved of by our leaders is to constitute, *de jure*, disloyalty, why not advocacy of all the tactics that they disapprove? Why not expel all advocates of the popular seizure, as opposed to the popular purchase, of the means of production and distribution? All advocates of the General Strike? And why, in reason's name, object to Gompers's desire to expel all advocates of Socialism from the American Federation of Labor?

"Any member . . . . who opposes political action . . . . shall be expelled. . . . . Political action shall be construed to mean practical legislative administrative work along the lines of the Socialist Party platform." Well and good; but, since "legislative" means one thing and "administrative" another, what shall "legislative-administrative" be "construed to mean"? The recall of judges is "along the lines of the Socialist party platform." Roosevelt favors recall. Are we to support the Colonel? We shall be fired if we don't.

"Any member . . . . who . . . . advocates crime." There is no Socialist definition of "crime," so we are forced to accept the capitalist-made legal definition, and this according to the typical New York Penal Code explains "crime" as "an act or omission forbidden by law and punishable by death, or imprisonment, or fine," etc. Were Marx alive and an American, "Section 6" would thus expel him.

It expels every corner-agitator fined for "obstructing a highway."

It expels every Socialist strike-picket in States where picketing is punishable by fine or imprisonment.

In Massachusetts, where fine or imprisonment are the enacted punishments of "any person who dissuades any person from enlisting in the militia," *it expels the entire Socialist Party of the State.*

"Any member . . . . who . . . . advocates . . . . sabotage." The French coiners of this word "sabotage" describe as "sabotage" the carrying on of work in the slowest possible way permitted by the employers, and a Boston firm has accordingly applied for an injunction to prevent employees from "committing sabotage" by "shirking their work."

This expels every Socialist worker that does not have the profits of his employer at heart, and the Constructivist-Socialist editor of "The Masses," a magazine of the workingmen's party, declares that "*nine-tenths of the workers of the United States are to-day practising sabotage* . . . . even if they never heard the word."

"Any member . . . . who . . . . advocates . . . . violence." Violence to what? A Pennsylvania libel-law has decreed damages when violence has been done to the plaintiff's feelings. Are we to be tender of the sensibilities of Capital? Are we to be tender of sweated Profits? Are we to be tender of the theft that is Property? When force shall have denied us our ballot-won rights, are we to be tender even of Life? Forced into this blind-alley, the Constructivists are brazenly hinting that our rules are "not as those of the Medes and Persians"—are confessing that they have drawn "Section 6" merely to trick the non-Socialists.

"Who advocates violence"!

This expels Debs, our presidential candidate, who writes "Arouse, ye slaves!"

It expels Congressman Berger, who advises the Socialist "to be prepared to back up his ballot with his bullets."

It expels Comrade Hillquit, who announces his willingness to "fight like a tiger on the barricades."

But "Advocates." Is that the loop-hole? Is that the trap-door? Is that the secret means of grace?

Will our leaders kindly permit us to do, so long as we don't talk?

May we remain members if we lie about our opinions?

The Constructivists do not reprobate the deed; they discard only the inciting to the deed. Are they advised?

May we retain standing so long as, with "advocating," we merely destroy and kill?

If not, who, in any event, is to expel us? Only the branch or local can do that—and suppose the branch or local refuses? Will the State organization expel the branch or local? And if the State organization fails in its duty, *will the national organization expel the State organization?*

This is as difficult as the framers of the Section have tried to make the position of the individual members. The Constructivists have tried to make the members and capitalists feel that a vote against the Section will be a vote for "crime, sabotage and violence," whereas it need, of course—as reasonable members readily will see—be nothing but a vote against our oligarchy.

Beside that, only one point is clear: *no member of the Socialist Party can ever again battle against capitalism for free speech.*

A Democrat may advocate high tariff and remain in his party.

A Republican may advocate free trade and remain in his party.

BUT A SOCIALIST THAT VENTURES TO DISAGREE WITH HIS LEADERS WILL BE EXPELLED FROM THE SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION.

Well, why shouldn't he be?

Hitherto, to be sure, the minority in every radical and revolutionary organization has been allowed, while it obeyed the majority's will, to advocate its own ideas within the organization and attempt to convert the majority. But we are getting on.

If the majority wants "Section 6," why, the majority has a right to run the Party even in such matters. It is their Party, and they have a right to run it as they please.

On the Pacific Coast a majority wants to terrorize the Socialists, and, of course, our leaders will tell you that the Socialists must submit to that terrorism. It is the majority's Coast, and they have a right to run it as they please.

"The Call" will no more publish editorials against the disenfranchisement of Socialists: the forces of Capital are in a majority in the United States; it is their country, and they have a right to run it as they please.

Seriously, we have read with care all the obtainable apologies for "Section 6." If we could find in them one good reason for the Section's adoption, we would now advance it. We can find none.

The root of the trouble lies in our dishonesty. What our leaders said was "Section 6," which is a paradox meaning everything and nothing. What they meant to say was:—

"We want votes, even the votes of essential non-Socialists. We are tired of being martyrs. We will compromise. For this purpose we will be sorry that, after we had backed them, the McNamaras confessed. And, apart from all this, we don't want Haywood to be more popular than we are."

So we are still to have a revolution: a revolution by diplomatists!

REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN.
RUTH KAUFFMAN.
Cloughton, Yorks, England.

Note by G. W.—The foregoing excellent and biting letter on party tyranny has my cordial endorsement. Mr. Kauffman is a well-known American author, and his recent novel, based on White Slavery, "Daughters of Ishmael," published by Swift London, is a classic on the subject.

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The Suffragette Problem

THE Suffragettes have played their final trump card, and it seems a sure winner. I refer, of course, to their appeal to the humanity of the nation by showing that they will actually give up their lives for the vote. Forcible feeding, it is now seen, practically means execution to many, and no British Government dares meting out the death penalty to political offenders.

When the hunger strikes were resorted to the Government at once feared the tactical value that would accrue to the suffrage movement were the Suffragettes allowed to starve themselves to death. Hence, in order to forestall this possibility they instituted forcible feeding. But when it was developed, rather unexpectedly, that a considerable percentage of the victims of tube-feeding through the nostrils had their health permanently ruined by the process, and some even suffered death, the position of the Government became intolerably embarrassing. It loses more votes to be an active agent of death than a passive one.

As a matter of fact, the experience in the Russian prisons is that hunger strikes have probably never resulted in actual death, since the prisoners always finally take food. They at last become so weakened that they no longer have will power to refuse. But, of course, no British Cabinet could dare allow a hunger strike to go on indefinitely and take the chance that the participants would finally take food of their own accord.

Asquith is now in a peculiar dilemma. The women go on a hunger strike. He feeds them forcibly to avoid the political danger of their dying of hunger. But forcible feeding is killing them. He is then compelled to turn them out of prison pardoned. When they get out they at once begin breaking more windows and doing other acts which make life utterly unpleasant to him. Asquith now must re-arrest them, and to re-arrest means simply to be forced to again discharge them. A most remarkably foolish circle, and no wonder that Asquith can find no end to his hangman's rope.

To add to his difficulties, the more that are killed and injured by forcible feeding the more volunteers for further sacrifice. That is the logical psychology of the situation, and it is the way it is actually developing.

The interesting thing about the woman movement is that now the vote is in such clear sight it is seen to be of comparatively small importance by the best thinkers among the women, and they have become conscious that their suffrage movement is but part of the great onward movement of humanity.

Two quite opposing movements have strangely enough done considerable to teach the women the comparative unimportance of the vote. The Syndicalists on the one hand, who say that what women as well as men want is not the vote, the mere symbol of power, but power itself. Not the vote, but the industrial organization, which will give the individuals the power not only to *ask*, but to *demand* what is wanted. On the other hand, the Anti-Suffragists have also done something to show the women that the vote is nothing much in itself, although the "Antis" were quite the last to think that the women would so take the lesson to heart that they would advance from the demand for votes to the demand for the power to back up their votes.

If woman was man's first slave, she will also be his last slave. Until she is economically free she can never be politicaliy free; no, not if every woman had a vote for each hair on her head. The right to vote has about the same value as the right to pray. Power to command is the needful.

The Mexican Revolution

The importance of the revolt in Mexico is underestimated by Socialists. When the Revolution is successful—as it must certainly be, sooner or later—it means a redistribution of Mexican land. This is not only a proceeding merely of importance to Mexicans, but to Americans as well. And not only to those American landlords who may own land in Mexico, but to those who own land at home.

It is incredible to think that Mexican land may be expropriated for the benefit of the people without the example spreading to the United States. Of course, it is very unlikely that the present revolt in Mexico will be successful. But whether successful to-day or successful in ten years, it is a revolt which is absolutely certain of eventual success.

The land of Mexico must be distributed to the people, for until it is distributed there will be a perpetual civil war.

For those who are interested in the Mexican Revolution I would recommend "Regeneracion," a weekly, published at 914, Boston Street, Los Angeles. Send for a free sample copy.

California Free Speech League

Composed of delegates from the following organisations:
Three delegates each from the Socialist Party, Industrial Workers of the World, and San Diego County Federated Trades and Labour Council; two delegates from Cooks' and Waiters' Union, Building Trades Council, Plumbers' Union, Teamsters' Union, Carpenters' Union, Blacksmiths' Union, Painters' Union, Brewery Workers' Union, Women's Union Label League, Structural Iron Workers' Union.

San Diego, California, June 19, 1912.

Gaylord Wilshire,
"Wilshire's Magazine,"
London, England.

Dear Sir and Comrade,—Your contribution to the Free Speech cause in San Diego was received some days ago, but owing to the stress of affairs here, has not heretofore been acknowledged.

It is indeed encouraging to us in San Diego when a response comes from England to our appeal.

San Diego, isolated and bourgeois, dominated and controlled by a single powerful and labor-hating corporation, inflamed by a vicious Press, its prejudices aroused, its ignorance duped, San Diego will yet be taught that the working-class solidarity developed in the modern revolutionary movement is world-wide, and that it cannot be stopped.

Again thanking you, and assuring you that the money has been used to further our common cause,—I am, yours for the Revolution,

KASPAR BAUER, Treasurer.

716, D Street.

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Syndicalism: What It Is

By Gaylord Wilshire

"If the workers can organise to win Socialism by a general strike then they certainly can organise to win it at the ballot-box, and, as the latter is so much the easier method, we can see no reason for exhorting them to the more difficult."

THE above practically sums up the attitude of the Parliamentary Socialist to Syndicalism, and when he says it he thinks he has said quite the last word.

However, the Syndicalist would reply, first, that, as a matter of fact, it is not more difficult to organise for a general strike than for victory at the ballot-box, and, secondly, that, whereas industrial organisation can give us Socialism, political organisation cannot.

To take up the first point. It is admitted that the facts are with the Syndicalist as to the working man being willing to stake his very life upon a strike that will give him little or nothing even if won, whereas he will not take the trouble to walk ten feet to a ballot-box where a victory might give him most substantial benefits.

But, says the Socialist, it is merely a question of time when the worker will see the futility of striking against the capitalist on one day and voting for him on the next. That looks logical enough at first glance—in fact, it has looked logical to me for many years past, but now I have my doubts. Why? A Labor organisation is a perfectly natural organisation for a worker to function within; in fact, it is the most normal organisation possible. Labor is the basis of life. Hence his activities within a Labor organisation can very easily be infinitely more pronounced than in a political organisation, which is more or less foreign to him even when completely in his own control. Therefore, it may be that we will never see the worker exhibiting the comparatively slight effort to achieve a political victory that he will to obtain an industrial one, merely because he must in order to achieve the political victory learn to work within an organisation not quite natural to him.

For him to learn this may seem easy enough, just as it may seem easy enough to teach a fish to live out of water, but practice has proved the contrary.

However, may it not be that it is not merely a question of the worker's slowness to adopt politics that is against the hope of obtaining victory through storming the ballot-box? May it not be that the worker's instinct against politics is sounder than the intelligence of the "intellectual"?

The Socialist says, let us only get a majority in Parliament and we will then introduce the co-operative commonwealth. But this involves two assumptions: First, that the capitalist class will allow the majority of Parliament to vote away their property rights; secondly, that it is possible to hand down Socialism from above to the workers.

Inasmuch as the question of a Socialist political majority in any country is really very remote at present, the discussion as to whether the capitalist class now in the saddle would allow such a majority to introduce Socialism is rather academic.

However, I would point out that in Germany, the only country where such a majority seems a near political possibility, the question of the workers having their suffrage very much restricted is regarded by German Socialists as a most likely event. If this were done, then, of course, there would be no chance of their ever getting a majority. The worst of it is, too, that they admit that their only reply is a General Strike. In other words, they will be forced to go back to Syndicalism—to direct action—to obtain the right to vote. It is obvious that if they will then have the power to demand effectively the vote, they will also have the power to demand the transfer of the industrial machinery direct to themselves without the intervention of the State. A political party is really not an organisation, it is merely an aggregation of people who unite to vote for someone to represent them. Therefore, a political party cannot be an effective weapon against men who are organised, whether they be capitalists or workers.

A Socialist Party, even when in a majority, has no physical power through its mere unorganised numbers to make a successful contest with the dominant organised capitalist class who are in control of the organised State. If when it gains a majority it asks for the fruits of victory and receives a refusal, then it must cool its heels in the corridors until it gets the physical power to take the fruits. There is only one way to develop this power and that is through organisation, either armed or industrial. Armed force may be dismissed as chimerical, although I note that Congressman Victor Berger has recently said that unless the workers are armed it will be impossible to achieve Socialism peacefully. And that is perfectly logical from the standpoint of the Parliamentary Socialist who has got along far enough to see that force is necessary to back up votes, but who has not thrown off the traditions of '48, and faith in the barricades. The workers will gain control through their industrial solidarity, never through their ability to outshoot the military.

However, it is not so much the inability by reason of the lack of physical force which would account for the inability of a Socialist political majority to give Socialism. It is that the social organisation would not be ready for the metamorphosis.

The Syndicalist views both nationalisation and municipalisation of industry with more or less indifference.

The essence of Syndicalism is the control by the workers themselves, be they intellectual or manual, of the conditions of their own work.

The growth of the machine process has divorced the worker from the control he formerly exercised by his individual ownership of the tools of production.

To-day the capitalist owns and controls the tools formerly owned by the worker, with the result that the worker is practically his slave.

Syndicalism proposes that this control of the technical processes now exercised by the capitalist shall pass to various groups of organised workers of the various industries. The product which is now the property of the capitalist would become under Syndicalism the property of the community.

Syndicalism has no thought of arranging industry upon the basis of each group of workers in each industry holding up the community to the full extent of its economic power in order to extract the greatest amount of reward for its particular form of labour.

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The remuneration of the worker will be determined either by deeds, or by needs, as may hereafter be decided, but most certainly not upon the basis of allowing him a reward according to the importance of his industrial product to the community, for that would be merely changing the present system, with its small number of capitalist exploiters, to a worse system, with a myriad of exploiting workers.

All Socialists admit that the change from capitalism to Socialism involves an enormous change not only in the social organisation but in the individuals as well.

We have often had to wave off with contempt those who say that Socialism is all right if you could only change human nature first. Our reply was that Socialism would change human nature after we had Socialism, whereas Syndicalists insist that the close attachment the workers will develop for their industrial unions will certainly change their natures prior to any advent of Socialism through Syndicalism.

The Syndicalist proposes that the workers shall form industrial unions, based upon the particular industry taken as a whole instead of upon craft, although he will admit that the industrial union may well be built up by the amalgamation of craft unions.

By the close affiliation of all these industrial unions the Syndicalist not only sees that the workers will have the power to control the form of the future society, but he also foresees that the industrial unions themselves will form the framework of that society.

He insists that the present State cannot possibly be continued into the future society even though the Socialists should gain political control and should try to introduce Socialism by means of it. He regards the present State as a decaying obsolete organisation which must be superseded by the co-ordinated industrial unions, and therefore he cannot view the political control of the present State as an event of the same importance that it has in the eyes of the Socialist.

In other words, the Syndicalist says, first, that it will be most difficult for the Socialists ever to get a majority in Parliament; secondly, that when there is a chance of such an event the capitalists will find a way to nullify it; and, thirdly, even though the Socialists should get control of the State that they would find that the present form of society cannot be successfully transformed from above downwards because the natural method of such an organic change must take place from the workers up through their industrial unions.

Parliament to-day is made up of representatives from geographical districts, and is in no sense a body adapted to intelligently regulate the industrial life of the workers. A body to be competent for such a purpose must be made up of delegates from the organisations of industry, and it would seem practically impossible to transform Parliament into such a body. The Syndicalist says there must be a substitution of one body for the other, whereas the Socialist looks to an impossible metamorphosis of Parliament.

The Socialist always hastens to declare that he, too, believes in industrial unions instead of craft unions, and that he, too, regards the economic action of the workers as of equal importance to their political action, that they both are the two necessary balancing wings, etc.

However, when you analyse his position you find that he really regards the economic action as merely a good way of developing the political sense of the workers for getting their votes, and in no sense will he admit that the industrial union itself can of any possibility be the power that will reorganise society.

The Syndicalist recognises the use to which the Socialists would put the unions, and therefore they almost fear to countenance political action at all because of the Socialists diverting them from their most important function—to revolutionise society.

If women understood Syndicalism there would be fewer Suffragettes fighting for votes worth little or nothing when granted. Voting for a representative is abdication.

Syndicalism is distinctly for mass action and mass consciousness, and recognises that nothing can be done without concerted organised action. It believes in direct action by the mass and not by the individual.

It is said that the Syndicalist is merely returning to the old Robert Owen idea of a federation of unions. It is true that the organisation suggested is similar, but the method of obtaining possession of the machinery of production is essentially different.

Syndicalism is frankly revolutionary in its attitude towards property. It says that when the workers organise industrially they can and will take possession of the machinery of production. Owen never suggested any such revolutionary act. His proposals had the endorsement of the most conventional and conservative of people. He even had sympathetic audiences with royalty, to whom he elaborated his plan to regenerate mankind.

Finally, I would say that Syndicalism is at once an interpretation and a prophecy of the Labour movement. It is not so much a creed as it is a statement of what is and what will be.

It declares that the workers are bound to unite industrially, and that the power which industrial union will give them will be inevitably used for their own advantage. It declares that this power can be more easily used to take possession direct of the machinery of production through the industrial unions than it can be used to take it through the existing State by voting and gaining a political majority.

It, moreover, declares that the idea of this direct possession of industry by themselves will be far more inspiring to successful action than any proposal to take industry over indirectly through the State. It declares that a conscious minority of the workers when organised can control the unconscious majority unorganised, and urges this control.

Where Socialism to be successful implies a political majority, Syndicalism requires merely a strategic industrial minority.

Syndicalism solves the problem of the conquest of the agricultural voter, which has been the despair of Socialism. First, by offering him a place in the new industrial society in his present position without change if he wishes it. There is no awkward suggestion that the land be confiscated and he be reduced to a wage-earner working upon a farm owned by the Socialist State. Under Syndicalism there will be no wage-system. Secondly, Syndicalism does not need the agricultural vote anyway, as it can be victorious without it as soon as the industrial workers become class-conscious enough to organise effectively. A minority of such workers well organised industrially can control the rest of the community.

Syndicalism is inverted Socialism. The difference between Syndicalism and Socialism is the difference between a man and a machine. The man himself controls his own activities; the machine is controlled from without.

Both Syndicalism and Socialism look to a world-wide democratic organisation of the workers for co-operative production and distribution. But whereas Socialism looks to social organisation, proceeding from the present Capitalist State downward to the workers, the Syndicalist looks to the evolution proceeding upward from the workers to organised society.

Instead of the State *giving* industrial control to the workers, as the Socialists fondly hope, the Syndicalists look to the workers *taking* such control and giving it to the community.

Syndicalism, therefore, declares that the important work for Social Reconstruction is Industrial Organisation rather than Political Organisation.

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The Genesis of an Idea

A. R. ORAGE, the editor of the "New Age," has a brain that functions like a racing automobile with a defective spark-plug. Goes like the wind for ten miles, and then—well, then all get out and swear.

His editorials, when the plug sparks properly, are most strikingly logical, and then—chunk, dead stop; in fact, the engine almost reverses.

He has recently developed a new theory of the future society, which he calls "the Guild System of the 'New Age,'" which is "neither Socialism nor Syndicalism," but a kind of scheme for the syndicated workers to institute a "co-management with the State." All this sounds strangely familiar to the reader of the American Radical press, for there is never a month passes by but what some editor in the wild and woolly West develops a new plan off his own bat to save society. I must say, however, that Orage has a plan which is superior to this ordinary monthly production, which may well be understood considering his long tutorship in Socialism and his recent studies of Wilshire's in Syndicalism.

Orage is like many other writers, strong when criticising others, his weakness only coming out when he goes into construction on his own account.

I take this from a recent number of the "New Age":—

"The articles on Syndicalism now appearing in the 'Daily Herald' from the joint pen of those Siamese twins of Social Reform, Mr. and Mrs. Webb, have some value in the further light they throw on the underlying theory of the writers themselves. Of light on Syndicalism in the two articles that have appeared there is none. As many questions, and the same kind, are addressed to the anonymous authors of Syndicalism as used to be addressed, and still are occasionally, to the anonymous authors of the theories of Socialism. How do the Syndicalists (or Socialists) propose to do this? What would happen in that contingency? Have they taken the other into account? And so on. . . . .

"Writing of Syndicalism as having for its object 'the abolition of the wage system' (though this phrase was only introduced into Syndicalist propaganda a few weeks ago by Mr. Gaylord Wilshire and was copied straight from 'The New Age'), Mr. and Mrs. Webb first remark that Syndicalism would not be able to achieve this object, and then continue to argue that the wage system—wages, at least—is ineradicable by any social organisation whatever. The periodical 'share-out,' for example, which Syndicalists are assumed to propose, would, in the Webbs' present opinion, be indistinguishable from wages. Being a regular income derived from labor and convertible by exchange into commodities, such a 'share-out' would, in fact, perpetuate the wage system and the share would itself be wages. We will not argue against this view ourselves for the moment, though we could easily show the absurdity of confounding the term wages as applied to the Product of Labor when Rent, Interest and Profit have been twice deducted, with the share-out which represents the Product when only economic rent has been deducted. But we will appeal from Philip the critic of Syndicalism to Philip the expositor of Collectivism. In the Fabian Tract 'Socialism True and False,' written by Mr. Webb and first published in 1894, our authors write of 'the abolition of the wage system' with both comprehension and sympathy. 'By the abolition of the wage system,' they say, 'we mean the abolition of the system now prevailing in the capitalist industry by which the worker receives a wage . . . . fixed solely by the competitive struggle.' Exactly. Wages to-day are fixed not by the amount or the value of the labor represented by them; still less are they fixed by the needs of the worker; they are fixed by the play and interplay of the various competitive forces of Capital (Rent, Interest and Profits) and Labor. The residue of the product which Labor receives in the form of wages is thus different in economic kind from the share which Labor would receive if Interest and Profits were added to wages.

His reference to myself is flattering—made me feel like a modern Karl Marx—but I suppose nothing could be funnier to a Syndicalist than to hear that Wilshire introduced "the abolition of the wage-system" into the Syndicalist propaganda. Orage might as well say that General Booth introduced Christ into Christianity. It is as much a fundamental of Syndicalism as is the Trinity to Roman Catholicism. Orage is unconsciously confessing that his knowledge of Syndicalism is confined to what he has read in "Wilshire's."

He says that wages are not fixed by the needs of labor, but are the residue of the product after rent, interest, and profits are deducted. I had always thought that the very first charge on production was wages, but perhaps I, too, have a defective spark-plug of my own. Certainly it seems obvious enough to me. However, I won't press it, but I would like to ask Orage how he can talk about "Labor co-managing with the State," when, as a matter of fact, he himself declares that when industrially organized Labor will become supreme. It could not, with dignity to itself, consent to share its right to manage with the "State," inasmuch as the "State" would then be but its own creature.

Orage seems to see this clearly enough, for he himself says, with the Syndicalists, "political power follows, and is the index of economic power." But, then, just as you expect him to move serenely along to Syndicalism without further hitch—chunk! there goes that confounded spark-plug again, and out comes his fatal talk about the "Guild Socialism of the 'New Age.'" Too bad; sad, sad. I shall visit him.

The End of the Liberal Party

That the Liberal Party is bound, sooner or later, to coalesce with the Conservatives to fight the growing Labor Party in Parliament is just as well known to others than Socialists may be seen from the following in the London "Observer," July 7:—

"Mr. Lloyd George partially recemented a loosening combination by 'the cohesive power of public plunder'; but not even the Chancellor's astute use of that familiar method could have kept the Coalition together without the dexterity of the Master of Elibank. That versatile manager, however, has often fretted under the Socialist yoke. Labor threats have generally made him more pugnacious than submissive. For the moment he has been brought to the end of his resources. There are three-cornered fights at Hanley and Crewe. 'Libs.' and 'Labs.' are at open war in the constituencies, accompanied at Westminster by mutterings which will probably not come to much. The two by-elections, however, will afford an extremely significant test of public opinion in very different localities, and bear out our repeated reflections during the last few weeks upon the fate of Liberalism. All men may now see that between the upper and nether millstones of Unionism and Socialism it is bound to be ground. In the future it can only gain even temporary successes for itself by means which will make it a mere helpless prey to Labor at later stages.

". . . . It is utter nonsense to suppose that the party who hold over forty seats now, and whose increasing strength has been proved in so many three-cornered contests, like Holmfirth, can be prevented by any efforts that Radicalism can make from mustering a hundred strong in the House of Commons within a comparatively few years.

"Mr. Lloyd George can play no predatory card which the Socialists cannot trump. So far as the Government keeps order in strikes, it alienates the subversive vote. So far as it fails to keep order it sheds the moderate vote."

Four car-loads of stamp-mill machinery arrived here last week for the Wilshire Bishop Creek Mine.—"*The Register*," Bishop, California, June 13, 1912.

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The Failure of the Labor Party

THE Labor Party has fallen far short of what its enthusiastic adherents thought it might do. Real wages have steadily fallen, and generally the condition of labor in England is worse to-day than it was before the Labor Party was born.

The question is whether the failure to improve labor conditions has arisen from the inferior personnel of the Labor Party, or would it have been beyond the power of any Labor Party with any other forty men to have done anything more?

While there can be no denial that the Labor Party has among its members some very weak sisters—for instance, the Mr. Pointer who recently declared that the gaol sentence for Tom Mann was well deserved—yet it seems to me that on the whole the personnel, while not ideal, cannot be found responsible.

I take it that the real reason for the failure of the Labor Party is to be found in the fact that the Party has no power. It has been said that they could make more violent protests at the time when strikes are on and the Cabinet shows a hostile or indifferent attitude.

Yes, that is true, but what good would it do? Suppose the protests were so violent that the whole forty were unseated? In a country like England, where the tradition of law and order is strong, any such work would probably lose rather than win votes, and the net result be that the Party would return with less strength than it had before. And even if it should gain, certainly no one can think the gain would amount to much of anything. Victor Grayson and Cunninghame Graham are sad examples of the futility of mere protests.

The rules of the House, too, are such now that the disorder of a minority can do little or anything toward blocking legislation, and, as said, the mere getting expelled is futile.

The only way the Labor Party can do anything is by having enough members, say 100, to control the balance of power between the two great parties, but the moment this event occurs the parties will coalesce, and then the Labor Party will suddenly find that its task is more than tripled. It must then elect not 100, but an actual majority of the whole House.

When we know how hard it is for the Labor Party to hold even its 42 members, let alone increasing it to 100, the task of electing 350 appears wildly impossible. It is. To comb over the constituencies carefully one by one and to figure out how it will ever be possible for a Labor Party, let alone a Revolutionary Party, to elect a clean majority, within any time in political reason, of the 670 members of the House of Commons is a task which is obviously impossible on the face of it.

Yet, until the Labor Party has this majority it is practically powerless; and, meanwhile, I think carping at them is more or less unreasonable.

Indeed, to take a still further look afield, it would be interesting to hear someone formulate a plan whereby the Labor Party could effectively legislate the capitalists out of their property even if they had a majority.

Possession is nine points of the law, and the one point that Labor would hold through its control of Parliament would be a very small one indeed if Labor had no power back of its mandate other than a mere unorganized mass of voters, many of them not sympathetic to any very radical step.

It is these considerations, it seems to me, rather than the personnel of the Labor Party which account for lost confidence. If my analysis be true, then the case for them is hopeless.

It really seems pitiful to me to see the Labor Party, stung by criticisms of its policy, entering into war with its ally, the Liberal Party, and running three-cornered fights in bye-elections. It is suicidal. The Labor Party cannot afford such a war—cannot, at present, afford either the money or the votes it will cost. Politically, the advanced Liberals and the present Labor Party are blood relations, and the Labor Party will in vain deny its elder and more powerful brother.

How many seats would the Labor Party hold to-day if it entered into a war of mutual extermination with the Liberals? Not six. True enough this war is bound to come some day, but not until the Labor Party becomes a definitely Socialist Party; and, even then, it may be a question as to whether the division between Liberals and Socialists in England will ever assume the clean-cut lines it has in Germany. That will depend entirely upon the development of industrial unionism in England.

Until the workers organize industrially on a class basis their political movement must necessarily be a reflex of their present craft unionism, weak and flabby.

Ettor, Giovannitti, and Darrow

ETTOR and Giovannitti were leaders in the great Lawrence strike, and are now in gaol charged with the murder of a woman shot by a policeman during the strike.

When I first heard of their arrest I thought it simply a ruse of the capitalists to deprive the strikers of leaders. The charge was so flimsy that it did not seem possible to me that it would be urged after the strike was over. I was mistaken. They are not only being held, but there seems to be good reason to think that there is a concerted move to railroad them to the gallows.

The Lawrence workers, who went out on strike for more money for themselves, should show their human solidarity and now come out again for the lives of their devoted leaders. The time to strike is ripe now, but it must be confessed that it is doubtful if the workers are yet educated enough for such a move. But the day is coming when they will be.

Clarence Darrow, attorney for the McNamaras, is another victim to capitalism. He is a man who has devoted his life to defending Labor when in the toils of the law. The McNamara confession has nerved the Los Angeles capitalists to attack every man directly or indirectly connected with Labor in California. His health is such that if he goes to the San Quentin hell convicted of bribery it practically means a death sentence to the greatest and most eloquent defender of Labor in the American courts of law. What will Labor do? Will it suffer its champions to be thus done to death?

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A Reply to "Syndicalism: What It Is"

By Fred. Knee, and A Rejoinder by Wilshire

The following is a reply to my article on "Syndicalism: What It Is," which appeared in the August "Wilshire's," and which originally was published in the "British Socialist," the monthly magazine of the British Socialist Party, and of which Mr. Knee was, at the time, acting editor. Both Mr. Knee's reply and my rejoinder also appeared in the "British Socialist." —G. W.

WE owe a great deal to our present Liberal Government. The latest item of our debt is the adding to the language of a new word—Syndicalism. Of all Britain's forty odd millions, it is safe to say that six months ago outside of perhaps 400 of the cognoscenti of the industrial unionist persuasion the rest of the British people knew not whether Syndicalism was some new species of carrot or the name of a new Christian sect—and they cared less. Now every season ticket holder on our suburban railways chews it over; every ignorant fool in Parliament wants to display his erudition on it; and every palate tickler in the trustified daily press spins miles and miles of wearisome drivel about it. This change we owe to the Liberal Government. They prosecuted the "Syndicalist" editor, publisher and printers—and forthwith everybody talked of Syndicalism; and our old friend Gaylord Wilshire, who a while back might have been accused of being a mere State collectivist —so insistent was he on the Nation owning the Trusts— and who the day before had been a warm admirer of the Labor Party and Mr. Lloyd George's insurance scheme, was, like Saul of Tarsus, suddenly blinded by a flood of new light, and began to preach the new faith in many tongues.

Boiled down to its essentials, Wilshire's position, as set forth in the last number of "The British Socialist," is that of the three weapons which the worker may use for the purpose of achieving his emancipation he must choose only one—the strike; and that instead of capturing the State and moulding it to his desire, the worker shall ignore the State altogether and seek to supersede it by a collection of workers, each group to possess its own industry. That is Syndicalism.

As a Socialist and trade unionist I am ready to employ any and all means to bring about the overthrow of capitalism. If the bullet be useful and necessary for the purpose of defending the workers against the capitalist State's soldiers, then I see no reason why it should be ruled out of our armoury. If a strike big or little appears likely to be of service in forcing concessions from the capitalists or from the State, or in resisting the economic or political encroachments of either, then as a trade unionist I should vote for a strike, and as a Socialist I should actively assist the strikers. Again, if by using the vote I can make any sort of progress towards the driving out of the present possessors of the means of life, or even towards securing healthier conditions in the district where I may happen to reside, then I will use the vote.

In regard to method, then, the issue between us ought to be pretty clear. We Socialists are for using all the weapons: the Syndicalists will use only one—the strike.

But even Wilshire, like the ancient Anarchists, wobbles; for I find that while in the article with which I am dealing he says nothing about it, yet in his article in the "Syndicalist" he makes a reservation in favour of using the vote in local administration. Working men, it seems, can usefully vote for a town councillor, or for a member of a board of guardians, and may do themselves good thereby, but they cannot function by way of the Parliamentary vote. Well, the distinction and difference may be very clear to an "intellectual," but they are rather too fine for the perception of the working man, who, when he becomes Socialist or even only "Labor" in any sort of independent sense, exercises his vote both for Parliament and local bodies. It will be found that where Socialists are strong municipally they are also strong in the Parliamentary sense, e.g., West Ham, Bradford, Merthyr, and Bow and Bromley. Sometimes the use of the municipal vote has preceded the use of the other; in some cases it has been the other way about. I mention this point to show that even friend Wilshire is not quite sound; in fact, he does not seem to mind if the worker continues to be illogical and to vote for his master against whom he may have struck. It would appear that our Syndicalist friends are so opposed to Socialism that they do not trouble if till the crack of doom the worker votes Liberal or Tory provided he does not vote Socialist. These contradictions are inevitable in so impossible a position as that of trying to get ahead without taking any heed of the State at all. Our friends remind me of some of the ignorant Saxons who laughed when William the Norman began dotting his Norman castles about the country: they thought, poor foolish souls, that if they only ignored the castles they could regain possession of their own land. Like those castles the State is here, and will not be ignored.

I am not a "Parliamentary Socialist," in the sense implied by Wilshire, nor is there, to my knowledge, in the British Socialist Party a single member who relies solely on the exercise of the vote for the worker's own emancipation. During the score and more of years that I have been connected with the Socialist movement I and the others have urged the workers to organise and federate and amalgamate in their several industries, and also to use the vote or the strike as occasion afforded and required. We thought the two together would work the necessary miracle, and if force of a physical or gunpowdery description were required, we added the suggestion that we should have a Citizen Army. I do not propose to discuss the latter in this article; but will confine myself to the question of political *and* industrial action, for I refuse to place them in antagonism. It is not an accident that in Germany and the Scandinavian countries, where the workers are stronger politically than they are anywhere else, they are also the most strongly organised industrially.

I do not for a moment admit that the facts are with the Syndicalists when they say that "the working man" is "willing to stake his very life upon a strike that will give him little or nothing, even if won; whereas, he will not take the trouble to walk ten feet to a ballot-box, where a

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victory might give him most substantial benefits." For one thing, the working man will not stake his very life on a strike; and the quicker he is to strike the more eagerly does he return to work. In fact, the average working man will not even organise in a union; and even some of those working men who now bleat about industrial union and industrial action belong to no industrial organisation at all. But the average working man will and does walk hundreds of yards, sometimes miles, to a ballot-box. Mostly he votes for his masters, generally because he has no one else for whom to vote; but even then he uses such discrimination as is in him, and hopes that he has either at the very worst voted for the lesser of two evils, or at the very best for a party or cause that will help him to be rid of some of his shackles. In this country he still thinks for the most part that the landlord and not the capitalist is the enemy, and so votes Liberal. If, however, he imagines his bad lot to be due to foreign competition, he will back Tariff Reform and vote Tory. In either case he hopes he is doing himself a "bit of good." I speak of the non-Socialist working man of average intelligence. When he sees the "red light," he will even then perhaps vote Liberal, because Lloyd George's talk and Chiozza Money's figures make the Liberal chameleon look a bit Socialist. I have also had the pleasure of seeing the awakened worker go and vote in organised and determined fashion for very substantial benefits for himself—and sometimes get them, too. At any rate, it is all nonsense to say the worker does not vote: he does. The trouble is that, as for the most part the workers do not organise industrially in their own behoof, so generally they have not yet learnt to vote for a party of their own. It is all nonsense to suppose that the worker is worldly-wise in the workshop, but must always be an absolute idiot in the outside world, or be like a fish out of water. There is no "instinct against politics," such as Wilshire alleges, on the part of the worker, and which he hails as "sounder" than the "intelligence of the intellectual." In this country there are next to no organised workers—leaders or rank and file—who have this instinct against "politics." It is curious that, of our Socialist weeklies, "Justice"—run by men who are trade unionists as well as Socialists—and the "Labour Leader"—run by Socialists and trade unionists, advocate Socialism to be obtained by political plus industrial action, while the advocacy of Syndicalism is left to the "New Age," par excellence the organ of the "intellectuals" and of the weirdest of art.

If the worker in politics were like a "fish out of water," can Wilshire or anyone else explain how it is that when this queer fish by some stroke of luck or supergrab ceases to be a worker and becomes a capitalist of a smaller or bigger order, that he takes to the political air like a lark? He must certainly in that case change that "human nature" of his very quickly. He uses his political power as well as though he never had been a worker with an anti-political instinct. Is it an accident that the capitalist section closest to the working class has in our day produced the most cunning statesman of the whole crowd—Lloyd George? Can Wilshire explain how it is that the peasant population of Ireland—true, not an industrial but a landless proletariat—have so used their political weapon, even in an alien Parliament, as to establish themselves as a propertied class? And are there not abundant cases where, since the uprising of the Socialist movement and under its inspiration, the workers in Great Britain have forced their way into Council chambers, have sat in the seats of the mighty by virtue of their fellow-workers' votes, and have administered within and sometimes beyond the limits of existing laws?

And the more revolutionary their spirit, the more class-conscious their attitude, the more they have achieved. They might have done the same in the House of Commons. The capitalist class experienced two spasms of fear in the last seven years: one in 1906 at the portent of a nominally independent Labor Party in the House of Commons; the other at the transport workers' and railway workers' strikes of 1911. The perturbation passed away in the one case because the capitalist class discovered that there was nothing revolutionary about the Labor Party. The other is passing away because the capitalist class discovered that there is little that is revolutionary about the transport workers' unions or the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and the capitalist classes can very well go for their usual holidays knowing full well that their State—"moribund" I hear it called—has got the thing well in hand, or at the worst is playing it like a salmon at the end of a strong line.

Wilshire and others who hold an exaggerated notion of the strike forget what the strike has mostly been—a weapon of defence rather than of offence: an act of desperation lest worse befall. Nearly all are agreed that the big strikes of the last two years have been as a spark of discontent fanned into flame by the rapidly worsening conditions of the workers due to the increase in food prices. Like the Peasants' revolt of the Middle Ages, the strike is not a march into the enemy's territory, but a frenzied determination to defend our own frontier or to retake something we have lost. Whether the strike can ever be converted into a weapon of offence is a matter for consideration; but the notion that we can ever possess ourselves of our inheritance by means of the strike alone is to me the most hopeless madness that ever was conceived. The people who know what strikes are, from the inside, are chary of advocating them; it is the middle-class "intellectual" who usually imagines these vain things, though I have known even some trade union officials, who could not get their own trade to strike at all, to talk very eloquently in the same glowing, poetic way about mass action and all the rest of the jargon that saves people from thinking.

I have three objections to Syndicalism: (1) it is impossible of achievement; (2) it would not be worth having, and (3) it is not revolutionary but reactionary.

You cannot get very far by mere "industrial action." So long as the capitalist State remains, with its army, navy and police, and its hand on the machine of administration, so long will it be possible for that capitalist State, when thoroughly awake to any danger, to throttle any strike, however big, and to render it abortive. That the Government did not take order with strike leaders and the rank and file last year was not because of any fear of economic or industrial consequences, but purely for political reasons. One was the fear of Germany, the other was the fear that they might suffer electorally. The railway strike could easily have been made a laughable fizzle. As it was, the khaki gentlemen with their bayonets at the London termini were only a faint suggestion of the power of the capitalist State—"moribund"—ha! ha! And even then the Government did not proceed, as they might have done, to use the Royal Engineers to work the trains. They even assisted the railwaymen's joint executives to arrange the strike, placed the resources of the State at their disposal for that purpose. They need not have done so.

They had a very complete general strike in Sweden last year. It failed. Why? Simply because the governing classes of Sweden, while willing, for the moment, to forego the use of non-necessaries, actually did the vitally necessary work themselves. With our complex society, while the working class is necessary for the production of profit, only a very small part of that working class is necessary for the production of the absolute necessaries of life. So that the governing classes, having first of all reserves upon which to fall back, can, at a pinch, with the assistance of the ever-present blackleg residuum, do the absolutely necessary work for themselves, and the worker can be starved out. After all, the mass vote is the only weapon with which our numbers can at present be made to tell. Moroever, what may be gained by the strike may be as easily lost—filched away; and agreements ignored. This year's transport workers' strike is in order to get a proper

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interpretation of last year's agreement! A further danger now looms on the horizon—the holding of the workers' funds as hostage for *their* performance of contracts.

If I had no hope in the political sphere, I should be inclined to follow William Morris's advice at one of Lansbury's Walworth election meetings: "If you will not use your votes, then you had better make peace with your masters."

I know it may be said that the strike is not the only method of "direct action." There is "ca' canny." Well, that is not a patent of Syndicalism. I have advised it myself on some exceptional occasions to meet employers' exceptional exactions, but even in a trade union shop it was found to be most difficult to carry out. It is one of those things that the mass may make up their minds to do, but which have to be carried out by the individual, who for his pains may find his services dispensed with for quite other reasons; or the whole of the factory may be put on short time, an excellent way of speeding men up. Our friends are too prone to think the capitalists are fools; so they are in many respects, but they are quite equal in cunning to any body of workmen, and they find it less difficult to act with one mind. The starving out of an unproductive industry would be the answer to any proposal by the worker to sweat out the employer.

I don't want to become possessed of my industry. I take the old-fashioned view that "work"—certainly as we know it—is the primal curse. I don't want to be possessed in any shape or form of the printing industry; I would rather be out of it. Suppose we try to become possessed of it. What happens? How soon do we sweat or rush the capitalist master printer out of it? And what meanwhile happens to the industry? If other industries were following suit there would be a great diminution in the demand for our labor. That would take place very early in the proceedings, and the only way in which that and other difficulties could be met would be to form a sort of co-partnery with the employer. The chimney-sweep, the road sweeper, the sewer man, a thousand and one other lines of industry suggest at once the futility and absurdity of seeking for salvation via purely "industrial action."

In fact, of prospect of getting rid of capitalists and landlords by means of this method there is none. Syndicalism is a cul de sac, a stereotyping of existing conditions, producing a state of "arrested development," and it also offers a fearful temptation to make corrupt arrangements with the employers as against the community: a reversion to the ancient guilds, but with "elder brethren" who will fatten and "younger brethren" who will work. Those outside the guilds will remain as a proletarian class, even more hopeless than now.

All the twaddle about Syndicalism having no respect for property must mean, if it means anything at all, mere sabotage and destruction. I think it is foolish to destroy what may easily be our own.

At any rate, Syndicalism proposes to perpetuate for many generations private property in land and capital, and for that reason I reject it.

Just a word in conclusion as to the difficulties of political action. Here in this country they are very much overrated, and I do not credit any one of the capitalist parties with being fools enough to restrict the suffrage. If they did, then the strike, as a weapon of desperation, would remain. The capitalist class when faced by a majority of Socialists in the House of Commons would also be faced by a Socialist majority in the country; and either a Socialist Administration would be placed in charge of the Army, Navy, Post Office, and other national services, or that Socialist majority would render government by any other section impossible. Wilshire seems not to be aware that in the struggle between landlords and capitalists the former have allowed the latter to vote away some of their privileges; under stress of the State's necessities some of the property rights of both have been diminished. For one-seventh of a dead man's estate to go to the State instead of to his heirs is a limitation of property rights. They would fight as best they might, but they would have to go down before the majority armed with powers of law as well as with bayonets and bullets. The notion that a Socialist majority would cool its heels in the corridor is funny even for an "intellectual." It is certain that it would not occur to a worker. Even Socialist minorities don't do that. A Socialist majority would materially alter Parliament and the State, would alter them fundamentally, but the process would be according to the community's requirements. After all, even Wilshire suggests some sort of Parliament, to represent interests instead of districts. No wonder he has a hankering for the Labor Party, which is largely made up in that way, and which, partly on that account, is so non-revolutionary.

We Socialists are out to secure the supremacy of the working class, to place that class as a whole in possession of the means of life, and so to obliterate all class distinctions. As we find that one by one the other classes have forced their way out of servitude to economic power by using the political weapon, we submit that this political weapon may be useful for the only subject class now left. We are the more convinced of this because it is by reason of the possession of their political power that landlords and capitalists are able to retain possession and control of the means of life, and of the working class. We mean that the working class, by vote and strike and even by brute force if necessary, shall thrust them out. It is of no use discussing the bullets we have not, but we do say, "Use the vote as you can, and strike as you must." We decline to drop either weapon. Those who profess to drop politics have themselves to resort to them. It was by appeal to the political power that Mann's sentence was reduced and Bowman was released. The old trade unions, who openly flouted political action, had to go to Parliament to safeguard their very existence and property; and they have found it useful for securing in factory and in mine ameliorations of their industrial conditions which it is doubtful if they could ever have achieved by "direct action"—certainly not without an infinity of suffering. The old anti-political trade unions have begun to learn the lesson of political action; their representatives in the House have blundered and fumbled, and yet they have managed to get things. The miners are the only big section of workers to secure a big reduction of hours in the last 20 years—they won it by political action. The engineers tried the other way and failed. They also now look to political action. This change of mind is still very young; and before the method has even had a fair trial some of our volatile friends say, "No, not that way, let us try direct action," which the trade unionists had been trying all the while before. They had had sixty years of direct action, and found themselves—some a very little better off, most of them worse off. Let us have sixty years of political action conducted even in the same spirit, and the results, as shown by the last six years, would be greater. But given a revolutionary policy and method, not sixty, but ten, years would be sufficient for all practical purposes. Fancy a body of avowed revolutionaries being unable to function in a National Assembly where revolutions, economic and political, have been recorded in the past!

So, then, let the workers unite, not divide and "syndicalise."

Let us oust the landlord and capitalist class, and not leave them in possession indefinitely. Let us use their own chief weapon against them, make the State our State, and so transform it into our Commune—each for all, all for each—without any dangerous sectionalising attached, even by name, to factory hell or colliery dust-heap of the hideous past.

Note.—My rejoinder will be found on page 5.—G.W.

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Political Toll: Its End in Sight

Gaylord Wilshire thinks that until the Labor Party has a majority it is practically powerless; meanwhile, he says, "carping at them is more or less unreasonable." The Irish Party have never had a majority, nor even a hundred members, yet it has taken toll of both parties.

Wilshire says, "Politically the advanced Liberals and the present Labor Party are blood relations," and it is suicidal for the Labor Party to run three-cornered fights. Scratch a Syndicalist, you find an Anarchist; scratch again, you'll find a Liberal.

Still the Labor Party fares badly at three-cornered fights—Holmfirth poorly, Crewe worse, Hanley worst of the lot.

The foregoing comments are from "Justice," the organ of the British Socialist Party. As to the possibility of the Labor Party taking toll, that is readily admitted as long as it doesn't ask too much toll and holds the balance of power between the Liberals and Tories. In fact, it had a slice of toll the other day, when the Liberal Party appointed Ramsay MacDonald on the Indian Commission. But the point I make is that the toll it can get is never much of anything, and when it does get it the payment in exchange is always too heavy; and finally, the moment it elects enough Members of Parliament to constitute a permanent balance of power, then the Tories and Liberals will unite and pay no more toll at all.

As to my opinion that the Labor Party and the Liberal Party are blood relations constituting me either an Anarchist or a Liberal, I would remark that "vituperation is not argument" applies particularly. I said it would be suicidal for the Labor Party to fight the Liberals, and "Justice" admits this by noting that the Labor Party fared badly in the recent three-cornered fights.

It also might be remarked that no journal has been stouter in its contention that the Labor Party exists by grace of the Liberal Party than "Justice" itself, and yet when "Wilshire's" merely re-echoes the same thing instead of getting a cheer I get a brick.

The whole amount of the matter is that the Labor Party and the British Socialist Party are merely nominal foes, and when attacked by a common enemy they instinctively unite for mutual defence. The cry of "Justice" has long been for Socialist Unity. Syndicalism will bring about Socialist Unity more than any other single force. Never before has there been such unanimity shown between the Laborites and the Socialists as seen in their joint attitude to Syndicalism.

The Lost Transport Strike

That the London Transport strike should have been lost this year while it was won last year has occasioned some surprise among those not wholly familiar with the facts.

In order to get a first-hand authority on the matter, I asked my old friend Ben Tillett to give me a few items explaining the matter from his point of view. He writes me, under date of August 9, as follows:—

While this year's fight was for the same men, yet the same men were not asking for similar conditions of advances, but were merely fighting for a principle securing their wages as a body of workmen under an agreement which they had won last year. First, the carmen this year did not respond to the call. In last year's fight the employers could not obtain the carmen to carry food supplies.

This year the meat supply of London was hardly affected. Thus one great arm of our forces was cut off. Last year we were able to stop the refrigerating works, and this gave the whole country a great shock; this year none of these men appeared to be interested, but were perfectly agreeable to work along on the better conditions they had obtained through the strike of last year. No solidarity.

This year the fight was too early in the year, being two months earlier than last year, and not so favourable for the strike. I was anxious to postpone action for that reason. Last year the employers were not organised locally or nationally; this year they were prepared. This was pointed out to our organisations, but the "bulls" would rush it, and make a fight of it anyway. Last year the whole of the Transport Workers were alive with resentment against the employers, and fighting in all the ports, and they were without organisations or agreements. This year they had both, and would not risk the same after fighting so hard for them. Last year the union officials risked nothing; but this year they had something to lose, and so cried off when the National stoppage was declared. You see there are distinctions, and they tell (a) against agreements, and (b) against responsible organisation. I think that about hits the position off.

But we shall be making a fight of it again. I feel pretty sad about things, but still it is all in the day's work, and we shall have to make the best of it, and now get back to the renewing and the rebuilding. It is good to be alive, though, and to be making the fight, and to know that the men are such brave, good souls. I am sure that I shall never forget the heroic struggle and the great bravery of it all.

The men and the women and their children all showed heroic qualities, even in the very depths; the big human qualities. I never knew such unselfishness.

I shall be glad to see you soon, and have a long talk over the things that really matter. Good luck and the best of good wishes.—Yours sincerely,

Tom Mann was in prison when the strike began, and was not released until it was nearly over. It is quite possible that had he been at liberty he might with his power over the Transport Workers have, with the aid of Tillett, brought about that solidarity by which alone all are agreed the strike could have been won.

However, the lesson of the lost strike will not be lost. Already plans are being laid which should bring about an amalgamation of the transport and railway workers in Great Britain. When this is done the next strike will be a momentous one, and if it be won will carry with its victory vast consequences.

EIGHT-PAGE PAMPHLET ON

SYNDICALISM

BY

GAYLORD WILSHIRE

Two Cents each or 16 Cents per dozen, post paid. Remit in Stamps or Postal Order, Wilshire's Magazine, 38, Clerkenwell Green, London

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Gaylord Wilshire's Rejoinder to Knee

Syndicalists and Socialists are both in accord in demanding the abolition of the present system of private ownership of the means of production and the substitution of the community ownership. Their vision of the future Industrial Democracy may differ somewhat in details, but, inasmuch as both no doubt would be quite willing to take a chance if the present competitive wage-system were abolished, the future system will settle itself satisfactorily enough without needing any quarrel to-day about arranging things for the millennium.

The main point we have to consider is, "how to get there," and the "there" may be defined as being either Socialism or Syndicalism as far as I am concerned. The "how" is the important thing, inasmuch as the Syndicalist declares the "how"—the vote—of the Socialist as impractical as the Socialist declares the "how"—the strike—of the Syndicalist to be.

Now let us consider what the "vote" is, anyway. Is it not simply a method of counting noses and determining whether or no one side is so strong that the minority had better at once give in rather than be slaughtered by a superior force?

In cases of no apparent vital import a man will usually submit to the will of the majority rather than suffer any great physical discomfort or danger. As the import of the question increases, the chances of peaceful submission decrease, and particularly is this the case if the minority think the majority have not the physical strength to coerce. Witness Ulster.

Suffragettes admittedly have no majority of the nation on their side, yet, such is their devotion to their cause, it is probable that the Government will succumb to their attack, to sabotage, simply because they will consider the loss they may incur through giving women the vote is less than the annoyance they will surely experience if they do not.

The experience in other countries has shown very conclusively that giving women the vote, or the men either for that matter, makes practically no difference to the propertied classes. It is merely tradition in England and not any real fear of danger that prevents woman suffrage here.

Parliament will under pressure give about anything the public may demand except any real concession of property rights; rather than do this it will end the Parliamentary system itself.

Knee instances what the peasants of Ireland have done. I would point out that they have really made no dent in property, inasmuch as the landowners have been reimbursed; and anyway if they had not been it would simply mean that certain Irish landlords had been expropriated for the benefit of the remainder of the British capitalist class. I take it that as long as the competitive wage system exists the workers will be automatically deprived of any surplus-value they may create, and that any changes in property rights is merely a question of shifting profits and rents from one section of the capitalist class to another section. The capitalist class as a class is not affected. Moreover, it might be pointed out that the Irish got what they did get, not by any revolutionary political action, but partly by sabotage and partly by political trading, by pitting one section of the Parliamentary capitalist party against the other section. If the demands of the Irish had been sufficiently revolutionary we would never have seen them supported by big capitalists of the Liberal Party merely in order to keep Asquith and Lloyd George in office. Certainly Knee does not imagine that if the British Socialist Party, or even the Labor Party, had the same balance of power now held by the Irish Party that the Liberal wing of the Liberal-Tory capitalist Party would give them Socialism in order to retain office. Let the Labor Party get stronger, and Liberals and Tories will at once combine.

Says Knee, for "one-seventh of a man's estate to go to the State is a limitation of property rights." This would seem that Knee rather put himself, too, among the Lloyd George admirers, as he charges me with being, although without that proof he is now furnishing against himself.

Yes, of course, a death duty, and, in fact, any tax, is a "limitation of property rights," but I cannot see that any new principle is involved in a death duty which should fill Knee with this sudden glow of affection for the Liberal Party. As he admits, it is merely a question of the "State's necessities," and as the money must be raised anyway somehow, and as the capitalists have taken care that the workers have nothing and can't pay anything, it is obvious that the burden of any new taxation must fall on the rich.

That the capitalist should have decided to put what is possibly an unfair burden upon those of their number who are dead and gone where they can neither kick nor vote is more a tribute to their caution than to their sympathy with the proletariat.

What I am driving at in all this is to show that the capitalists will allow Parliament to do almost anything except make a real attack on property. A stronger section of them may allow attacks on their weaker brethren, just as a wolf pack will rend a wounded member, but that is their limit.

Knee would have us believe that if the workers should decide by a majority vote that the capitalist must give up all his property rights, that he would cheerfully and peacefully acquiesce in the Socialist programme.

I first of all deny the probability of the workers ever organising well enough politically to elect a majority of revolutionists to Parliament.

Moreover, I declare that even if they did elect a majority that it would be ineffective to compel the capitalist to hand over his property unless they had the power of industrial organisation back of them to compel surrender.

It is upon this point that I seem to find Knee dodging, and it is the crux of our argument. There is no use of his diverting the issue into a discussion of the differences in the vision we may have as to the future State. And it is even less to the point for him to talk about Wilshire hankering after the Insurance Bill and the Labor Party, etc.—I might hanker after gooseberry tart and yet be logical—nor does the fact that Knee proclaims himself a trade unionist make his side of the argument any stronger. He might as well talk about the lovely colour of his hair, or the excellent state of his digestion. This present argument has nothing to do with the personalities immediately involved in it.

I ask Knee directly, what does he proposes to do if, when he gets his miraculous Parliamentary majority, the capitalists refuse to give up?

But he has already answered the question, and answered exactly as a Syndicalist would answer it. Not only once but twice in his reply does he rely upon the strike, upon industrial solidarity, to back up his majority vote. He says, "the working class by vote and strike shall thrust the capitalist out." Of course, when he brackets vote with strike he means merely that preparatory to the "thrusting out" process the capitalist shall first be voted out. He says if the franchise were restricted that there would remain to the workers "the strike as a weapon of desperation." He quite gives up any recourse to any force other than the strike, for, he says, "it is no use discussing the bullets we have not . . . . but vote as you can and strike as you must."

Now, it seems to me that in all this Knee completely gives away his position. He certainly must agree with me that there is a chance that the capitalists may not abdicate merely out of politeness when they hear that the election has gone against them.

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If this does happen he admits that the only weapon left to the workers is the strike.

Our difference is merely, then, in forecasting what the capitalists may do. I, myself, am so sure that they will never surrender merely because they may have lost such an unimportant outpost as Parliament, that I say that the workers ought to get busy at once and form the only organisation powerful enough to carry them through to victory—namely, *industrial* organisation.

Knee says that the thing to do is to first get your political majority, and then, if you are refused the fruits of your victory at the polls, form your industrial organisation. I contend that to wait is a useless waste of time.

First, because we will never get a political majority, and if we should, it is absolutely a foregone conclusion that the capitalists would never give up. Meanwhile, by pursuing the Parliamentary delusion we are both enervating our rank and file and exposing our leaders to the corruption of Parliamentary life.

But, says Knee, "the other classes forced their way out of servitude to economic power by using the political weapon"; therefore, he is convinced that politics may be useful to the worker because, by "possession of political power the capitalists retain possession of the means of life."

This reminds me of the old story of the man remarking that big rivers always ran near big cities. The "other classes" first got possession of economic power, the landlords the land, the capitalists the capital, and then the economic power commanded political power.

Political power is the reflex of economic power, and not vice versa, as Knee seems to think. Let the workers get economic power, let them unite industrially and gain possession of the machinery of production, and I will guarantee they will not be wanting in political power, whether they have elected one member to Parliament or six hundred.

Parliament is the tool of those possessing wealth, of those who have economic power. Let the workers get economic power, and they will need no votes to mould Parliament to their will.

Knee says he is in favor of using all the weapons. Would he be in favor of using a bow and arrow against a Dreadnought? The vote as a weapon for revolution is like the bow and arrow, out of date. And yet I admit that in local elections, when there is no thought of revolution, that a Socialist majority on a town council may be of considerable value to the workers.

But in Parliamentary elections the danger is that the workers will be misled by the leaders making them think that the election of their man means a step to revolution. At best, voting is merely indicative of the worker's pious opinion. On the other hand, I also admit that it is obvious that pro rata with the increase of industrial solidarity there will naturally come about an increase in the revolutionary vote. The workers are sure to vote for someone, and, as Knee has pointed out, they usually vote for their masters.

And they always will vote for their masters as long as they are not inspired with the spirit of revolutionary unionism. The most natural evolution of a Tory or Liberal working man is first into Syndicalism and from that into a revolutionary voter. He will not, however, vote with any expectation of getting the revolution by political action, but merely as a method of expressing his desires upon the subject. Just as it is easier to get a man to drop his old economic views for Socialist views than it is to get him to drop his religion for Agnosticism, so it is easier to get him to join an industrial union than it is to get him to drop his old-time political affiliations. Liberalism to the Liberal is like Romanism to the Roman Catholic. Syndicalism proceeds along the line of least resistance—the industrial line—with the workers, and therefore it is the more likely to find a readier acceptance than Socialism.

Knee denies that a workman will "stake his very life on a strike." It seems to me that the proof of my assertion is grimly afforded in the present dockers' strike. I quote the following from "Reynolds's Weekly" for the week ended June 30:—

FACING DEATH.

Baby Taken to Christening in Brown Paper Sheets.

Remarkable revelations of the plight of strike-ridden families in the East End were made by Dean Ring, the Rector of St. Mary and St. Michael, Commercial Road, in the course of an interview last night.

"The tragedy of the whole thing is appalling," he said. "Homes are stripped bare, and people have even sold the clothes off their backs in order to relieve terrible sufferings of hunger which they are undergoing. The need now is even greater than last week, for then my poor people had their few sticks of furniture to pawn. But these have now been parted with, and unless the public at once comes to our aid lives will be sacrificed.

"It is no exaggeration to say that people here in Stepney and in Wapping and Canning Town are dying of starvation. Parents are so weakened by hunger that if work was offered them they could not do it."

Asked to specify cases, Father Ring pointed to the case of a family of nine, where he said that all they had to exist upon was the wage of six shillings which the eldest girl earned at office cleaning. "But there are still more terrible cases," continued Father Ring. "Only the other day a docker's wife gave birth to a child, and there was not a rag in the home to wrap the infant in.

"In another case a baby was brought to the church to be christened clothed in brown paper. So racked with hunger are some of the people that they spend their time in bed. They tell you there is nothing to get up for. One man who was visited was found dressed in a sack."

Knee talks about the Saxons laughing at the Norman castles, thinking by ignoring them they could regain their land. It seems to me his illustration would be still more apt if applied to the Parliamentary Socialists who ignore the Norman capitalist castles of to-day, and seem to think that the vote is a Gabriel trumpet that has only to sound to lay Capitalism flat.

Knee asks how it is that when, "by some queer streak of luck the worker becomes a capitalist he takes to the political air like a lark." Perfectly simple. As I have said before, political power is the reflex of economic power. It is his money that votes. Knee says that power comes from politics, whereas I say it comes from economics, and this is the rock upon which we split.

Knee is very wobbly about the power of the strike. As shown, he admits that the strike is the final weapon of desperation if the capitalists refuse the fruits of political victory, and yet he says, "so long as the capitalist State remains, so long will it be able to throttle any strike, however big."

It seems to me that this is a most pessimistic position. First to declare that if voting won't work then we must rely on the strike, and then to follow this up by admitting that the State can throttle any strike. I would ask, then, how Knee ever expects to get anything except by the grace of God and the capitalists? He gives up the vote, the citizen army, and finally the strike, and as far as I can see his one method remaining is that miracle that he has been patiently waiting twenty years for.

Quite true, as he says, hitherto the strike has been simply a weapon of defence, but that is because the trade unions have been merely after ameliorative measures in their own particular trades. They have not been class-conscious, revolutionary, industrial unions, and naturally their strikes have not been aggressive nor revolutionary.

Here the Syndicalist is prophetic. He insists that the strikes of the future will become more and more revolutionary as the workers organise by class instead of by trade.

That, instead of the unions as in the past being merely agents for reform, they will in the future be the means to the Social Revolution.

Knee cries, "Let us oust the capitalist class." As a matter of fact what he means by "oust" is merely to

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bend the Knee and politely pass a vote requesting them to oust themselves.

Then, if they do not "oust," Knee proposes coming to the Syndicalists and asking them to do the "ousting" for him; he to take the glory for originating the idea.

The Syndicalists need no suggestion from the Parliamentarians as to what they ought to do when they have achieved solidarity. One thing is certain, they will not waste time waiting five years for a Parliamentary election before they dare make their wants known.

Collision of Irreconcilables

THE recognition of the one-sidedness of all bargains between laborer and capitalist is slowly making way not only with the general public, but where we would least expect it—in the courts.

Some months ago the management of the Great Northern Railroad, upon learning that the carmen in its employ had been successful in forming strong local organizations at its division points, issued a notice to the effect that as a condition precedent to retaining their positions the members of the new organizations must renounce their affiliation with the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. This act was in direct violation of the State law, and the railroad company was proceeded against. The Supreme Court of the State has just handed down its decision—a victory for the union. In part the decision says: "Theoretically the employer and employee are on an equality, so that one is free to employ and the other to accept employment as he sees fit, but in practice it is to the employee very often a matter of compulsion and not of free choice. As a rule his daily wage is needed for the daily wants of himself and family, and nothing is left for the morrow. To sustain life he must needs obtain or retain employment on whatever terms it may be offered. Under such conditions his necessities may be easily made use of as a means of coercion. If an employer, who knows that his employee is in a position where he must retain the employment or starve, should then with threat of dismissal from service coerce him to leave an organization wherein the employee found help and support, and which was in no way inimical to the interests of the employer, we would all unhesitatingly condemn the conduct of the employer as a moral wrong. We fail to see wherein coercion under similar circumstances may not also be a legal wrong and a violation of section 5,079 R.L., 1905."

Of course, it is now but a logical step from the recognition of the unjustness of allowing an employer to dictate as to membership in a labor union to the recognition that any dictation by the employer as to wages or hours is equally unjust, inasmuch as the workers have no real power to bargain except by means of a labor union so powerful that a general strike has a possibility of success.

But then see where we land. The court says that the individual worker is powerless. Under the court's protection he forms a union and inaugurates a strike which may endanger the public food supply. Then in steps the court and declares that such a strike is a public menace; that it practically amounts to a civil war; that it must cease.

But, say the workers, you have just decreed that the strike is our only weapon of defence, and now when we use it you declare we are insurgents. What, then, are we to do? You put the strike weapon in our hands, and then when we use it you say that we are insurrectionists.

All this illustrates one of the many impossibilities of the present system. We are damned if we don't, and damned if we do.

Barnes: Puritanism vs. Votes

RATHER an amusing complication besets the Socialist Party of America at the opening of its campaign with Debs as its standard-bearer. It is all about the morals of one Mahlon Barnes, elected by the Convention as campaign manager.

Barnes is an excellent man for manager. He has not only proven this in the past few weeks since his election, but he had a long and good record as secretary of the Socialist Party. However, Barnes is not only a man who enjoys work, but he also enjoys society, particularly of the opposite sex; and, what is more, does so without much regard to the Seventh Commandment. Awful! At least, all this was said about him some time ago while he was secretary of the Party; and, while the sayers were largely an unclean gang of hypocrites and liars, nevertheless, they raised enough hullabaloo a year or so ago to cause the retirement of Barnes.

The Convention at Chicago knew all about this, and ignored it, for when Hillquit nominated Barnes for campaign manager he was elected without protest unanimously. I heard a well-known American Socialist say that it was the one brave act the Convention permitted itself. I agreed. But it was not war, not politics, not a good vote-getting action. No sooner did the knowledge of the election of Barnes get back to the "purity-mongers" than a fearful squeal rent the air. Members wrote that they would rather vote for Taft than vote for Debs with Barnes as manager. What's more to the point, they said they would refuse to contribute to the campaign fund. Rather than have the Social Revolution handed to them through the instrumentality of Don Juan Barnes they would prefer enduring capitalism for ever. Hot stuff, these modern-day American Puritan Socialists. They go Christianity several better; they would condemn all the world to eternal damnation in order not to save one man, but to damn him also.

Poor Hillquit, as the proposer of Barnes, was made the scapegoat. Funny position for such an astute politician to find himself in. The record of the Convention was raked up to prove that Hillquit had alleged in nominating Barnes that the National Committee had endorsed Barnes. Hillquit replies that the record is inaccurate, and I think he is quite correct. And anyway, why should the baby act be played? The Convention knew quite as much about Barnes and his record as Hillquit. Even if the National Committee had endorsed him, that was no reason for the Convention to follow suit. The whole amount of the matter is that the Convention thought Barnes the best man for the place, but it did not count upon the power of the fanatical Puritan Party raising such an awful stench.

The question of Barnes was put up to Debs. It was a delicate question for him to handle. He did not handle it. He refers it to the Party.

Debs said that the Barnes question was attracting more attention within the Party than was the question of Socialism, and that it was surely going to lose votes. Whether it was a good or bad thing to lose

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votes on a principle when "this is our year" Debs did not say, but he thoroughly concurred in having a referendum of the Party taken to see if the membership as a whole really did wish Barnes or votes. As a matter of fact, I doubt if Debs would have lost a dozen votes by retaining Barnes were it not for the internal rumpus the Puritans would insist on kicking up and diverting attention to such a miserable side issue. But we have to take things as they are, and if we wish to get votes we must kowtow to everybody, and therefore I have but little doubt but that the Socialist Party of America will once again purify itself and cry "Barnes must go."

This does not mean that the American Socialists are as a body Puritans; it merely means they want votes. Just as when Gorky was my guest at an hotel in New York, and the New York "World" came out with the story that the woman with him was an actress and not his legal wife, and the hotel-keeper insisted upon Gorky's vacating, it was not because the hotel man was a Puritan himself, far from it, but because he was afraid he would lose custom if he kept Gorky under his roof after all the publicity.

The Socialists are after votes, and the hotel man was after dollars, and both pursue the logical path.

The "New Age" and that Spark-Plug

IN my comments last number upon the Original and Only Way to Social Salvation, as propounded by the inventor, Mr. Orage, of the "New Age," I incidentally dropped a modest line to the effect that "I had always thought that wages were the first charge upon production," as opposed to the Orageian theory that "wages are not fixed by the needs of the worker, but by the interplay of Capital and Labor." I said, "I would not press the point." I did not wish to divert the "New Age" from an explanation of "co-management with the State."

However, as usually happens when your opponent has a poor case, he dilates on the minor issue and neglects the major one. My single line of doubt called forth a page and a-half in the "New Age" about "the defect in Mr. Wilshire's sparking-plug." I might call attention, by the way, that this use of sparking-plug was original with me, and that the "New Age" makes a direct steal. But it is quite welcome to my contribution to the English language.

I will only say that if I expect my horse to plough the field, I must give him his oats; the horse must have food, whether the ploughing result in a product sufficient to pay rent or profit or not. It is in this sense I would say that the wages of the horse, his oats, are the first charge on production. What applies to the horse equally applies to the wages for the hired man who drives the horse. Perhaps my use of English is faulty in calling wages the "first charge on production," but certainly no one can say that the horse must not have his oats, no matter what becomes of interest and rent charges.

It seems to me that the following letter in the "New Age" on that interesting subject is such a fine example of the solemnity with which an Englishman views Americana that it is worth reproduction:—

Sir,—In a discussion of "the Guild-Socialism of 'The New Age,'" Mr. Gaylord Wilshire, in the magazine of his own name for August, contributes some pertinent as well as impertinent remarks concerning both yourself personally and "The New Age." His comments, I am sure, on yourself will have no interest for you, though I may say that they are so far from being abusive as to aim at being jocularly friendly. When I assure you that their humour is American, you will gather that abuse would be preferable. The comments on "The New Age," however, are of slightly more interest. Your proposal in particular for co-management between the State and the unions strikes this Syndicalist acolyte as impracticable—not, as one might expect, because the unions will never be equal to it, but on the absurd ground that Labour will one day be so strong as to refuse to admit the State to equality with itself. "Labour," he says, "could not, with dignity to itself, consent to share its right to manage with the 'State,' inasmuch as the 'State' would then be its own creature." We have got a long way to go before this dignity is in sight. And, meanwhile, the Syndicalist neophyte might open a dictionary to discover what the State is.

PRESS CUTTER.

The letter is especially noteworthy, because the fact of its publication indicates that the "New Age" itself feels rather drawn to its sympathetic defender. However, as Mr. Orage kindly relieves the intensity of the situation by hurling the spark-plug back to its source, I imagine he will not cut me dead when next we may pass by. He must know that I was merely varying the phrase "eccentricity of genius." If I was guilty of "impertinent personal remarks," as would seem to be possibly the decision of Mr. Orage, judging from his publication of his correspondent's letter, then again I must plead ignorance of the meaning of words. If I am guilty, then anyone who comments upon the work of any author, modern or ancient, and finds within the context logic which is an indication that the writer thereof has a mind which is not always keyed to the same pitch, may be also guilty of personal impertinence.

But the anonymous correspondent at any rate can be credited with calling attention to the fact that Mr. Orage failed to take up my point that it is as absurd to talk about Labor co-operating with the State as it is to talk about a peasant co-operating with his hoe. The State is a tool made and controlled by the capitalists. In the future of Socialism it will, if it exists, be a tool controlled by Labor. In the interim the State is bound to be entirely under the control of the capitalists until by a revolutionary change it finally falls into the control of Labor.

There can be no dual control. Labor, with its Labor and Socialist political parties, can delude itself that it is sharing control of the State with the capitalists, just as a child may think it is driving the horse when it is allowed to grasp with its small hands the reins held fast by an indulgent driver. The child may not awaken to the innocent deception practised upon it until a turning in the road occurs and it finds that the puny strength of its arms is of no avail to guide the horse in a different direction from that determined upon by the stronger arms of the driver.

Labor may be allowed to lay its hands on the reins of State, but we may be sure that the hands it lays will never be effective to do much co-operating as long as the infinitely stronger hand of the capitalists holds the reins. We may "have a long way to go" before Labor assumes control; if so, we then must go the "long way." Co-operation with the State belongs to the realm of Grimm's Fairy Tales.

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WILSHIRE'S

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Roosevelt and Section 6

ROOSEVELT admittedly has brought into the political situation a very complicating factor. He is unquestionably advocating a programme that will soon control a majority of the voters, but whether this will prove to be the case this November or this November four years to come is as yet uncertain.

America is on her way to the Co-operative Commonwealth, but she is not going to land there without any stops at way stations, and already Roosevelt has his flag out at the most important one—Regulation. It was necessary for the people to learn that the Trusts were a natural growth and cannot be destroyed; that the only thing to do is to regulate them preliminary to nationalising them. Two classes of people have known this for a great many years: the big Capitalists and the Socialists. But as the capitalists also knew that "destruction" as hitherto preached by the Tafts the Wilsons and Bryans really meant nothing but long winded legal squabbles with no harm done to anyone, and being of a conservative nature, they preferred the buncombe "destruction" policy to regulation. Regulation meant at least a measure of exposure and supervision, and even though the capitalists will control the exposing and the supervising they preferred to get along without it all as long as possible. However, after a quarter of a century of "destruction of Trusts" the public derision became so pronounced that finally it fell to Taft to do something. The Standard Oil Trust, or rather company, for the Trust as a Trust was transformed into a company years ago, was forced to disintegrate. Later on the Tobacco Trust, the Beef Trust, and a few others also followed suit. But while there was no evidence that these Taft disintegrations had any effect whatever either to lower prices, or to develop real competition between the disintegrated parts, nevertheless there is no doubt but that a certain section of the big capitalists like Morgan became convinced that this constant harrying of Trusts was becoming such a nuisance that they had better accept regulation and have peace. There can be little question but that Gary spoke for Morgan when he said that the Government should regulate steel prices. Nor can there be much doubt but that Perkins in backing Roosevelt is doing so with Morgan's acquiescence.

This doesn't necessarily mean that Roosevelt is Morgan's first choice; probably he may still prefer another four-year term of Taft or Wilson "destruction" to a term of Roosevelt's "regulation." But it does mean that Morgan is preparing for the inevitable, and that he recognises the day of pretended destruction has about passed, and that regulation must soon become the order of the day. Hence it is but natural that Morgan wishes to be on friendly terms with Head Regulator Roosevelt.

La Follette has been very persistent in demanding that Roosevelt disclose the source of his campaign fund. It seems to me that inasmuch as all campaign funds are contributed by those that expect a benefit to accrue, and that as Gary is frankly in favour of regulation, that it is obvious that the Morgan people are Roosevelt's principal financial backers. Moreover, it seems to me, things being as they are, that Roosevelt is quite morally justified in taking Morgan money to finance himself. Politically he, of course, cannot disclose it, any more than Wilson or Taft could afford to tell who finances them. But morally, if there are morals in politics, what objection can there be to a candidate taking money from Morgan when he frankly is advocating what Morgan and his confrères Gary and Perkins want?

In the march to Socialism America is bound apparently to pass through a phase of State regulation of industry, and even a large measure of State ownership of industries, together with more Labour regulation, Minimum Wage Bills, pensions for old age, etc. Just now Roosevelt seems destined to be the political exponent of this programme. True he declares that he offers his measures as an antidote to Socialism. We must remember that in Roosevelt's dictionary Socialism is defined as social discontent. He knows that the small capitalist would be satisfied if he were protected from the undue rapacity of the big capitalist by effective State regulation of Trusts, and that Labour generally would be equally satisfied were wages and hours fixed at figures which give reasonable compensation and leisure.

Labour and the small capitalist simply ask for the right to live according to their respective class ideals, an ideal ridiculously small and feeble in comparison with what the revolutionary Socialist demands.

For those people who wish "something now" there is no question that as between voting for Roosevelt with a chance of electing their man and getting "something" and voting for Debs with no chance at all there would seem to be but one course. Herein lies the weakness of the present reformist position of the Socialist Party. It has declared by Section 6 that anyone who is not in for "practical" politics shall be expelled from the Party. This logically leads those who are anxious to get an instalment of Socialism to vote for the man who has the best chance of getting elected and giving the instalments. Upon this proposition certainly Roosevelt rather than Debs must get their votes.

For instance, take a question like that of child labour or the Minimum Wage Bill. Both are admittedly in the class of legislation that is bound to come—that is, to come as soon as the growth of popular demand reaches a certain point. If Roosevelt is elected it would indicate that so many people

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want such legislation, that it is now in the sphere of practical politics. It is futile to say that Roosevelt is insincere in his adocacy of such socialistic reforms. His insincerity or sincerity is not an issue, the issue is do the people who vote for him want these reforms? The voters are sincere certainly. If the voters want a reform enough to vote for it, we may be quite certain that politicians like Roosevelt are not going to risk their popularity by not doing all they can to give it to them.

Of course, we are familiar enough with the old argument that the best way to get Reform is to vote for Revolution, but we must remember that we are now discussing voters who want reform rather than revolution. It is useless to say that such voters are not Socialists. That may be true, but nevertheless that they do vote the Socialist ticket, and that they are considered a valuable political asset, is seen by the action of the Party in clinging to Section 6.

Roosevelt will perform an invaluable service to Socialism if he detaches every one of these voters from the Socialist Party. There is bound to be some day a separation of the reformist sheep from the revolutionary goats, and the sooner the better.

When the Socialist Party was the only party in America that was standing for social reforms, it was but natural for Reformist Socialists to vote for Debs, even though there was no hope of his success. Now that Roosevelt has launched a Reformist ticket that may win, it seems to me that those who were responsible for committing the Socialist Party to "practical" politics as per Section 6 might make a very logical defence of themselves if they themselves decide to vote for Roosevelt rather than Debs.

Berger's Hat on a Peg

I HAVE said that the agitation against Barnes in the American Socialist Party was puritanical cant, mixed with fear of losing votes that had better be lost anyway.

It is not often I find myself in accord with Victor Berger, but on this issue we are at one, so much so that I am suspicious of myself. However, while I agree with Berger upon the main issue, I must say that I hardly see why such an arch vote-catcher should press his disagreement with Debs on the matter so far as to publicly declare that he "acted as if the presidential nomination had become his personal property," and that Debs "suffers from an unduly exaggerated ego." I don't know how Debs could have acted to call forth all this rage from Berger, but no matter what he did or what he said it would seem that Berger was not doing much to put oil on the waters or to create the impression among the American workers that Debs is worthy of their votes.

Berger also said, "We shall have to get rid of the Anarchists and Syndicalists, because a Syndicalist is merely an Anarchist too cowardly to admit it." I believe that the Anarchists are saying that a Syndicalist is merely a Socialist, but too proud to admit it. However, temporarily we will pass the question and return to Berger, where he adds, "Let us who stand for International Socialism unite. We must build a stone wall against cant and hypocrisy, allied with anarchism, sabotage and murder." I am not sure that stone-wall building ever is an attractive enough game to unite people in its pursuit; but anyway, from the material Berger is using, I would have thought of a brick wall rather than a stone one.

But the gem of Berger's oration I reserve to the last: "They want to practise sabotage of the party and assassinate political action. The Barnes's affair is simply used as a peg to hang their hats on, to use a colloquial expression."

One can see what a fearful strain Berger must have been under to see him depart from his long-accustomed, conventional and stately, congressional Austro-English to a mere colloquial expression in order to properly express himself.

Berger is always Chesterfieldian; no doubt one reason he will not vote for Teddy is that the now historic phrase "My hat is in the ring" was sprung on the public with no apology for his picturesqueness.

But what is a colloquial expression, anyway? I thought it was language that working men were fed upon by politicians as a kind of literary pap, as being better for their easy assimilation from their being accustomed to it from infancy.

One thing is plain, however, and that is the kind of murderers that Berger wishes to build his stone wall against. It is the "assassins of political action." Nasty men; no doubt they would also use colloquial language without a public apology. They might even "hang their hats" to a sour apple tree if real angry.

Anarchism and Syndicalism

BERGER says that a Syndicalist is merely an Anarchist too cowardly to admit it. He defines anarchy as championing individual competition in every department of life.

Now inasmuch as Syndicalism admittedly is essentially the doctrine of the extermination of individual competition by a complete and comprehensive organisation of the workers of the world, it is difficult to understand how Berger can call such a theory as being one of unlimited competition.

As a matter of fact, Berger knows enough to know that his argument is absurd, but he thinks that his readers are ignorant enough to be fooled. I do not set out to define anarchy myself, but I do say that taking anarchy as defined by Berger then it is absurd to make it synonymous with Syndicalism.

Syndicalism looks forward to a world-wide industrial organisation of the workers. Organisation is its watchword. Individual action, whether direct or any other kind, is recognised as played out.

The Syndicalist realises that the world-wide industrial organisation of the capitalists, as seen in such organisation, for instance, as the Standard Oil Trust, must necessarily and logically find its reflex in a world-wide industrial organisation of the workers. The evolution of the Labour Trust, if it may be called such, is as sure to come as was the evolution of the Capitalist Trust.

Where Anarchists and Syndicalists agree is in saying that the capitalists are not going to surrender at the command of the ballot. But because they may agree on one point does not justify Parliamentarians like Berger making out that organisation and non-organisation are one and the same thing.

The excellent article upon "Direct Action," by Dr. Levine, which we print in this number appeared originally in the New York "Forum."

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The Pregnant Knee Gives Birth to a New Theory

KNEE had a further reply to my article on "Syndicalism" in the August "British Socialist." It is interesting chiefly because it is so characteristic of the way in which the brain of the Parliamentarian Socialist works. In my rejoinder I said, "*I ask Knee directly, what does he propose to do if, when he gets his miraculous Parliamentary majority, the capitalists refuse to give up?*" He replies that "it would be (then) far easier to freeze the capitalists out if we had the whole or major part of the machinery of State in our hands."

But the particular point Syndicalists make is that the mere election of a Parliamentary majority by revolutionary Socialists does not necessarily connote the transfer of the machinery of State to the victors. True enough it ought to do so, and to-day it is certainly true enough that when one section of the capitalist party outvotes the other section they succeed peacefully to the control of the State. The other party gives up control peacefully because the vote indicates that it is in an economic minority as well as in a voting minority. Wealth is fairly equally divided between the two wings of the capitalist party, Liberal and Tory. Hence a political majority for one wing indicates not only a superior number of voters, but also a superior amount of wealth on that side. When the sitting Government is outvoted it resigns, because it is evident that the real balance of power in the country has turned against it. Then, too, the proposals of the victors even when led by a Lloyd George or a Roosevelt are really so innocuous to capital that it is not worth the candle to precipitate a physical conflict.

But if ever revolutionary Socialists should elect a majority to Parliament it would be quite a different story. If the capitalists should surrender the machinery of State to the newly-elected Socialist Parliament, they would not only be capitulating to a political party which admittedly has no economic power through the ownership of capital by its members, but they would be surrendering to a party which they knew was bent on despoiling them.

Therefore it stands to reason, it seems to me, that the capitalist class would either not allow the victorious Socialist Party to seat itself in Parliament, or if it did allow it, then it would find some means of retaining its hold of the machinery of State in defiance of the new Parliament.

Of course it would be easier to freeze out the capitalists if the Socialists had control of the army and navy, but it does not require Knee to let the capitalists know that they had better not surrender their present control, no matter who is elected, if they do not wish to be frozen out.

Socialists say that the control of the local police force is of much importance, and they seem to think that because Milwaukee turned over its municipal police to them that the same thing would happen nationally if there were a Socialist national victory. Not at all, the cases are not analogous. There is no doubt but that for the time being Labour profited by the police of Milwaukee being under the control of the Socialists, but it also cannot be doubted that if Socialist control of the local police force anywhere developed into any considerable menace to capital that State control would soon be substituted for municipal control. We have already seen what "ripper" legislation did in Pennsylvania when the bosses wished a closer grip upon the cities. The towns were not allowed to elect their mayors, let alone their chiefs of police. Even New York City loses control of its police to the State whenever the Republican Party is particularly arrogant. Of course the big cities of Europe—London, St. Petersburg, Paris and Berlin—have their police controlled by the State. We all remember that during the Debs Chicago railway strike of 1893 that President Cleveland sent in troops to awe the strikers notwithstanding that there was no call for them by either the Mayor of Chicago nor the Governor of Illinois—in fact, both protested against troops.

Knee still seems mystified about my discriminating between Socialists voting locally and voting nationally. I can't see why the difference is not plain. In voting locally they are voting for a quasi-control of their own municipal affairs, not for the Social Revolution. They know exactly what they may get by a victory, and they are under no delusion such as Knee has about it giving them control of the machinery of State and the power to freeze out the capitalists. But when Revolutionists vote in national elections they are manifestly voting for something they cannot get by a mere political victory. They vote to express an opinion.

As I said before, the workers are sure to vote for someone; they will no more abstain from voting than they will abstain from going to a football match. The Syndicalists merely wish them to understand that when they vote for a Debs or a Hyndman that they are doing nothing more than expressing a pious hope for revolution. Hopes may be useful, but action is more so.

Another mare's nest that Knee discovers in Syndicalism is that the unions may come to agreement with the capitalists at the expense of the rest of the workers. In the first place the very essence of Syndicalism is against all agreements; and, secondly, even if an agreement were made advancing the wages of union men it could not but help have a good effect upon the non-union men.

He also resents me and other "middle-class people telling us ('us' meaning 'Labour') how to manage our business." What can middle-class people know of industrial organisation? he asks. Seems to me that this sort of argument, coming from a member of the British Socialist Party, of which Hyndman is the head and front, and upon whose Executive there is probably a majority of middle-class folk, sounds funny. Perhaps he repudiates Marx, Engels, Singer, Bax, Vandervelde, and Bebel?

Perhaps he would likewise say that if you wish to know anything about germs do not go to a Pasteur, but go to the germs?

The fundamental concept of Socialism is economic determination. Given the economics and you will know what men will do. Upon this basis of pure materialism two men with the same brains and information must arrive at about the same conclusion. I take it, indeed, to-day the capitalists as a class probably know much more about the power and potentialities of the trade unions than do the workers themselves. They have better facilities for getting accurate data, and they have quite as much incentive to learn.

If the workers are going for ever to believe what is told them merely because some Lloyd George or some

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Roosevelt, or even some Knee, says so rather than believe what their reason tells them is true, then I have little hope for them. In both middle-class as well as in working-class arithmetic two and two are always four.

Panama Toll and American Faith

"The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any nation or its citizens or subjects in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise. Such charges shall be just and equitable."

These are the words of the treaty which is in force to-day between Great Britain and the United States.

The action of the Congress in seeking to change the plain meaning of the Treaty is significant. If the capitalists of America are quite ready to deliberately break faith with the capitalists to Great Britain over a paltry matter of tolls on the Panama Canal, is it not likely that they will break faith much more easily with the workers of this country whenever it comes to recognising a Socialist majority vote?

I am not saying that voting for Debs is not the right thing to do for a Socialist rather than not vote at all. But I do wish to point out that voting is merely wishing, and that the way to get what you wish is not merely to wish, but to have the power to command what you wish.

The Webbs on Syndicalism

"What Syndicalism Means." By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. A pamphlet published as a supplement to "The Crusade." 37, Norfolk Street, London W.C.

This is a useful little pamphlet giving fairly enough the principles of Syndicalism as enunciated by Syndicalists in France and England. It is only as an exposition, however, that it is of value; as a criticism it is valueless, inasmuch as its main attack is upon the structure of the society of the future according to the Webbs' idea of what Syndicalists wish. In the first place, the main thing that Syndicalists differ in from Socialists is as to the method of ridding the workers of capitalist rule. The Socialists say, ask the capitalists to get out by casting a vote. The Syndicalists say, get power to kick them out by industrial organisation. The Webbs do not attempt to attack the means suggested by the Syndicalists, but direct all their attention to the future after the attack is assumed to have succeeded.

The Webbs differ fundamentally from Syndicalists as to the relation of life to work. They have it that we work to get means to live, whereas Syndicalists take it that we live to work.

That is, for instance, let us suppose that we have arrived at such a future stage of perfection as to both society and the control over nature that all we need in a material way is produced automatically by machinery with no aid whatsoever from any man. Every man gets what he wants without any labour being required from him in return.

The question then arises: would men then devote themselves to some regular system of social work anyway, say of devoting themselves to the further beautifying of the earth; or would they, no longer being bound to "pay the tribute of work we have to pay to the world," continue to work anyway, or would they give themselves over to what the Webbs call "all the rest of the life to be lived"?

This question may seem so very academic that it is foolish to postulate it, but it is really an important one.

Speaking broadly, according to the Webbs society should be organised by and for *consumers*, and, therefore, when the consumers made no demand upon the community the community would make no demand on the individual. Hence he would have at his own disposal all his time to do with as he pleased, and he certainly would not please to engage in work for the mere fun of it, think the Webbs.

According to the Syndicalist theory, society should be organised by the *producers*, and work will always continue to be the great part of man's life quite irrespective of whether or not the perfection of society and machinery makes the present-day occupations necessary or not. This being true, then the industrial organisations of men are a permanency in the future social structure, just as permanent as is the physical structure of man. It is as absurd from the Syndicalist standpoint to picture the life of man as apart from work as to picture the life of a man's heart as apart from its pulsation.

Under Syndicalism the aim will be to make a man's work more vital to him, whereas by Webbs' Socialism the aim will be to make his leisure more interesting.

"Syndicalism," by J. H. Harley, M.A.

Published by Dodge Publishing Co., of New York, and T. C. and E. C. Jack, Edinburgh. 6d.

This little booklet by Professor Harley, being written by an author with no particular axe to grind, is naturally considerably fairer than the book on the same subject by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald. The author's stumbling-block is how society is to be formed after the Syndicalists win the general strike. He does not seem to realise that the central body of the society of the future is already being formed by the federation of the various industrial unions. True enough, these organisations are to-day in such embryonic form that one may be excused for not discerning their potentialities of the future, but at any rate it would seem that Professor Harley might at least have made it clear that this is the theory of the Syndicalists, even if he does not agree with it. He says that "Syndicalism is a great and significant movement. It has its roots deep down in the recesses of the past." He notes that "American experiences amply show that the emancipation of the working classes is not going to be won by mere compulsion of numbers. Impelled by Syndicalism, the people are going in the right direction by seeing to the strength and cohesion of their own working-class combinations." There is, he says, "disposition to forget that industry goes deeper down into the aboriginal depths of society than the later politics." The book, while not as good as it might be, is yet, considering the paucity of literature at a moderate price on Syndicalism, quite well worth purchasing.

Decay of Parliament

"The Syndicalist," London

Is there any historic instance of a subjugated class using for its own emancipation the organisation that was used to emancipate the preceding class? If not, why should we now expect a new development? Previously to the development of the middle class there was no Parliament known in the sense in which we use the term to-day. Parliament was the organisation used to develop the middle class which afterwards developed into the capitalist class. It was not invented, but grew out of economic conditions. Its growth displaced the Church and Monarchy. These had been the organisations which had developed the then-governing class. Why did not the new middle class adapt the Church and Monarchy to its own requirements? These were already to hand. It did not do so because to re-model is not to follow the line of least resistance. In selecting a new instrument the men of that time were simply following a law we constantly see in operation around us. Soon our parks will be covered with dead leaves. These very leaves last year pushed out their predecessors. While they were on the tree they helped to supply life and energy for the new shoots which in turn replace them. The same holds good in society. We have just seen the Government Post Office opening new premises. It was just because business developed in the old buildings that new ones became necessary. The Government recognised what men of business always recognise, that it is easier to build new premises adapted to new developments than to reconstruct old ones.

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Direct Action; Its Interpretation

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SYNDICALISM

LOUIS LEVINE, Ph.D.

"DIRECT Action." Another winged phrase which has made its way into the English vocabulary. Hardly known to English readers a few months ago, it has rapidly won a place in the stock-room of words and phrases in which our intellectual acquisitions are for convenience sake summarized. One now hears and reads the forceful phrase almost daily—a sign that it expresses some vital fact of modern life.

More than that. Though so young, the phrase already carries along with it a vast amount of emotion. It is associated with contradictory feelings, and stirs imaginations to various visions. Some pronounce it with joy and enthusiasm; some, with bitter hatred and vehement denunciation; some yet, with widely open eyes in which there is apprehension and dismay.

And no wonder. In America the terse phrase has made its appearance amidst most extraordinary circumstances. It emerged upon the surface of social life out of the depths of terrible industrial disturbances. It was thrown out to appease the metaphysico-causal cravings of an astonished public which stood aghast at an unparalleled trial and confession of two brother labour-leaders. It probably could not explain the fact it was meant to explain. But it, nevertheless, revealed a mystery—that somewhere in the unseen corners of our social system a tremendous work of the gravest consequences to civilization is going on, and is pressing forward to a definite end.

The dismal phrase has since stirred the world. Concrete illustrations of what it means were recently given in a series of monster strikes, such as had never been seen before. The strikes of the railroad men, of the dockers, and of the miners in England; the Lawrence strike in this country. And there can be little doubt that the near future has in store for us a few more strikes which will drive home even to those who have eyes and see not that a new phase of social struggles is on us—struggles the character and philosophy of which are summed up in the two words: "Direct Action."

A few historical notes may introduce the reader to a broader comprehension of the subject. The phrase "Direct Action" is of French origin. Its precision and directness, indeed, testify to its origin. It was used for the first time in 1897 by Fernand Pelloutier, General Secretary of the Federation of Labour Exchanges (Fédération des Bourses du Travail). The Bourses du Travail are local federations of labour unions, sometimes of a single city or town, sometimes extending over a larger region. They take care of the general interests of the working men of a locality, and are autonomous in the administration of their own affairs. For activities of national scope, however, they are united in a National Federation, with headquarters in Paris. The Federation of Labour Bourses was organised in 1892, and Pelloutier was its secretary from 1894 until his death in 1901.

Pelloutier was a philosophical anarchist, and had no faith in the State. He was convinced that the modern State, however progressive the Government, could do nothing of permanent value for the working men. He, therefore, advised the latter to organise and to accomplish *directly* by their own efforts what they could not obtain indirectly through Parliamentary representative government.

This sounds simple enough, and the reader may ask what is there in this idea that is new and original. Had not the British Trade Unions done this before? Do not the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour pursue the same policy? In fact, has not this become the recognized policy of trade unionism the world over; the policy to which even employers have generally become reconciled, and which has resulted in the practice of collective bargaining and of collective contracts?

Not quite; the similarity is only apparent, at any rate does not go beyond the surface. What Pelloutier had in mind, and what all advocates of Direct Action have had in mind since, is something entirely opposed to the fundamental ideas of English and American trade unionism of the old type. The latter has been organized along trade or craft lines. Every trade union embraces generally the skilled men only of the trade, and deals with the employers for its own members alone. Its contracts are concluded without any consideration for other working men employed in the same industry. If there are several trade unions in the same industry, their contracts generally expire at different times, so that combined action of all working men of one industry—not to speak of several industries—is hardly ever possible. The working men under this system of organization are divided into groups, each looking out for itself and strongly imbued with a feeling of group-egoism.

To fight this narrow feeling is, on the contrary, the avowed purpose of those who advocate Direct Action. Their idea is to unite all the working men of a country into one body. They stand for *Industrial Unionism* as opposed to trade or craft unionism. They want unions which should embrace all the working men of an industry, similar to the Miners' or Brewers' Federation in this country. And, furthermore, they eagerly look forward to the unification of all the industrial unions of a country into one "Big Union," which should present the united front of the working men as a class against employers as a class.

France is the country where this idea was first realized. The General Confederation of Labour, with a membership of half a million workers, is a federation of federations. Its constituent elements are the federations of separate industries, such as the Federation of Miners, the Federation of the Building Trades, and the local federations spoken of above as Bourses du Travail. The General Confederation was organized in 1895, but received its present constitution in 1902, when it amalgamated with the Federation of Bourses du Travail mentioned before. The General Confederation of Labour represents all the organized workers of France, and takes up all matters which concern the working class of France as a whole. A similar form of organization is being advocated now in England by Tom Mann and his followers. In America the idea of one "Big Union" is advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World, organized in 1905, and generally called the I.W.W., who conducted the recent strike in Lawrence.

Yet the reader may wonder whether form of organization matters so much after all. A little consideration of the question will show, however, that it is of tremendous importance. A form of organization presupposes definite technical conditions, rests upon certain general ideas, and leads to determinate collective action.

The technical conditions which have called into life the idea of industrial unions have been created by the machine invading industry after industry, and breaking down the barriers between the trades. The idea rests further on the assumption that all working men, irrespective of trade or particular employment, are connected by a common tie which binds millions of separate human units into a compact class unity. The apostles of Direct Action emphasize the fact that society is divided into classes, and frankly

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proclaim their intention to deepen the chasm between the classes and to accentuate the class struggle as much as is in their power. Industrial Unionism thus becomes identical with "class-conscious" unionism—the form of organization being but the material embodiment of an implied general principle. The I.W.W. have been the representatives of "class-conscious" unionism in this country, while the General Confederation of Labour has upheld the principle in France.

An organization uniting the working men into a compact and solid body such as described above furnishes the material basis for Direct Action in all its manifestations. In the popular mind Direct Action has already become identified with violence. But, as with most popular conceptions, this one also is—though right in statement—wrong because of inadequacy of statement. Direct Action may, but must not necessarily, assume violent forms, nor would all violence be Direct Action. There must be something in the character of a labour-struggle besides and independent of violence which alone can transform it into a particular manifestation of Direct Action. This something is the spirit in which the struggle is carried on. It is the spirit of energetic pressure of the labouring mass on the small body of employers, the spirit of determination, of enthusiastic uprising, and of revolt against conditions which are declared to be intolerable. It is the spirit of a united class which opposes its solidarity and indignation to the exploitation powers of the employing class. Of course, when strikes are conducted in this spirit, violence may result. But the working men do not take the first step in this direction. At Lawrence, to take one instance out of many, the perpetrators of violence were the local authorities.

SABOTAGE; WHAT IT IS.

But how about sabotage? Is not sabotage the very essence of Direct Action, and is it not equivalent to open violence?

An illuminating answer to this question may be given by telling the story of one of the earliest manifestations of sabotage. It was in 1889. The organized dockers of Glasgow demanded a 10 per cent. increase of wages, but met with the refusal of the employers. Strike-breakers were brought in from among the agricultural labourers, and the dockers had to acknowledge defeat and return to work on the old wage-scale. But before the men resumed their work, the Secretary of the Union delivered to them the following address:—

"You are going back to work at the old wage. The employers have repeated time and time again that they were delighted with the work of the agricultural labourers who had taken our place for several weeks during the strike. But we have seen them at work; we have seen that they could not even walk a vessel, that they dropped half of the merchandise they carried—in short, that two of them could hardly do the work of one of us. Nevertheless, the employers have declared themselves enchanted by the work of these fellows; well, then, there is nothing left for us but to do the same, and to practise Ca' Canny. Work as the agricultural labourers worked. Only they often fell into the water; it is useless for you to do the same."

The advice was followed, and for two or three days the dockers applied the policy of Ca' Canny. The result was immediate. The employers called in the secretary of the union, asked him to tell the men to work as they worked before, and granted at the same time the 10 per cent. increase in wages.

This fact shows that sabotage does not always mean violence. It consists mainly in harming the interests of the employers by cleverly handling the power in the hands of the workers. It is a sort of resistance which, though effective, does not end in a walk-out and in a complete interruption of production. It is, however, designed to strike the employer in his most sensitive spot—his profits—and to make him feel that only concession can save him from loss. The following may also throw some more light on the variety and ingenuity of methods of sabotage.

The scene is now Italy, and the time of action the year 1905. The railway men were discontented, but, having lost their strike, they determined to keep up resistance while on the job. They made up their minds to follow faithfully all the regulations of the service; but too much loyalty is often as bad as direct obstruction. This was the result as described by contemporary observers.

"According to the regulations, the wickets are to be opened for the distribution of tickets thirty minutes, and should be closed five minutes before the train leaves.

"The wickets are opened. A crowd of would-be passengers hurry there full of impatience. A gentleman offers a ten-franc bill, asking for a ticket worth 4 francs and 50 centimes. The employee reads to him an article of the regulations which requests passengers to present the exact price of their ticket, to a centime. Let him, then, go and get the money. The same story is repeated with eight passengers out of ten. In spite of the customary procedure, but according to the regulations, no money is given out, not even a franc. In twenty-five minutes hardly thirty persons have obtained tickets. The rest come running out of breath with the exact amount of money in their hands. But it is too late, the wicket is closed, according to the regulations.

"But even those who have obtained tickets are not yet at the end of their sufferings. They are in the cars, but the train does not move. According to the regulations, the engines and other cars are manœuvring at some distance, and the train cannot start until they have arrived. The impatient passengers leave their cars. Immediately the inspectors are upon them, stop them, and draw up a formal report against them. Leaving the train is prohibited by the regulations."

And so on. The story could be continued ad infinitum. It was a lively experience for the Italian railway men. And it is a fine example of sabotage without violence.

But sabotage is not considered by the apostles of Direct Action as the only efficacious or even the most appropriate means of struggle. It is the solidarity of the workers that is of decisive importance. This solidarity is fostered by the industrial form of organization, and is strengthened by open and energetic strikes. The larger the scope of a strike, the more workers it involves, the surer its success and the greater its organizing and educating value for the working men.

DIRECT ACTION v. TRADE UNIONISM.

The Labour struggles carried on in the spirit of Direct Action are, therefore, quite different in character from the Labour disputes characteristic of trade unionism. The latter generally tried to foster a spirit of harmony between employers and employees, to get along peaceably, and to settle differences of wages or hours of work by means of arbitration and conciliation. The advocates of Direct Action value the struggle itself no less than the result obtained. They want an increase of wages as a result of increased combative energies; shorter hours of work as a consequence of greater moral aspirations on the part of the working men. They are anxious to keep up the readiness of the workers for defence and aggression, and this is why they repudiate long-time contracts with employers. They do not want to bind their hands for any length of time in order to be able to take up a fight whenever a good opportunity presents itself. As to the concessions won, they are convinced that only their readiness and ability to fight for their rights will protect them against the encroachments of employers.

What is this all for? Why spend so much energy for such things as an increase in wages and the like? Could not the same results be obtained with much less trouble in a smooth, quiet way?

(To be Concluded in November Number.)

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How to Save Ettor and Giovanitti

DARROW'S acquittal of the charge of bribing a juror in the McNamara case is a matter of congratulation, but it should not be taken as any token of Labour champions in general being safe when facing a made-up case. True the charge against Darrow was so flimsy that one inexperienced would have thought that any jury would have been sure to have acquitted. But Darrow himself, and there is no one better qualified to guess what a jury may do, was extremely nervous about the result.

Probably what saved him was not so much his innocence as the fact that he is a middle-class man, and the jury being made up of middle-class men had no class prejudice against him. Then, too, as the vote for Harriman shows, there are undoubtedly a large number of middle-class Socialist voters in Los Angeles, and hence it would be practically impossible to keep the jury quite purged of them.

With Ettor and Giovanitti, who belong to the working class, the conditions will be reversed. The jury in Lawrence will, of course, be made up of middle-class men and of men who no doubt will have already made up their minds to convict. Even if they are not in this state of mind when they go into the box they will soon get into it merely from their being made so fully aware that capitalist public opinion in Lawrence is so strongly against the Labour leaders. It will not be the evidence but duty to class that will weigh with such a jury.

The only thing that will save the men is the cultivation of the idea that the indignation of Labour will be so great if conviction ensue that it will be better policy to acquit than convict.

Money spent upon defending the men in court will be largely wasted. Unless Labour is well aroused and lets the country know that it is ready to act, then no technical defence will save Ettor and Giovanitti. It is not a criminal trial, but a political one.

The real issue is not whether Ettor and Giovanitti are responsible for the death of a human being, but whether Labour shall have the right to combine and demand better wages. The raising of money throughout the world for their defence is of the greatest importance. But it is "the raising" of it and not the money itself that is of value. It is the agitation and education of the workers that counts; the money raised is largely an inconsequential bye-product.

A series of one-day-demonstration strikes taking place before the trial would be a better defence than the raising of a million dollars. What must be done to save the victims is an effective demonstration made to the country that a conviction will lead to a general strike throughout the United Staes.

If the railway men would go out for one day, or even for one hour, the day upon which Ettor and Giovanitti are brought into court there would not be much danger of any conviction.

Will not even the workers in Lawrence go out for one hour upon the appointed day?

What's In a Name?

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD has written a book on Syndicalism, published by Constable and Co., of London, at a shilling. Of course, it is needless to say that he, the prince of Parliamentarian Socialists, has no use for any programme that is going to eliminate Parliamentarians.

It is rather amusing, however, to find that after devoting the whole of his book to show the futility of Syndicalism that he practically gives away his whole case on his last two pages. He says that "the interests of both Capital and Labour are no longer local, but national and international. . . . This . . . must produce without delay great representative federations of Capital and Labour. Employers lock out men all over the country because there is trouble in one parish, workmen lay down their tools at John O'Groats because workmen at Land's End strike.

"Whilst trying to understand the meaning of these problems we ought to guard against sticking misleading labels on them. The absorption of small sectional unions and the federation of unions is not Syndicalism. It is political industrialism."

Very well, then, let us call all this new movement "political industrialism" instead of Syndicalism when we are in the presence of Mr. MacDonald. But calling it another name does not let us to see how Parliament, which is merely a number of men sent from different geographical districts of the country with no expert knowledge of these new and tremendous problems, can solve them. Why do we need to call in a mediator who knows nothing of the matter when the two great federations of Labour and Capital which Mr. MacDonald foresees can meet directly face to face? He himself sees that Labour and Capital conflicts are becoming international. If so, then how can a purely national body like Parliament settle them?

Mr. MacDonald, with all the other opponents of Syndicalism, likes to make out that Syndicalists propose that different warring groups are to own the industries of the future society. When such is stated by Syndicalists to be not true, he simply says that Syndicalists do not know their own theories. For instance, on page 38 he quotes the "Syndicalist" of London for April: "Instead of the community giving industrial control to the workers, as the Socialists fondly hope, the Syndicalists look to the worker taking such control and giving it to the community." He says that this a "definition which is erroneous in both its terms." As a matter of fact, I might say that the article which he quotes was passed upon favourably by Tom Mann, Guy Bowman, and Odon Por, and also some well-known French Syndicalists. It is perfectly sound Syndicalism, and possibly Mr. MacDonald calls it erroneous merely because he finds it unanswerable.

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The Postal "Espionage" Charges

The "Literary Digest"

Flat denials from the postal authorities of Senator La Follette's charge that his mail has been rifled and "subjected to an espionage almost Russian in character" have failed to have any effect upon those of our editors who choose to take the case seriously. While some of the press receive the Senator's complaint with light sarcasm, a number of others go as far in the opposite direction, as the New York "Evening World" (Dem.), which declares: "Opening private letters that contain matter interesting or prejudicial to its heads is no habit of the Post Office Department of the United States." La Follette's charge, made in a speech to the Senate, was that some of the answers to 15,000 letters that he had addressed to postal employees for information about conditions in the service were opened in an attempt to spy upon his investigations. He declared also that men were removed from the railway mail service "for no other reasons than that they joined organisations designed to improve labour conditions in the service." A majority of our writers overlook this latter charge in their excitement about espionage. The "Evening World" declares itself not in favour of secret societies or combinations among employees in Government services, "but strongly in favour of finding out how far United States Post Office officials believe themselves empowered to detain or open private correspondence." The Senator's charge will surprise no one who has had experience of being under the displeasure of high officials or departments of this Government, the editorial says; and to back this declaration, it chronicles as follows:—

"When the 'World' was undergoing the Panama persecution at the hands of Mr. Roosevelt, then President, the private mail of this newspaper was regularly opened by some person or persons in the Post Office service.

"Again, several years ago, when the Periodical Publishers' Association sent a committee to Washington to argue the question of postal rates on second-class matter, the mail of the committee was systematically tampered with. . . . .

"Does the United States Post Office consider itself a department of a free Government, or does it model itself upon the Czar's imperial police?"

The Atlanta "Constitution" (Dem.) comes still closer to branding the Department as "Russianised," and lays the blame chiefly upon the Postmaster-General:—

"The rottenness, the oppression, and the usurpation of the Post Office Department and the department of alleged justice have discredited every utterance coming from either, and made each a stench in the nostrils of those who reverence democratic government. In a hideous burlesque at 'economy' Hitchcock has demoralised the postal service from the Atlantic to the Pacific and the Great Lakes to the Gulf. As a side line, his chain of 'inspectors,' so called, have introduced into a public department of an assumed popular Government espionage, bureaucracy, and 'strong-arm' brow-beating that make the 'third-degree' methods of the surviving tyrannies of civilisation bland by comparison."

To cases cited by the New York editor, the "Constitution" adds a Southern instance:—

"In the South alone, the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and the Progressive Union of New Orleans presented enough evidence to pillory the Department. Both demanded action. It would seem the committee would have leapt at such aid in the performance of its sworn duty. It did not. As a compromise, and only after being persistently prodded, it reluctantly agreed to let postal employees come to Washington at their own expense, and testify with no guarantee whatever against the wrath of the sinister forces ruling the Department. The explanation? The only one that will occur to the average American citizen is that which rises in the chloroforming effect of a little petty post office patronage."

The Washington "Star" (Ind.), not attempting to judge the merits of the Senator's case, censures him for his method, advising that he should have made complaint immediately and formally:—

"It is unfair to the Post Office Department to intimate such irregularities in so off-hand and incidental a manner. The whole assertion will fall to the ground as a mere suspicion without basis in fact if the Senator does not promptly and peremptorily demand an investigation of the manner in which his mail has been handled both by the Post Office Department and by the Senate post office."

In reply to an inquiry about why he had not made complaint to the Post Office Department, Senator La Follette is quoted in the New York "Sun" (Ind.) as saying:—

"I did not see how anything could be gained by that method."

Jaw Bones of Asses

The "New Age"

Having predicated the determination to end the wage system, all that remains for us to do is to consider the plan of campaign. Let us, then, frankly confess that the difficulties are stupendous. Let us further confess that these difficulties are mainly in our own ranks. For example, it is painfully apparent that the political Socialists and Labourists are prompt to chortle with glee every time a strike fails. "Just what we told you," they say, smiling, and rubbing their smooth hands in invisible soap; "the day of the strike is over; you must entrust your affairs to us politicians." Of course strikes are failures. They fail because as yet there is barely a vestige of effective organisation; they fail because in most cases the leaders are inoculated with the political virus; above all, they fail for want of a true objective.

The present position is just this: an army of one million, well provided in every respect, is surrounded by an army of thirteen millions, ill-equipped, lacking in unity and almost devoid of purpose. The result is that every engagement is merely an affair of outposts. The beleagured army is content to remain where it is. It is well provisioned, well equipped, and life within its lines is distinctly agreeable. Therefore, the attack must come from the besieging army. To succeed, the attack must be the result of thorough organisation. But you cannot get thorough organisation without willing co-operation amongst the various units. What happens to-day is that here and there a sectional attack takes place. The main body of the Labour army knows nothing about it until it is too late. The political section sneers at these forlorn hopes, and calls for parley with the entrenched army. They seem to think that the possessing army will capitulate to the honeyed phrases of a MacDonald, a Snowden, a Keir Hardie. This is what comes of the Biblical tradition. They apparently do not realise that modern warfare is conducted with much more effective weapons than the jaw-bones of asses.

Progressive Anarchy

By Charles Edward Russell in the "Coming Nation"

While with large, flabby talk about good government, the tariff and honesty Wilson, Taft and Roosevelt fill the circumambient, will someone be good enough to glance for a moment at conditions as they actually are in this country of ours?

In West Virginia civil war is raging, not merely a labour disturbance, but civil war; battles are being fought, troops are manœuvering and marching against bands of men driven by conditions into actual insurrection.

In a part of Louisiana martial law has been proclaimed by the Lumber Trust, all pretence of any other government has been abolished, bands of armed men in the employ of the Trust patrol the country roads and streets of the towns, men are seized and imprisoned without warrant or driven from their lawful habitations, or shot down if they utter protest.

In San Diego the self-constituted vigilantes walk the streets, privileged to knock down and torture any working man against whom they have a dislike. Three hundred and one men have been illegally arrested and imprisoned, 89 have been assaulted and beaten by the police and the vigilantes, two have been killed by the same agencies, 55 have been exiled from the city without warrant or proceedings, seven have been kidnapped, many have been subjected to indescribable tortures, the gaols have been crowded to suffocation with prisoners whose only offence is the exercise of their constitutional rights, city employees have turned the fire hose upon persons engaged in peaceful religious meetings, and a reign of terror inaugurated that has already lasted for months and about which the people of the country at large have absolutely no information.

In every part of the country labour is restless, uneasy, resentful, and increasingly insistent in its demands. Steadily the great irrepressible conflict pushes its way forward.

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WILSHIRE'S

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Roosevelt and Direct Legislation

ROOSEVELT'S luck seems to always pursue him. Just about the time when his boom seemed to be on the wane along comes a bullet from a half-witted fool to give him that wonderful chance to play hero.

It took courage to play the game so superbly, for Teddy certainly rose to the occasion as certainly as he has risen in popular favour.

That the incident will elect him seems impossible, and yet at the same time, viewing the question to-day, three weeks before the election, it seems to me that while it looks like Wilson and Taft both have sure things, one to win and the other to lose, yet Teddy seems not quite so absolutely sure of losing as is Taft.

One thing is certain, and that is the two million votes that Berger at the beginning of the campaign counted up for Debs will never materialise. Teddy has seen to that.

From the point of view of many reformers, the advocacy of the Initiative and Referendum by Roosevelt is the main reason why he should be supported. Americans have been so tricked by their elected representatives that not unnaturally they think the giving of the direct vote to the people will solve all vexing problems. But we call to mind the fact that a number of Western States have now had direct legislation for several years, not to mention Switzerland, which has had it for decades, and note that nothing particularly revolutionary has yet happened as a consequence. Things seem to go along in about the same old way they did before the Initiative and Referendum came into play.

I take the following note upon Direct Legislation from the New York *Times*, and think that, even considering the source, upon the whole it is not an unfair statement:—

"At the election next month the voters of Oregon will have submitted to them, under the initiative or referendum, thirty-eight distinct measures. The pamphlet containing a statement of these measures, with the arguments for and against them, has been sent out, under the law, to some 100,000 voters. It has 260 well-packed pages, amounting to 125,000 words. On each of these thirty-eight measures each voter is, in theory, supposed to form a definite opinion from the arguments submitted, or from other sources of knowledge. In addition, he must make up his mind which of the many candidates running for offices, national, State, county, city, or town, are best fitted for the places to which they aspire. It will be a tough job. No human being, however able, acute, studious, and laborious, could completely master it.

"It is only reasonable to call attention to the fact that no voter is really expected completely to master it. It is claimed by the authors and advocates of the plan that each voter will confine his attention to such measures, probably not many, as he is interested in, and as to which he can form a reasonable opinion, and that in this way most of the matters will receive a fairly intelligent treatment. They say—and it is relatively true—that in this way a number of matters can be decided as to which, under the old system, it was hard to get any effective popular action. But while this is, as we have admitted, relatively true, the process is plainly an extremely clumsy one, involving very serious risks. It is essentially hardly more sensible than the traditional Chinese device of roasting pigs by burning the house in which they are shut.

"At best, the treatment of matters of moment chiefly or solely by the group of voters especially interested in them is not truly popular decision of them, and, at worst, may lead to great abuse. And the crowding on the average voter of a great number of decisions to be made at frequent intervals is necessarily bewildering. In the long run the tendency will be for special interests, political or financial, to organise to take advantage of this bewilderment. It is true that political organisations, or 'machines,' have opposed the new system. That is because they are used to the old one, and don't like to change."

Yes, it is absurd to expect an electorate to vote intelligently upon questions of which it is necessarily ignorant. The only advantage in letting the decision lie with the whole of the electorate rather than with a body of representatives is that while the public may be more ignorant than the Legislature, although that is not by any means certain, yet it will surely vote for what it considers the public interest, while the Legislature will vote for the interest of the Legislature. Which means the Legislature will vote the way the capitalists pay them to vote. You may bribe a Legislature, but you cannot bribe the whole electorate.

As a matter of fact, Legislature and public are both too ignorant to vote intelligently upon many matters, and the solution of our problems can never be solved by leaving the decision either to the one or the other or both combined.

The only intelligent body to vote upon certain Labour questions is obviously the workers of that industry, the industrial union. The Syndicalist is equally in accord with those who find our present representative system intolerable, and with those who insist that direct legislation is obviously no solution. However, Roosevelt and Direct Legislation is bound to be the popular cry in America for some time to come. We are fools.

With the American farmers selling pork at 12 cents per lb. to-day as against 6 cents per lb. five years ago, and with Rockefeller selling kerosene oil at 6 cents per gallon to-day as against 7 cents five years ago, those economists who find the cause of high prices in the Trusts have no doubt decided that the farmers are in a Trust, and that Taft has busted the Standard Oil Trust. By busted I am merely speaking colloquially; as ex-Congressman Berger would explain, if he were my editor, I mean disintegrated.

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Direct Action; Its Interpretation

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SYNDICALISM.

LOUIS LEVINE, Ph.D.

(Concluded from our Previous Issue.)

The questions are pertinent because they lead us into the wider outlok of those whose faith is pinned to Direct Action. The underlying ideas of Direct Action already point to something that is larger and of greater consequence than a mere increase of wages by a few cents or the shortening of the working week by a few minutes. A united class, cherishing a feeling of class-solidarity, must evidently have a common aim which should stir the collective soul of the class and give the thrill which alone may keep alive its class enthusiasm. Such a common aim cannot be the mere desire of obtaining a few concessions here and there, in one trade or another; it must be some general ideal, involving the working class as a whole, and affecting economic life in its entirety.

Such an ideal there is, and in its general outlines it surpasses almost any conception of social transformation that has been recently evolved by the human mind. It is the ideal of a new society, which would consist exclusively of voluntary economic associations carrying on the activities of production in their industry, and subject only to the general control of society as a whole. Imagine a Miners' Federation managing the mining industry of the country, a Builders' Federation taking charge of the building operations, a Railway Federation regulating the railway service; imagine these federations to be constituted of local Labour associations charged with the management of exclusively local affairs subject to the control of their federation; imagine local central associations giving their attention to matters of a general local character, and finally imagine a National Federation of Labour, attending to industrial matters, national in scope and importance, and you have the picture of an economic federation which is inspiring the advocates of Direct Action in no less a degree than our forefathers were inspired by the grand idea of political federation.

POSSIBILITY OF SYNDICALISM.

Many questions might be asked about the possibility or desirability of this ideal, which it is impossible to go into here. It is necessary, however, to call attention to the fundamental difference between this ideal and any other which involves governmental regulation—whether expounded by a Roosevelt Republican or by a Socialist. The experience with our politicians has filled many of us with horror for the idea of governmental regulation, which would, probably, lead us to an era of economic inefficiency surpassing even our political indecency. But the politicians are put out of the economic-federal ideal described above. With every man in a certain economic group doing his share of productive work, with every group managing its own affairs, no room is left for men who know everything about anything but that which is intrusted to them. A new era of expert public service would be inaugurated where every man would be expected to be a specialist in something, and to do his share of the work of society in that field alone in which he is an expert.

But this ideal presupposes the transformation of private property into collective property; it means Social Revolution—does it not? It certainly does. The advocates of Direct Action do not deny it, nor are they afraid of the tremendous social change they are looking forward to; they are convinced that the industrial unions now organized by them will grow and spread, and gradually growing in power will finally oust the employers from business. A time will come—and these men see the moment not so far away in the future—when the organized Labour unions, conscious of their strength and determination, will say to their employers: "Now, look here, gentlemen! You have been enjoying life for quite some time at our expense. You have been getting dividends that we were making. Maybe, you were in some way useful before, but now we are going to manage affairs ourselves. We know the business all right. We can work the mines, run the machines, weave the cloth, run the railways, etc., and we are going to do it. Your time of bossing it has come to an end. If you wish to be useful, come into our union and take your place beside us in the shops. We shall treat you as brothers, and you shall have your equal share of what we all produce."

Such is the philosophy of Direct Action. The term Syndicalism would probably be more descriptive. But Direct Action is the central and most characteristic part of Syndicalism, and lines running from it as from a starting point lead one into all directions until the entire ground of the Syndicalist philosophy has been covered.

What is the significance of all these ideas, and what is their strength? Might they not be simply foam on the surface of a swelling tide, which will inevitably break against the solid shore?

Let those who wish peace for their souls at any price think that it is so. But those who are eager to penetrate into the social movement of our times will not content themselves with a shrug of the shoulders, intended to shake off a disturbing idea. They will surely make an effort for themselves to understand the conditions resulting in such movements. In fact, the mind and heart of the world have been too strongly impressed by recent events to fall into lethargy so soon. But only a collective effort can possibly solve the problem of the profound social unrest of our days. To one man nothing more is given than to throw some light on the subject, and this alone is attempted in the following lines:—

Two fundamental facts must be grasped, if the recent Labour struggles are to be understood. The first is what may be called the democratic movement in the world of Labour. There is a democratic movement there just as there is an onward movement in political democracy. In both spheres the character of the movement is the same. It is simply an increase in the numbers of those who want to have their share of the good things of the world. Mere numbers may not seem of consequence at first blush, but it is a tremendous dynamic factor. Greater numbers spell readjustment, new forms of organization, new methods, and new ideas. Direct democracy, as is well known, had to give way before representative democracy on account of the larger populations of modern States. Even in the inorganic world a mere increase of mass leads to important changes in the activities of a body.

ARISTOCRACY OF LABOUR.

In the world of Labour the democratic movement could not but have grave consequences. As stated above, the earlier trades unions were to a large extent privileged bodies. They grouped mostly the skilled working men of the trades, who alone benefited by their organization. The large mass of the working men shared but little, if at all,

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in the so-called conquests of Labour, and the latter resulted in the formation of an "Aristocracy of Labour." But in recent years a movement of the labouring mass below against the aristocracy above began. Ever larger numbers of working men began to pour into the unions, breaking down the old barriers. New sections of the working class—the lowliest sections, such as the dockers—began to form their organizations. Inevitably the skilled workers began to be swamped in the mass of less and less skilled, with the result that ideas suited for a comparatively small body of highly skilled working men began to give way before new ideas, which sprang up in a large onward-pressing mass of the less skilled.

The other fact to be borne in mind is the growth of organization among the employers. No one need now dwell on the gigantic organizations of the big capitalists. In comparison with them the biggest trade unions of the old type with all the millions in their treasuries are but like pygmies beside a giant. The dwarfs may have courage and fighting spirit, but their fighting powers are broken. Their attempts to crush the giant only call forth a smile on his greedy lips. As a matter of fact, within the last decade or so the trade unions of the old type have found it more and more difficult to win a strike by their old-time methods. Their largest treasuries gave out, and they were compelled to give in to the employers, whose obstinacy was nourished by their powerful money-bags.

LEADERS WHOSE WORDS BURN.

But this world of ours is a world of struggle. No sooner has one method of struggle been played out than a new one puts in its appearance. The trade unions of the old type have not gone yet, and they hope to stay for a long time to come. But their efficiency does not suit the new conditions, and new organizations working with new methods have begun to make headway. The near future, no doubt, will see the growth of Industrial Unionism and the accentuation of the policy of Direct Action, because the former is necessary in order to embrace the increasing mass which wants to be unionized, while the latter is the only method of struggle which can be handled by a large mass of less skilled workers whose treasuries are ridiculously small in comparison with the funds of the employers, and whose only weapons, therefore, are solidarity, energetic pressure, and enthusiastic determination.

The new movement calls also for new leaders. The trade unions of the old type needed leaders who were mainly systematic, patient, pliant, and diplomatic. Such leaders could see that the treasuries grew, that employers were not needlessly exasperated, and that as much as possible was obtained through lobbying and negotiating. But the new unionism needs leaders of another type. It calls for men of action, for men whose word burns, whose appeal inspires, whose example moves. The most interesting fact in the recent strikes in England was the open distrust of the leaders of the old type. The masses felt that they were not fit for the occasion. The new conditions must bring forth a new type of leader, powerful, inspiring, and heroic.

Such leaders, however, must be men with large visions, and with high social ideals. No one can be stirred to heroic deeds by petty aims. The main ambition of the old-type Labour leaders was to obtain some improvement, however small, here and there. The new Labour leader, with his vast energies and profound emotions, can be stirred to his activities only by some such ideal as that described above. He must feel that his devotion and heroism are creating something great and grand, and of profound significance to mankind as a whole.

This is why the leaders in the recent struggles, the apostles of Direct Action, are whole-hearted industrial Socialists in the broad sense of the term. They are Syndicalists who work for a transformation of society on new principles, and who are convinced that the only way to accomplish this transformation is through an energetic, well-organized and class-conscious unionism.

Such are in general outlines the new ideas which are forcing their way into social life, and the conditions which have brought forth these ideas. The masses are invading economic as well as political life, and are rearranging matters to suit themselves. They find their leaders who are ready to supply them with philosophy, stimulus, and example. The seriousness of the movement cannot be doubted. Those who see in it danger to themselves have already given the familiar warning: *Caveat consules!* But is it not proper that those who wish to stem the torrent should first try to find out what is its depth, what its kinetic energy, and wherefrom its gushing fury?

The Passing of National Boundaries

WE have often remarked upon how the progress of mechanical invention is making the whole world one. One of the recent inventions in this line is the discovery that by sending along two currents of electricity a naked wire may be submerged in water and yet convey a telephone message by overriding the first current. This will immensely cheapen and stimulate submarine telephony.

Aviation is obviously obliterating national lines. It not only may make the question of collecting customs at the border impossible, but even the movement of troops in war across neutral countries may have a new aspect, as may be seen from the following taken from the *Observer*:—

"An interesting lecture on 'The Sovereignty of the Air' was delivered by Sir Erle Richards, Chichele Professor of International Law and Diplomacy, at All Souls, Oxford.

"He said the time had come when we must consider the principle on which the relations of States were to be conducted with regard to air traffic. Were Governments to have sovereignty over the air space above their territories in the way they had sovereignty over the territories themselves, or was the air space to be free like the high seas, subject at most to restricted control within certain defined limits? This was the fundamental problem which now presented itself. There had been no usage or convention with regard to air space, but in his judgment the matter was concluded by the principle that sovereign states are entitled to all those rights which are necessary for the preservation and protection of their territories. In time of war if State sovereignty over the air were admitted belligerents could not pass over neutral States, but if the freedom of the air was admitted as a canon of law the political frontiers of the world would disappear and the existence of intervening neutral States would no longer be a barrier to attack."

All things make for the obliteration of patriotism and nationality.

How can a Rothschild, with his bank in every country, be patriotic? And all capitalists are budding Rothschilds. How can a workman, a member of an international union, be patriotic? And all Labour unions tend to become international unions. Just as the day of the small Balkan States has passed, so will pass the day of the modern great nations.

Just as Labour is crying for one Big Union, so the present nations will be merged into one Big Nation; the Big Union will precede and create the Big Nation.

"It has always appeared to me one of the most utterly ludicrous, absurdly irrelevant things that a person can do or say, when approached for relief or assistance by a striker who is dealing with an immediate situation, to respond with, 'Vote yourself into power!' when the next election is six months, a year, or two years away."—Voltairine de Cleyre.

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The Albanians Prepare for a New Yoke

THE success of the Balkan States against the Turks is merely an example of what man can do when animated with the right spirit. God is on the side of the big battalions, but Napoleon has defined the big battalion as being two-thirds spirit and one-third matter. Let Labour take note.

While we cannot but help being glad to see the Balkan States free their brethren from the thraldom of the Turk, nevertheless we cannot help also reflecting that it will be more or less an exchange of King Log for King Stork.

Doubtless in the future fewer Albanians will be slain by the sword, but far more are now destined to be slain by long hours in fetid mills and dangerous factories than ever Turk slew in all his centuries of misrule. And nobody will be horror-stricken either.

Probably it is a necessary part of the scheme of industrial evolution for the poor Albanians to pass from health and open-air and incidentally from the scourge of the Turk to slow death under the comparative peace and safety of modern factory life which is sure now to develop under the Balkan Christian Governments which will take the Albanians under their ægis; but, nevertheless, it is a matter for meditation.

The trouble with our modern civilisation is not only that it kills the worker off before his time by the unhealthy conditions ofwork, but it also kills him with worry, for it makes it so very uncertain as to whether he will get any work at all. The Albanians have, undoubtedly had a tough time for many, many years. There can be no denial of that, but on the whole they seem to have been happy, and certainly healthy, notwithstanding it all. Whereas the Americans, with all their modern advantages, so little appreciate it all that the suicide rate has increased from 12 per 100,000 to 20 in the last twenty years in the United States.

I wonder how many Albanians have ever committed suicide to escape the cruelty of Turks?

What Ulster is Saying

POSSIBLY Ulster will not fight if the Home Rule Bill passes—in fact, it is most probable she will not—but, nevertheless, in order that my American readers may know what is being said, I give the following newspaper report of a recent speech by a Colonel Hickman, Unionist M.P.:—

Colonel T. E. Hickman, Unionist Member for South Wolverhampton, whose military career includes service in the South African War and the expedition to Omdurman, declared at a meeting in his constituency on Friday night that he is prepared to fight for Ulster if necessary. He referred to the fact that his Liberal opponent had alluded contemptuously to Ulster's resistance, and added:—

"I can assure you from my own personal knowledge that it is not a question at which to laugh at all. Those men in the North of Ireland are absolutely in earnest. I can assure you that when the time comes these men will be as good as their word. Personally, they have all my sympathies, and I tell you—and I say this very solemnly—that when the time comes, if there is any figthing to be done, I am going to be in it." (Applause.)

When Colonel Hickman urges a rebellion by force, says he will be in the fight, it is certainly a noteworthy matter even if nothing comes of it, and when we remember that he is only one of many M.P.'s who are also talking this way, it is very significant from the Syndicalist point of view, for it goes to show that Government rests on force and not votes.

Before the Civil War in the United States we heard exactly the same sort of talk from the Southern fire-eaters, but the North thought there was nothing in it beyond mere bombast. Personally, I myself admit that I think there is nothing in all this talk of fight by Ulster, but I do say that there is much more sincerity in it than is generally thought, and that, anyway, there is enough sincerity in it to give us a most significant indication as to how little likely it is that the rich will submit to any legislation of the future which may threaten them vitally.

Roosevelt Dictator?

AMERICA is admittedly in the power of a plutocracy, headed by Morgan and Rockefeller. There is no denying this, and there is no denying that their power is rapidly increasing. Men who do not spend one-tenth part of their incomes of tens of millions of dollars per annum naturally must be getting richer and richer with appalling rapidity.

Woodrow Wilson says that monopolies will of themselves fall to pieces—go to seed, as he expresses it. President Taft has about the same view. In other words, the Wilson-Taft programme is "do nothing. The people want something done, and are looking for a strong man champion to match against Morgan, and Roosevelt appeals to them as the only possibility. The very fact that Taft has denounced him as a man who will disregard the law and the Constitution to carry out his programme is the very strongest recommendation to the people that could be given him.

The people know that the Trusts have never respected either the law or the Constitution, and if Roosevelt by an equal disrespect can curb the Trusts the people say more strength to his arm. The autocracy of wealth in America must naturally find its reflex in a political autocracy.

However, the only difference really between Taft or Wilson and Roosevelt is that while they would let Morgan own his wealth and manage it free from State interference, Roosevelt would propose a measure of State interference and regulation.

In fact, the programme as laid down by some Socialists is not so very different from that of Roosevelt. They propose that the Government buy out Morgan and Co. This would simply mean that the ownership and management of industry would pass to the State. It is obvious that Morgan and Co., with the enormous economic power due to the money or bonds received from the sale of their industries, would still dictate the policy of the Government. No doubt this programme of purchase of the Trusts and Railways will become incorporated in The Roosevelt Platform of 1916, and then the present nominal differ-

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ence between the Parliamentary Socialists and the Roosevelt Progressives will reach the vanishing point.

Even if the industries were confiscated instead of being purchased it would be about the same thing to the workers. There is only one way to establish a true Industrial Democracy in America, and that is for Labour to organise in its industries, and by the power of organisation take over to itself control of the machinery of production and operate it for its own benefit. There should be no reliance upon the politicians for help or guidance.

The future of industry means industry conducted on the largest scale compatible with economy and efficiency, and it undoubtedly means a perfect co-ordination of world-production and world-distribution, but because this is true it does not connote guidance by politicians.

The working-class organisations of the future, made up of both hand workers and brain workers, will, when co-ordinated and combined, comprise and furnish all the executive and administrative ability necessary to conduct the industry of the future.

Pending this ultimate of a true Industrial Democracy it is quite likely that we may have a period of a Roosevelt Political Dictatorship, but even so I do not see that the prospect need be particularly alarming to a nation that submits to the economic dictatorship of a Morgan.

With Roosevelt in the saddle America would at least be able to fix responsibility on a man. As it is now everyone shifts responsibility to The System, and no one has any practical plan of changing that system.

If we must have a ruler, then better a Mortal Roosevelt than an Immortal System.

Modern Loss of Ideals

THE editorial which I quote in another column from the *Daily Herald* of London (Labour) is an excellent summary of the existing political situation not alone in England, but throughout Europe and the United States. I will not include all the world, for I fancy that it is quite possible in China and Japan that experience has not yet dampened the flame.

Capitalists no longer fear, for they now see that there is nothing to be lost by politics; and the workers no longer hope, for they see that there is nothing to be gained; hence there is a general lack of interest in politics on both sides.

It was interesting to me to notice that the editorial which I quote was the cause of Tom Mann writing the following excellent letter to the *Herald*:—

"Once again my admiration for the attitude of the 'fighting' *Herald* impels me to briefly comment upon the article in yesterday's issue (October 23), 'The Spirit of Revolt.'

"The *Herald* is right in declaring there is an absence of the 'divine fire.' What is very conspicuous in what is termed the advanced 'movement' is the conventional respectability, the fearing of straying from well-worn paths; a general timorousness lest someone in authority might censure or disapprove. Thus it is that tameness instead of courage, caution instead of abandon, discipline instead of revolt, have settled upon many really good fellows, both in intention and in disposition.

"But, also, as the *Herald* correctly says: 'Underneath the surface there is surging and seething such a spirit of revolt, such a volume of unrest, that this country has not experienced for centuries.' In this prime fact, there is glorious hope and stimulation to those not too deep in the ruts of conventionality.

"But this, of course, brings us back to the question: What are we going to do? Well, at least I know what I am going to try to do. I am absolutely confident that the greatest and best results come through and by 'industrial solidarity,' and I for one will strive my utmost to bring it about. Such an ideal affords full scope for the activities of all who are not too superior to identify themselves with an industrial organisation.

"By this means we hope to give effect to the wishes of those who want to take action to prevent a European war. No other method is one-hundredth part as forcible as that of demonstrating our agreement as workers and refusing to supply (i.e., refusing to make) the war material. But this fight cannot be left to those persons actually engaged in the making and transporting of war material. It is for us all to share in, by means of as extensive a general strike as may be necessary to complete prostrate the Powers wishful to engage in war.

"If this method is to prove as conclusive as I am confident it can be, it demands persistent and not merely spasmodic advocacy.

"A few demonstrations that go no further than declaring against war and declaring for international brotherhood do not get us any 'forrader.' We want a fulcrum and lever to apply the power to make war impossible. We have these in the General Strike, and nowhere else. If this is so then it should be, all hands on deck for a general strike, in the event of the British Government declaring war."

The *Daily Herald* may be dead by the time this article reaches my readers, for it started with no capital except enthusiasm, and has been only kept going for the last six months by the greatest sacrifices on the part of the workers.

However, the *Herald* has the advantage of not being the organ of any particular party, and therefore is free to say what it thinks. But what it gains in intellectual riches it loses in financial support, so the eternal newspaper question is still unsolved of how to tell the truth, and all the truth, and at the same time pay your paper and ink bill.

One thing the publisher of a Labour daily newspaper should resolutely make up his mind to, and that is that he cannot and never will get sufficient advertising to enable him to give his readers as large a general newspaper as can his capitalist competitors.

A halfpenny (one cent), and it is not practical to charge more, Labour paper should not attempt to run over two pages of news and editorial matter for each two pages of advertising. If it does so it will eventually go broke. Inasmuch as a page of advertising at profitable rates is about as much as a Labour paper usually gets, it should restrict itself to a total of four pages.

It is simply a case of slow suicide caused by a foolish pride for the Labour and Socialist papers to run their six and ten pages. This is a hard lesson that seems never to be learned by the enthusiastic publishers of the various Labour papers until the sheriff is in charge. The result of their ignorance is seen by the melancholy mortality of the Labour papers.

We Want Bread, not Bread Riots

THE *Coming Nation* gives an account of a Socialist meeting held in New York on Wall Street under Morgan's office window. The bearding of the great Capitalist Lion seemed to have passed off with the same uninteresting lack of incident that occurred when God's friend Daniel some years ago went into the den of a real lion. The orator concluded by remarking to the crowd of wondering office boys and lady stenographers: "We Socialists don't want bread riots, we want bread." The *Coming Nation* says the heart of all the speech was couched in this fine aphorism.

I would suggest that possibly the truth of the aphorism is more important than its fineness. If the

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Socialists merely wish bread, then they may be well assured that Mr. Pierpont Morgan is already setting to work plans to give it to them. Possibly the echoes from under his office window may hurry him along on the job, but I doubt it. It is the aim to-day of the big business men of America to see that bread is to be forthcoming for the populace. They feel that if Imperial Rome, without the aid of modern machinery, could afford free bread to people, then certainly Imperial America should be able to guarantee bread to all willing workers.

Indeed, the whole Roosevelt movement is to-day fundamentally based upon this idea of "bread for the workers." A fair day's pay for a fair day's work —good slave rations, in other words.

Of course, I know that the *Coming Nation* will say that neither it nor the orator meant to restrict the Socialist demand to bread. No doubt he did ask for more. But I would point out that the antithesis of bread to bread riots was indeed, as said, the heart of the speech, and it was what was best remembered by the audience.

It is, no doubt, quite practical, as Mr. Gaylord suggests, for the workers to get bread by voting for it, for the capitalists are already willing to concede bread. But when it comes to getting more than bread; when it comes to getting all they produce; to getting justice, then I fear that voting will be found to be as futile as "bread riots."

I will not say it is not a good thing to get bread. I do not share the view that the more the workers get the less likely they will be to demand more, but I suggest that because by voting for Debs the Socialists get a Wilson or a Roosevelt to grant bread, that they must not expect to get anything more than bread by a thousand years more of voting.

"Bread" may be translated into "minimum wage," and this is one of the inevitables of our future.

Ulster's Real Lesson

I WOULD again call attention to the real significance of the attitude taken by the leaders of the Conservative Party in England to the Home Rule Bill fathered by the Liberal Party. The Liberals and Socialists generally make light of this defiance to Parliament, but I think they miss its importance. Great meetings have been held, and thousands of Irish Protestants have taken a solemn oath to resist the law and to disregard any acts that may be enacted by the proposed Irish Parliament. True enough, all this may be bombast and mere political buncombe on the part of some of the leaders, but this certainly is not true of all of them, nor is it true of the rank and file. Swayed by the fear that not only is there a plan to place their Protestant faith in the hands of the Roman Catholics, but also, what is still more important, their property, they have declared in their thousands that they will die rather than submit. Mr. Bonar Law, the new leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, fully endorses these insurgents. It is an unparalleled condition.

Admittedly all this is a great fuss about nothing, but the very fact that such a rumpus can be made about nothing is just what gives it significance. It is, as said, additional corroboration of the view that the capitalists will never surrender except to superior physical force. Their ownership of capital gives them command over unorganised Labour, and it is foolish to think that they will voluntarily surrender this command. The capitalists can be compared to a regiment of armed soldiers facing a hostile mob. The regiment knows that it can be supreme over the mob only as long as it keeps its arms.

It would be absurd to think of it surrendering its arms upon the mere request by majority vote of the mob that it despises.

Ulster may be merely bluffing, and no doubt in the end it will quietly submit to an Irish Parliament; but even if we regard its defiance as bluff, it is a forecast of the extremes the capitalists will go to when their interests are threatened by something more than an Irish Parliament.

As a matter of fact, the Irish Parliament, when established, will be dominated by small business men mostly of the Roman Catholic faith. Capital in Ireland will be far safer from attack than it will be in England under the British Parliament. And as for Labour legislation by the Irish Parliament, it will be like the snakes in Ireland—non-existent. It is rather funny that when a Conservative amendment was offered restricting the Irish Parliament from enacting Labour legislation that the Labour Party voted with the Government. If the Labour Party really wished to see progressive Labour legislation in Ireland it would never have voted to transfer the power to legislate from the Imperial Parliament, but the Labour Party is more interested in supporting the Government than it is in Labour.

Ireland already has the most progressive land legislation of any country in Europe or in America. She has little or nothing to gain by Home Rule, and the Irish people are commencing to recognise this.

There is little or no interest in the Home Rule Bill in either England or Ireland, and were it not that the Liberal Party must pass it in order to hold the support of the Irish members the Bill would be dropped. The Conservatives know all this, and it is this what makes them so bold in their talk about rebellion. Nevertheless, their talk is, as said, most suggestive of the future, and foreshadows what we may expect when legislation is introduced which will actually interfere with property rights.

England was the birthplace of modern Parliaments, and it will be their burial ground.

Astor Would Americanise Ireland

AS an evidence of how America has educated England as to the danger of a written Constitution, the following from the *Westminster Gazette* is of interest. It is noteworthy that it is young Astor, the son of Waldorf Astor, who was acute enough to try to protect property by fettering the Irish Parliament with the American system of court revision.

"A very interesting debate took place in Committee on Mr. Astor's amendment to Clause 3 of the Home Rule Bill. He wanted the Irish Parliament to be forbidden to pass any law 'whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law in accordance with settled principles and precedents, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation.' Mr. Asquith refused to accept the amendment as calculated to lead to 'endless litigation and perpetual conflicts' between the Judiciary and the Legislature; we do not want to have courts of justice deciding what are 'settled principles and precedents'—we have seen in the United States how embarrassing to progress (as we conceive it) this may be. But Mr. Gladstone actually accepted these words in the Bill of 1893,

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and this gave the Opposition an obvious opening of which they took advantage. This they were well entitled to do, but for our part we certainly think Mr. Asquith took the truer view yesterday."

Yes, it is true that since the days of Gladstone we have made some progress, and are wise enough to know that there is nothing so dangerous to freedom as giving the courts power to check the will of the people.

The Spirit of Revolt

Daily Herald, the London Labour Paper

Think of the number of "movements" in this country to-day. We shall soon have as many as there are sects of the Christian Church, the latest number of which is stated to be somewhere near seven hundred.

But where is there a movement with any life in it? Where is there a movement with any real message, or any genuine faith in itself?

Take what is said to be the most advanced and revolutionary movement, and really about the only one that is displaying any enthusiasm: Syndicalism. Well, there is only a handful of men who are possessed with the divine power of the agitator, who understand anything about the philosophy and roots of Syndicalism. The rest are attracted and enthused because there is evidence of a real fight, but they have only yet a vague idea of what Syndicalism is. However, they are showing some signs of life.

Then take the Socialist movement. The leaders of the various sections will admit to you that there is hardly any life in British Socialism. They are holding their own, and doing a steady work of education, but the divine fire is certainly not in them. The average Socialist meeting is a boresome affair, and the most bored of all are the speakers themselves. There is no fighting spirit here.

Take the Labour movement. It is true that this movement never professed it was going to set the country on fire, but since the almost accidental outburst at the 1906 election, there has been no more sparkle in the Labour people than in a farthing dip. A farthing dip does splutter up occasionally. What message of hope are we getting from the Labour movement now? Where is the slightest sign of a soul?

And Liberalism—well, as a "movement" it is played out. It has no policy except a get-office-and-hold-fast policy. The country is getting no progressive lead; instead it finds the old Liberalism being changed into the most sordid and corrupt capitalist weapon, to be used directly against the country's interests. There is nothing inspiring in Liberalism. Conservatism is, of course, as dead as a door-nail. The men who were Conservatives are something else now. Those with the most positive policy are the Tariff Reformers. There is a small amount of propaganda going on, but there is no fire or fight in it. There is certainly nothing in it to appeal to the country's better nature. It is, in short, a "movement" for the benefit of the few, but is putting up the bluff that by the enrichment of that few the workers will also get bigger wages.

Take Home Rule. As a "movement" it is without the slightest enthusiasm. The Irish, while quite anxious to govern themselves, are sick to death over the wretched business. There is no message of hope here. Certainly the sweated workers of Ireland have no more prospect of getting better conditions under an Irish Government, constituted of men like the Irish Party, than they have now. And as for the Ulster "movement," everybody is as bored over it as Carson himself.

And, incidentally, recent church and chapel conferences don't give us much encouragement. They are more out of touch with real life than ever they were, and they are owning up to it like men. But they are woefully downhearted, and certainly they are not going to lead the fight.

The women's movement is about the only exception to the dreary general rule. It is alive, if also a little discouraged through disunity. The women do, at any rate, know that they want the vote, and to know what one wants is to be pretty sure of getting it. So that after taking stock of the general position the honest and candid man has to admit that there is not much sign of hope in the many movements, and it is high time the leaders and the rank and file of these movements were also taking stock of their assets in enthusiasm and messages of hope.

The one thing, however, that we are sure about is that underneath the surface there is surging and seething such a spirit of revolt, such a volume of unrest, that this country has not experienced for centuries. It is shapeless and purposeless, but as sure as to-morrow's sun will rise this unrest will crystallise out into an irresistible and real movement that will shake capitalism to its foundations. This spirit of revolt is not confined only to the poor, it is making itself evident in every class of society where there is left any regard for humanity and its ideals. The reaction against this grinding, debasing economic system is close at hand; it is pregnant with grand potentialities. But it has to be watched, it has to be studied, it has to be interpreted and guided. In so far as it is a movement from the bottom up it is a genuine movement, inevitable in industrial and social evolution. It may be thwarted and turned, but only after a chaotic fight, terrible in its consequences. Guided aright, this spirit of revolt is the biggest hope we have got. It will challenge everything. "Prove all things" will be its motto. It won't have any dogma, religious, political, or economic, foisted upon it. It will hammer out things as it surges along. And if the people's leaders are not prepared to be real leaders they will either have to get out of the road or be run over.

In Itself a Revolution

"*Regeneracion*," Los Angeles.

Those who have been following, for example, Samuel G. Blythe's articles in the *Saturday Evening Post* on the political outlook, will have noted the persistent assertion that we are on the eve of a tremendous splitting up; that both in the Republican and Democratic parties there is widespread revolt, which is bound to break into flames, however the pending election may go. "If Roosevelt wins," writes Blythe, "it will be a landslide brought about by the spirit of unrest, the demand for readjustment of political and economic conditions, the desire for a change and the protest that shaped itself, to a degree, in the third party. There will be nothing coldly calculated about that. It will be an uprising, a tidal wave." All which is a tribute to the spirit of revolt; a force incalculably more potent than the coldly-calculated organisation on which timid Labour leaders have been wasting the energies of the disinherited for the last thirty years. In the industrial world Lawrence recently gave the proof.

This tendency, and the growing inclination of the public to do its own thinking, are most significant developments which no thoughtful Revolutionist will ignore. The symptoms are nation-wide, and it is evident that the same thought-process is at work in the Socialist Party, despite the tremendous discipline the leaders have worked tooth and nail to enforce. Haywood's demand for an expression of party opinion on the Mexican question is one sign; his protest, and that of Charles Edward Russell, in the matter of the Secretary Barnes election scandal, is another.

Socialist Party squabbles are none of our business, but the development of a truly radical, as opposed to an unquestionably reactionary, movement is our business, as it is that of every earnest man and woman who wants to see the long era of fooling with the social problem brought to a close. From our correspondence, from our reading, and from the Socialists who drop in on us from all parts of the country, we know very well that there is a profound split in the Socialist as in all the other parties. Why should it be otherwise? How could it be otherwise? How can a really revolutionary movement form itself save by the repeated splitting-off of the radical few from the always conservative mass, to which the leaders cater?

Necessity of War under Capitalism

The *Literary Digest*.

It is the overgrowth of population and the over-production of manufactured articles that result in the necessity of war, says a writer in the Paris *Figaro*. Every nation must find an outlet for its overflowing population and its surplus of manufactured goods, hence the necessity of invasion and capture of other lands. A writer in the *Revue* of Paris makes this statement the text of an essay on the economic causes of the European war which is at our doors. These are the words with which he opens his discourse:—

"While the pacifists are stirring themselves in all directions in order to hasten the approach of a universal reign of peace, scientific sociologists are uttering cries of alarm. The population in the different States is, in fact, becoming multiplied so quickly that with few exceptions all the

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nations will find themselves compelled in the struggle for life to create new outlets for people without work, without land, and without money. It is thus that the most prolific countries become for that very reason a common danger for the peace of the world."

Of course, this French writer brings in Germany as a dreadful example, but also couples with that country England, Japan, and the United States, as he says :—

"Germany has always been looked upon as a veritable bugbear by the pacifists who are looking anxiously toward the morrow. Within a hundred years Germany's population has been tripled, and to-day is to be counted as 64,000,000 souls. At the same time her emigration has always been considerable. From her incapacity to feed all her children she has sent them out in swarms to every corner of the world. In one century she has furnished to the United States alone 6,000,000 immigrants. And yet her own inhabitants are found 303 for every square mile, while France has only 134 per square mile. Added to this is an extraordinary advance in Germany's economic prosperity, and this again is a source of danger to the peace of the world. Not only has Germany been compelled to permit the expatriation of a great number of her children, but she has also been bound, at the risk of being ruined by over-production in her industrial activities, to find, at any cost, new outlets for her products.

"France also has augmented considerably the extent and development of her colonies, not only in the extreme East, in Tongking, in Indo-China, in Africa, in the Sudan and Madagascar, but also in Morocco. For the last twelve years there are clear signs of economic advancement in France, but while there is no danger to the peace of the world from the excess of French population, no doubt her manufactures will render her anxious to extend her territory abroad as she has done in Asia and Africa.

"England, too, has been seeking an increase of her trans-oceanic territory as an outlet for her surplus economic productions. Everyone knows how she has planted herself in Egypt, how she has defended, at the cost of great sacrifices, her supremacy in South Africa. But still it is always Germany, with her surplus of population, her ambitions, her shady and touchy foreign policy, which she carries on in season and out of season ; yes, it is Germany which still remains the great factor in the international uneasiness."

He proceeds to show how the United States has come to the same predicament of over-population and over-production, and we read :—

"It is not only in old Europe, with its overflowing population, that the facts above enumerated become day by day more evident, and the danger more pressing. As a matter of fact, even the United States begins to suffer from a plethora of population. Up to this time her territory has been the great resource for all human energies which elsewhere could find no employment. In the prairies of the Far West it seemed that an indefinite extent of land was offered for the working of civilisation's pioneers. But there are already serious indications of the fact that there is not sufficient space for this ever-increasing tide of human activity. Even this present year almost a hundred thousand farmers from the Western States have emigrated to Canada, where the land is still far from being occupied. If we compare carefully the density of population to the square mile in different countries, it is seen that Canada has two inhabitants to the square mile, South America seven, the United States thirty. The best colony which they have obtained, by great exertions and many sacrifices —viz., the Philippines—has already sixty-nine per square mile. It is this continued increase of the population which has compelled the United States, and at the same time afforded them the means, to augment to an enormous degree their annual military expense. These expenses of Army and Navy taken together have more than tripled in three years. They have risen from $51,000,000 to $185,000,000. Brother Jonathan has shown a desire to cut a figure on the sea. He has felt himself bound by his growing greatness to join the company of those modern Molochs who stand armed from head to fot. The United States, whose population is now that of a great nation, has passed into the rank of a great Power, with all the heavy expenses and the vast risks which this position brings with it. At the present moment it has a word to say in all international conflicts, and can make its voice heard in the concert of the world. But, of course, noblesse oblige, and it has henceforth to take its share of this heavy burden of an armed peace."

Shall More Murder be Done ?

Brothers,—In the name of Labour and Liberty we make this last appeal to you in behalf of our brothers now imprisoned at Lake Charles, La.

Their trial has been set for October 7, which will be exactly three months from date of the massacre of Grabow. During these ninety days the Lumber Trust, with millions at its disposal, has been working day and night to fix the "evidence" on which it hopes to hang our fellow-workers. During these ninety days detectives have been everywhere hounding our brothers and their helpless families ; they have been in all our homes, all our unions ; in the jails, posing as martyrs to the sacred cause of Labour ; hovering, buzzard-like, even over the deathbeds of the timber workers ; cajoling, promising, threatening ; using forged letters, documents and statements on our imprisoned brothers in an attempt to frighten them into false confessions ; telling them that all other unions, yea, that the working class itself, had abandoned them to their fate. All this the evil brood has done and is doing, and "the officers of the law" have threatened our brothers with "the cell," with solitary confinement, if they dared resist these man-hunters of the Trust. Every law, human, natural and divine, has been violated, and every right of citizenship has been denied our imprisoned brothers by these harpies of the Southern Lumber Operators' Association in obeying their masters' mandate to get the lives of our brothers.

When they fired on our meeting at Grabow, La., on July 7, they killed our brothers, Roy Martin and Decatur Hall ; our brother Ferro has since died of his poisoned wounds; while, on September 25, their deputy sheriffs shot down and killed our fellow-worker Charles Smith, took his life as cold-bloodedly as ever Diaz's rurales sent a victim to his grave, making four union men whose blood is on the hands of the Association ; yet this monstrous tyranny still cries for blood, still strives to make its terror terrorise, still demands that more murder be done.

Brothers, will you allow it ; will you let them send these men, whose only crime is that they sought to organize and free from peonage their fellow-workers, to be sent to the gallows and the levees? Will the working class allow the judicial murder of these men and boys, the bravest of its brave?

Brothers, help us forbid it!

Their trial is set for October 7, 1912, and Arthur Emerson, Ed. Lehman, and their associates, sixty-four men and boys, will be hurried to their doom unless you rush immediately the funds we must have unless they are to die.

Brothers, we appeal to you to *act, and act at once*, sending all funds collected or donated to the defence immediately to Jay Smith, box 78, Alexandria, La.

Brothers, we appeal to you.

Brothers, if you stand by them as they have stood by you they will not die.

Brothers, we make this last appeal to you—let not your brothers die.

COMMITTEE OF DEFENCE,
BROTHERHOOD OF TIMBER WORKERS.

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Reflections on the Debs Vote

THE Debs vote of something like 800,000 is a great disappointment compared with the 2,000,000 that were counted upon before Roosevelt entered the lists. True enough, it is almost double the preceding Debs vote of four years ago; but, on the other hand, it is far behind the million and more polled for the various Socialist local candidates two years ago.

That the election is a disappointment must be admitted when we consider how confidently the election of a number of Socialists was counted upon to join Berger in Congress. Instead of which even the Great Berger himself goes down in defeat. True, he was defeated by a half-hearted and inefficient partial coalition of Democrats and Republicans, but this had been counted upon and discounted.

As evidence of the feeling of confidence I quote from the *Appeal to Reason* in its issue the week before election :—

The *Appeal*, in this, its last issue before election, felicitates with the Socialists of America over the splendid campaign they have made. There is every reason to be encouraged. Here are some of the good things the *Appeal* confidently expects :—

Wisconsin.—Although the two old parties have practically united to defeat him, Berger will doubtless be re-elected to Congress from the Milwaukee district. Wisconsin stands a splendid show of electing State Senator Gaylord a second Congressman.

Nevada.—Socialists are seriously hoping to carry Nevada for Socialism, making it the first Socialist State in the union.

Kansas.—Kansas is going to poll an extremely large vote, with a good prospect of electing Geo. D. Brewer to Congress from the Third district.

New York.—In addition to electing two Congressmen, New York will elect a number of members of the General Assembly, and county officers in great numbers.

North Dakota.—A great campaign has been made, especially in the Western district, from which it is confidently expected comrade LeSeuer will be elected to Congress.

California.—J. Stitt Wilson will in all probability be elected to Congress from the Alameda district.

Oklahoma.—Fred Holt is sure to be elected from the Fourth District of Oklahoma as a representative in Congress.

Illinois.—Illinois Socialists are expecting to elect to Congress comrade Christensen from one of the Chicago districts.

Ohio.—Joseph Bachman will probably be elected to Congress by the Socialists of the Columbus, Ohio, district.

Pennsylvania.—Pennslyvania will elect at least one Congressman from the Pittsburg district.

Minnesota.—In addition to electing an up-State Congressman, Socialists are sure this year to elect Thomas Van Lear mayor of Minneapolis, which they so narrowly missed at the last election.

This isn't all, but it is enough to inspire every Socialist in America to do his best during the few remaining days of the campaign.

Not one single man out of this entire "felicitation" list was elected. Maybe the *Appeal* was merely giving out inspiration before the election in order to get more votes for candidates it knew foredoomed to defeat.

The failure of the Socialists to elect a single Congressman is especially puzzling when we consider the enormous increase in the party membership, from something less than 40,000 four years ago to nearly 150,000 to-day. It is evident that the growth of party membership has been much faster proportionately than the party vote.

The vote of over four million for Roosevelt explains where part of the expected Socialist vote went; and that vote, too, is also very indicative of the American disgust of present-day industry and politics. Of course, Roosevelt has no programme that will introduce an Industrial Democracy, but he has a programme leading to a Benevolent Industrialism, which seems about all the workers want.

It is part of the folly of the Socialist politicians to assert that the Progressive parties of England and the United States, under the leadership of their Lloyd Georges and Roosevelts, are proposing ameliorations which are not to be realised until Socialists bring them about. There is no greater mistake. Both England and America are bound for the minimum wage, the eight-hour day, and some plan to largely meet the unemployed problem. These reforms are inevitabilities. True, they are not Socialism, and they are not democratic in either inception, nor will they be democratic in their administration, but that is quite another matter.

Reforms of a far-reaching character can be and will be carried out by the modern State under the guidance of the Lloyd Georges and Roosevelts, but never a social revolution—by revolution I mean the abolition of the competitive wage system—for in the very nature of things a political movement cannot engender a social revolution.

Roosevelt was advocating an entirely practical and possible programme, and it only needed a few more votes to have given him a plurality sufficient to elect him. Debs, on the other hand, was advocating something so very revolutionary that no political party could have ever brought about, not even if it had an enormous majority at its back. The modern State, with its representatives elected by unorganised men, is in no way competent to carry on industrial functions. That this was at one time more generally recognised by the Socialists than at present is marked by the fact that originally practically all American Socialists went into politics merely for propaganda, and not for "practical" purposes. But Section 6 has made them all toe the Berger mark.

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However, as has been well pointed out by A. M. Simons and others, the policy of going into politics for propaganda only is good enough when you can't and don't elect anyone, but the moment when you commence to elect dog-catchers, coroners, street superintendents, aldermen, and Congressmen you have a new problem to face. These men are elected in good faith by the various communities to carry out the specific duties of their respective offices; and, moreover, the elected ones themselves wish to fulfil these duties. Fat salaries often transform duties into pleasures.

Any analysis will show the absurdity of conducting a local campaign for the Socialist Party upon the cry of "Turn the rascals out" and then when successful not to turn them out. Suppose Seidel, after having been elected Mayor of Milwaukee, had made a revolutionary speech to his Board of Aldermen and then proceeded to do something—say, in the way of introducing Socialism—that was so preposterously illegal that the courts removed him from office? I ask if this would be a practical programme? Assuredly not, it seems to me; and yet this is the programme laid down for Socialist officials by Upton Sinclair and other revolutionists who are unable to advocate practical politics and yet wish to devise a working plan of revolutionary politics. They have essayed an impossible task.

For the men in the early days of the movement who entered politics with no hope of electing anyone a revolutionary programme was all right; but nowadays, when successful elections for minor candidates are sure to become more and more usual, revolutionary politics becomes an impossible programme.

A revolutionist may be returned to office once, but it will be but the once if he attempt a revolutionary policy, for either his constituents or the courts will see that he will not be the successful candidate at a second election. No doubt, on account of the present novelty of success, a Berger or a Seidel attract large audiences from the curious; but as soon as we elect more Congressmen and more mayors the novelty will have so worn off that they will no longer attract. I say as soon as we elect more, for notwithstanding my views upon the impossibility of Socialism being realised through politics, I feel quite confident that we will elect many Socialists to various offices in the United States during the next ten years. The Socialist Party of America is bound to grow, but it is also bound to become a Reform Party in action, no matter what nominal principles it may hold.

True, many of the revolutionists will lose heart and drop out discouraged from the political game, but for every revolutionist lost there will be two Bull-moosers to take his place.

But what shall a revolutionist do to bring about the Revolution? What is to be done to bring about not Benevolent Industrialism, but Democratic Industrialism?

Undoubtedly as long as a man has the fervour of belief in revolution by politics he can to an extent make converts to Socialism; but when he no longer has faith in his own programme, and particularly when he sees more and more that the political Socialist successes demonstrate the illogicality of his position, he must lose his power with his lost faith. Then what is he to do?

It seems to me that this is the problem that many American Socialists are now about to be called upon to solve, and the solution of it will surely cause a tumult in the American Socialist Party. This problem is already rending in twain the British Socialists, where the success of the Labour Party in the Parliamentary elections has made evident the impossibility of a revolution by Parliament. It is rather interesting to note that both Parliamentary reformist Socialism and Parliamentary revolutionist Socialism are falling equally into discredit to-day in England.

It seems to me that the revolutionary Socialist is bound sooner or later to be forced into seeing that nothing but Syndicalism or Revolutionary Unionism can bring about Socialism. It is my own conclusion, and I judge others by myself.

True, I never was in any sense a Parliamentary Reformist Socialist, and when I set up at my masthead the signal "Let the Nation Own the Trusts," I did so merely because it seemed to me that that phrase was the most educative one that could be used at the time. However, I often said that the nation could really never own a single Trust without a revolution. Twenty-two years ago I wrote a preface to the American edition of the "Fabian Essays," in which I demonstrated that the dislocation of capital which would ensue if the railways of the United States were nationalised would surely create a revolution. Hence, while it is true I have talked Nationalisation, nevertheless I meant revolution, and said so. This is quite a different position from those who look to the progressive nationalisation of Trusts one by one.

However, while I talked about using the political platform for disseminating propaganda for revolutionary Socialism—and by revolutionary Socialism, as said, I merely mean the demand for the complete co-operative commonwealth—yet neither I nor anyone else that I knew at that time ever went very deeply into trying to explain what power could bring on the revolution if the wealthy classes should resist it. As a matter of fact, it seemed to me that while on the one hand Socialism presented such a simple and beautiful scheme for the abatement of poverty and human ills in general, and on the other hand a great unemployed problem I erroneously anticipated would soon arise to disrupt society, I thought all classes would joyfully unite to welcome and embrace Socialism once it were carefully explained.

True enough, I and other Socialists never ceased to declare that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class themselves, but by that we merely meant that the working class must vote solidly for us.

I have learned a number of things meanwhile. One is that the rich will never give up until they are practically compelled to do so, and the other is that the working class will never ask the rich to give up until they have the power in hand to force a surrender if it be refused. They would be rendering themselves foolish if they did.

True, a few rich people will be willing and glad to give up their wealth to the community for the common good, but they are an infinitesimal part of the whole. Also true, a certain part of the workers will ask the rich to give up—that is, it will vote the Socialist ticket—before the power to enforce is evolved. Nearly a million of them, in fact, made this plea when they voted for Debs last month. This kind of asking is something like the asking of a child for the moon when he is yet too small to know that he can't have it. When these million get older they may cease asking for Socialism, unless they continue as a mere matter of habit.

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The power that will enable the workers to take what they ask for is industrial organisation. No other power is of consequence or necessary. This power is bound to come to them, and is coming now as the necessary result of the continued pressure of the competitive wage-system upon them. At first the workers naturally organised in craft unions; industry was then of small dimensions, and an efficient craft union was a more or less effective means for the protection of labour. However, with the extension and growth of industry and the displacement of the skilled craftsmen by automatic machinery the workers are now commencing to realise that a union to have power must be a union of all the workers in a single *industry* rather than the workers of a single *craft*.

It will be this continual growth and amalgamation of such industrial unions that will finally not only give the workers power to take the machinery of production that they demand, but what is quite as important, it will also educate them to utilise the machinery when it is taken.

In the present unorganised and uneducated state of labour they would be quite as helpless if they were to come into possession of the present machinery of production and distribution as would be a band of savages with a wireless telegraph outfit.

It is said that Syndicalists wish a short cut to Socialism, that they are too impatient to wait for the slow growth of the political movement. True enough, the political movement is slow enough to justify impatience; but the prime reason for a belief in economic action rather than political rests in the fact that political action is ineffective. It is a drilling of paper armies that have no force, whereas economic action drills an organised and irresistible force. Syndicalism is not so much a short cut to Socialism as it is the only cut—short or long.

Political action, no doubt, has had its value in the past as an educational force for revolution, but that day has gone. For the *Reformist* Socialist political action is still a force to be used, particularly in local elections, but as a means to revolution it is a farce.

Possibly in some remote sections where political agitation is the only agitation that is possible then it may be excused, but the leaders of such an agitation should make their people fully cognisant of the fact that the only thing that can possibly be the result of success at the polls is the passage of certain reforms, and that these reforms are far more likely to be passed by a Roosevelt party than a Debs party.

Socialism can only come when the workers have power to demand it.

The Socialist Vote in Wisconsin

WISCONSIN has been the banner State for Socialists ever since when, two years ago, it elected Seidel as Mayor of Milwaukee and at the same time returned Victor Berger to Congress.

An analysis of the returns of last month's elections, however, is very discouraging to those who are hoping for any immediate regaining of the seats recently lost by both Seidel and Berger. It must be remembered that whenever there is any real danger of the election of a Socialist the capitalist parties will effectively combine, and that therefore the only way to weigh the true strength of the Socialist vote is to compare it with the combined capitalist vote.

The total vote cast in City of Milwaukee was 64,133. The aggregate capitalist vote—Wilson, Taft, Roosevelt, etc.—was 45,680. Debs got 18,453, or but 28 per cent. of the total.

Berger did better in his Congressional fight, but even so he got less than 37 per cent. of the total vote in his district. The total vote was 37,887, of which Berger got 13,880, while the Non-Partisan got 15,971 and the Republican got 8,016.

It is constantly alleged that Berger was beaten by a combination of the capitalist parties. It is a pretty poor sort of a capitalist combination when the Republican candidate polls more than half as many votes as the combination candidate.

If Berger thinks that this is the best kind of a combination that the capitalists can put up when they are really scared he is more mistaken than the Turks were about the Bulgarians.

I have no doubt but that some day both Berger and Seidel will regain their old seats, but I must say that the November vote does not indicate any immediate hope of that event.

The Communion of the Race

By HALDANE MACFALL.

In the *Art Chronicle*

Worlds will roll on, and pass into dust—years will pile themselves into eternity—but Life will be for ever. Its lamps are flung down, worn out, discarded when they can no longer hold the flame to light the wayfaring; but new lamps are wrought—and newer—and newer. For Life must be fulfilled to larger and more majestic purpose; and the wayfaring be ever towards higher heights.

Now, mark this well! Life evolves, developing upwards, always towards a higher type, that it may know increase of fulfilments, a larger sensing. At the same time it does not wholly discard, but persists in its earlier forms, the types degrading as they fall away from forward endeavour, even such as they may know in their own forms, and becoming subject to the higher types—or even dying out altogether if desperately assailed.

Mark well, again, another fact—for these are obvious facts, not guessing! Man, the thinking thing, from his lair in cave and thicket, increased his strength in the close-knit brotherhood of the clan. He foregathered to the valley councils; thence increased fellowship in the village, uniting his skill and strength with the skill and strength of others, until he that had the potter's skill bartered his skill with him that had the warrior's skill in battle, and he that had the builder's skill bartered with these and with him that had the metal-worker's skill; and thus and so the trades and crafts arose, to the mutual strengthening of the people; and power and increase of the fulness of Life, passing from the wild fellow of the cavern and the lake to the wandering tribe, passed therefrom to the settled village, and from them that lived their narrow day in villages to them that foregathered within the stout walls of the populous city—from the city to the State, that crumbled the city's walls, grown inadequate against the power of States; from the State to the mighty Commonweal of the race that is fenced about, to its uttermost frontiers, by the vast bulwarks of its daring spirits.

Again, mark well! as Life fulfils itself towards fuller power and experience in pushing forward to know fullest sensing, that the simple intercourse of the naked lowering thing which, with low, frowning brow, brooded upon the but scant desires and the mean wants of his narrow cave, yielded a larger converse that demanded a fuller range of words at the valley's gatherings; speech that in turn acquired a fuller gamut in the village's debate; this in turn brought forth the richer communion of the orchestral city's multitudinous voice; which in time passed into the twilight of discarded things, giving birth to the wider accents of the State; until even the language of the State, grown parochial, fades and slowly dies, and in dying gives place to the deep, august, far-reaching Communion of the Race.

Mark well, then, that *all that Man has done and aspires to do, but fulfils Life—that the compelling need of Life to fulfil its highest experience has bred all Man's intention, his endeavour and his achievement.*

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Our American Pashas

WILSON will probably be the last Presidential candidate to be elected on the theory that the Trusts can be destroyed and that competition can be restored. By the time another four years roll by the Trusts will be so much more powerful than they are to-day, notwithstanding all the efforts of Wilson, backed by his Democratic House and Senate, that any further talk of their "destruction" will be too ridiculous to even mention.

Taft had his four years of destroying Trusts and did nothing; and Wilson will surely make quite as much a fizzle. The way will then be nicely prepared for Roosevelt to come to the front with his plan of Regulation of Trusts.

I wonder how long we will try Regulation of Trusts before we find out the humbug of all this silly political game?

As the *New York World* says:—

"The country is seething with political discontent in spite of its unparalleled material wealth and prosperity. This discontent is confined to no particular class or section. Rich and poor alike, children of fortune and children of poverty, have begun to lose faith in the efficacy of their Government to establish justice and promote the general welfare. They are not sure where the fault lies; they are not united as to the remedy; but this they know—that their institutions have been seized by privileged interests and turned against them; that subtle, mysterious forces operating unseen have proved time after time that their power over public affairs was greater than the power of the people as a whole, and they demand that their Government be emancipated from this partnership.

"This is the great work that confronts Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party—to restore popular confidence in the institutions of the Republic and re-establish a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The work is too great for Wilson or anyone else—too great for even a Berger. The emancipation of the people from the domination of capitalism cannot be the work of any political party—not even the Socialist Party—and the people are quite justified in losing faith in "the efficacy of their Government to establish justice."

The people in the Balkans growled for five hundred years under the lash of the Turkish Pashas, and that was all the good it did them. Voting is merely a method of growling, and has no appreciable effect unless there are teeth to back up the growling.

What finally backed up the Bulgarian growl and made the Pashas of the Sultan realise that Europe was no place for them was a Bulgarian military organisation more efficient than the Turkish military organisation. The masses of America are not dominated by *Military* Pashas, but by *Economic* Pashas, and the way to clear them out is by effecting an economic organisation superior to their economic organisations. Industrial solidarity will be the Creusot gun whose boom will sound the knell of Sultan Morgan and his Pashas.

Arthur Emerson Acquitted

I AM glad to say that Arthur Emerson, the I.W.W. leader in Louisiana, and his 64 comrades, who were tried last month upon a trumped-up murder charge, were acquitted by the jury after a very short period of deliberation. The charge was so obviously a made-up one that it was astonishing the prosecution allowed it ever to come to trial.

The Ettor-Giovanitti case in Massachusetts has many points of similarity to that of Emerson. It is now on, and should be finished in a few weeks. It is to be hoped that the Massachusetts jury will acquit the accused as promptly as did the Louisiana one.

In both cases the charge was one of murder by the Labour leaders, when, as a matter of fact, the murderers were the police themselves, and the men murdered were working people.

Death of J. A. Wayland

WAYLAND, founder and owner of the *Appeal to Reason*, is dead. Committed suicide, last month, by shooting himself at his home in Girard, Kansas.

Some years ago he had a cancer, but it was reported cured; possibly its recurrence prompted the desperate act. Wayland was born in 1854, and for years has been in the forefront of all radical political movements in America. His journal, which for some years past has been entirely under the able editorial control of Fred D. Warren, has reached the phenomenal circulation, for a Socialist paper, of one million copies per week. While Wayland has had recently only an indirect control over the *Appeal*, nevertheless his sage counsels will be much missed, and his death is a distinct loss to the Socialist movement. He was a shy, retiring man, but at bottom of a most sociable disposition. His wife was killed in an automobile accident last year, and no doubt this loss also preyed upon his spirits.

Another blow to Parliamentarianism was given by the recent Tory exhibition of disorder in the House of Parliament when Premier Asquith proposed to rescind a motion upon the Home Rule Bill carried by a snap vote a few days previously against him. It was again but another illustration of what we may expect from the dominant class if legislation of an actual radical and confiscatory nature is ever introduced in Parliament by a Radical majority. As said before, if the Tories under Sir Edward Carson are allowed to openly and avowedly organise by the thousands in order to give formal resistance by force to the proposed Home Rule Bill, and if Asquith does not dare clap them into prison for treason, and he does not dare, what hope can there be that the rich will submit quietly and peaceably to being voted out of their riches, as the Revolutionary Parliamentary Socialists fondly propose?

The English papers keep on referring to Wilson's majority. He had no majority, he was in a minority of over two million. Wilson received the smallest percentage of the popular vote of any successful Presidential candidate since Lincoln's first campaign.

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Syndicalism and the General Strike

By Arthur D. Lewis. (Published by T. Fisher Unwin.) 7s. 6d. net pp. 319

MR. LEWIS encounters a natural difficulty in writing a coherent account of Syndicalist theories, owing to the very fact which he himself recognises, namely, that Syndicalism is "comparatively indifferent to theories; it recommends immediate aggressive action without careful planning of what is to be done after the victory is won."

The author rightly endeavours, therefore, to give an account of what Syndicalists have done in the various countries under observation rather than repeat what the exponents have said. Inasmuch, however, as Syndicalism is such a new movement, its history must necessarily be short, while on the other hand its literature, especially in French and Italian, is surprisingly large and important. Mr. Lewis was, after all, compelled to quote very largely from the Syndicalist authors.

Mr. Lewis covers all the nations where Syndicalism has made any great progress, but naturally he devotes himself mostly to France, Italy, and England. America figures in among his "other countries."

To Georges Sorel he devotes two very interesting chapters, although he admits that Sorel himself has passed as an active force in the French Syndicalist movement. However, there can be no doubt that while he is not an active factor in the French movement, nevertheless his writings have had a great influence. He quotes the following striking passage from Sorel: "The introduction of political parties in a revolutionary movement takes it far away from its primitive simplicity. Those in revolt are at first intoxicated by the idea that their will should not meet any obstacle because they are the majority; it seems to them obvious that they only have to elect delegates or congressmen in order to make laws that suit their needs. Thus the instinct of revolt in the workers is made to serve as a base for the popular State formed of the propertied people who wish to continue a bourgeois existence, but who all the while profess to be proxies for the disinherited."

Mr. Lewis says Sorel finds the idea of the General Strike as the inspiration of the Syndicalists; it is "the social myth or the prophetic vision, the dramatic conclusion to the hopes of the present, which because a multitude believes in it is likely to be realised; the imaginative embodiment of men's struggles and hopes which will help them to turn ideas into actions: the idea that the instinctive acts of the workers struggling to develop their own institutions in opposition to the capitalists are of value, while any interference on the part of the intellectuals, whose interests are not really the same as those of the workers, is bad: the idea that violence and sublimity, not calculation, are necessary in morality."

The author gives a good account of the C.G.T., or the *Confederation Generale du Travail*, the great federation of the Syndicalist Trade Unions of France, and representing nearly a million men.

Italy, is, as said, treated upon at length, and extended quotations are given from Arturo Labriola, the Neapolitan professor who has taken up Syndicalism. Says Labriola: "The Reformist's worst crime is that he strengthens the State, and sets his hope on it. Luther was a Reformist, and he destroyed the rival power of the Church only to hand its property and power over to the governing secular class. The Chartist movement in England was revolutionary because it intended to take the power from those who held it, the landed class, but the movement was finally turned into harmless Reformism by concessions yielded by those who kept their own control of power. It is possible that the machinery of State Socialism might be set up, and yet the existing social and economic hierarchy be preserved."

The following quotation from another distinguished Italian Syndicalist, Enrico Leone, is of interest: "If history depended on parties, England and the United States would be far from Socialism, because in neither country is there a natural working-class party. Ettore Cicotti, the historian, is convinced from personal observation that the United States will have a Socialist system of production before any other country.

"Parties in history translate the forces which work outside them; on a day of crisis the advanced parties are quickly conquered or superseded by those which on the day before were of little account or did not exist."

In other words, the Bull Moose party, which did not exist four months ago, is now, notwithstanding Roosevelt's defeat, the dominant party in the United States. In the course of a few years it will either itself have disappeared, or it will, which is more likely, have absorbed the principles of the present Socialist Party, and be the party to impose State Socialism upon the workers.

I am sorry that I have not more space to devote to Mr. Lewis's comprehensive and excellent study of the Syndicalist movement, but the extracts given indicate the broad scope of Mr. Lewis's work.

The Genesis of Direct Action

By Morrison Davidson, in *Reynolds's*

THE Syndicalists are a majority of producers at war with a minority of capitalist exploiters. But so, it may be said, were the orthodox Broadhursts and Howells of the most antiquated unionism. The Syndicalists, however, differ from these on one essential issue—they repudiate Parliament and all its works as heartily almost as they do the control of industries by Podsnaps or Rockefellers.

In short, none of the revolted want to be divinely governed by "experts," but by themselves, the mere rank and filers. In practice, however, Syndicalists, unlike pur sang Anarchists, do not excommunicate members who, *as individuals*, vote in elections. As a consequence, French Syndicalism (600,000 members) embraces Socialists of almost every school and phase of thought. It not only unites the workers against capitalist master or company, but more especially against State and Municipality, as employers of labour. State officials—railwaymen, postmen, teachers—are among the staunchest supporters of the General Confederation of Labour.

In France Proudhon may be regarded as the Father of Syndicalism. His aim was "to melt, to merge, to dissolve the political or governmental system into an economic one by reducing, simplifying, decentralising, and abolishing, one after the other, all the parts of the enormous machine called Government or State." In 1848, Ledru-Rollin, the famous apostle of Universal Suffrage, naturally inclined to political action: "The tendencies distinguishing the Democratic Party from others are that it strives to arrive *by politics* at a social transformation." So much for the genesis of Direct Action and Political Action on the Continent.

English Syndicalism dates back to the Owenite movement (1825-40). Owen (1883) was explicit: "The source of wealth is Labour. Wealth will remain in the hands of the workers when they act in concert to this end." Owen's General Union of Productive Classes was 500,000 strong!

But a tremendous fit of political action (Chartism) convulsed the masses, and Owenism was unfortunately snowed under. The horse of direct action could not be got to plough with the ass of indirect or palaver action at all, at all. In the "sixties" of last century the English trade unions were still without legal status and the social ban was most severe. Presently, however, the suffrage was extended, and the idea of Labour representation in Parliament was first mooted, in 1870, in a letter (in the *Beehive*) from John Stuart Mill to dear old George Odger, the facile princeps of Labour leaders.

Proudhon's Mutualism and Owen's Socialism were both frustrated by politics and politicians. But Syndicalism can hardly suffer in the same way, inasmuch as it directly antagonises the State as well as capitalism. It aims at substituting for the worn-out political machine an industrial engine of pre-eminent power and efficiency, specially designed by the workers themselves.

Marconi Prediction

Popular Science Siftings

"Within the next two generations," says Marconi, "we shall have not only wireless telegraphy and telephony, but also wireless transmission of all power for individual and corporate use, wireless heating and light, and wireless fertilising of fields. When all that has been accomplished, as it surely will be, mankind will be free from many of the burdens imposed by present economic conditions.

"In the wireless era the Government will necessarily be the owner of all the great sources of power. This will naturally bring railways, telegraph and telephone lines, great ocean-going vessels, and great mills and factories into public ownership. It will sweep away the present enormous corporations, and will bring about a semi-Socialistic State."

As to the future, Mr. Marconi considers that "the generating terminals of the wireless energy will have to be owned by the State Governments. The waves will be sent out to the consumers in various degrees of power. Some of the waves will be utilised for dynamic purposes, others for lighting, heating, fertilising, and, possibly, for military purposes. Water and wind power, possibly light also, will be used for generating purposes in the huge national power-stations.

"The coming of the wireless era will make war impossible, because it will make war ridiculous."

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Syndicalism in Action

How the Italian Glassblowers became their own Employers

By ODON POR.

HOW will Syndicalism expropriate, operate, and perfect the Trusts? This is the most vital problem before us; all the others are conditioned by it and of secondary importance. To my own knowledge so far, however, there is but one movement that has as yet practically succeeded. This has arrayed the awakened professional consciousness and the moral and economic solidarity of a certain class of workers against the vast financial and political resources of Capital. It has destroyed the last remnants of the creed that Capitalism or the efficiency of the capitalists is essential to industrial progress, and has demonstrated that a working class, conscious of its industrial and social duties, is perfectly able to operate and perfect large industrial organizations, for the good of the collectivity. Here is the story.

Until 1900 the Italian bottle-blowers were united in a very primitive form of organization, a species of Mutual Aid Society, admitting among its membership only the masters and the highest class workers in the bottle-blowing trade. Due to their weak resistance to capitalist exploitation the economic condition of the bottle-blowers was most distressing. With their terribly exhausting work, in their "race to death"—to use their jargon—they earned hardly enough to keep them alive. The vigorous activity agitating the Italian proletariat in 1900 stirred also the bottle-blowers. The same year they organised many local unions and called into existence the Federation of the Italian Bottle-Blowers. About 1,000, or 90 per cent., of the Italian bottle-makers joined the Federation at once, and the funds of the Mutual Aid Society were transferred to its treasury.

The first convention of this Federation, in 1901, resolved to submit a collective contract to the employers. The chief demands were a universal wage scale involving sensibly higher wages than hitherto paid, the eight hours day, and the closed shop. The contract was to be between the Federation, representing the organised workers collectively, and the directors of the bottle works. The Federation was to become also a sort of employment agency for the federated workers.

The secretary of the Federation at once opened negotiations with the employers. Four factories united in the Glass Trust, with its home factory in Milan, and three independent factories accepted the collective tariff for the year 1901-1902. Another corporation, "The Glass," with two factories, however, would not negotiate with the Federation, denying its right to represent the bottle-workers. Its true reason for refusing to sign the collective contract was the fact that it was the only concern in Italy holding an option on the Boucher bottle-blowing machine, which promised a revolution in the bottle industry.

The Federation at once called a strike on The Glass, and 400 bottle-blowers were out of work, or more than one-third of the members of the young organisation. The strike lasted three years. During this time the bottle-workers not only paid more than 500,000 lire over their regular strike assessments into the treasury of the Federation, but furthermore, by a special arrangement, they made places for a number of strikers at the furnaces of the Trust by reducing the normal and contract work day from eight hours to six, working in four shifts instead of three shifts, and decreasing by this their own wages by 25 per cent. The Trust agreed to this arrangement only on condition that the Federation kept on boycotting The Glass until it came to terms with the Trust. It was to the interest of the Trust to bring this concern to terms, especially because the option that it held on the patent blowing machine menaced the Trust very seriously.

The strike was waged with great steadfastness. In many places the strikers pushed their heroism so far that, faint with hunger, some even fell unconscious on the streets. The Trust, being materially interested in the strike, renewed its contract with the Federation for the years 1902-1903.

About the end of 1902 the Federation fell foul of the Trust by launching the idea of a co-operative bottle factory. The Federation figured that with a final and definite effort to raise money it could establish a co-operative factory that would give work to the strikers. The Trust laughed at this proposed experiment, but as soon as it became a reality they began to feel uneasy about it, and with the view of destroying the Federation they tried to provoke a strike in their own factories. By this time the Trust had lost all direct interest in the strike of the Federation against The Glass, for, on the one side, it hoped to introduce the blowing machine in its own factories, and on the other, The Glass was about ready to come to terms. The Federation wisely refused to be provoked to strike, having all its financial and moral resources engaged in giving birth to the co-operative, and knowing that it could not sustain another big strike. The Federation, therefore, signed a new contract with the Trust for the year 1903-1904, to the great disappointment of the latter, even though this contract secured less advantages to the federated workers than the agreements of the previous years.

All this time the strike against The Glass was still on. That corporation lost about a half million lire during the strike, because on the one hand, with the few Italian and foreign strike-breakers it could secure, it produced only inferior goods, and in small quantity, and on the other hand the Boucher machine proved to be impractical. Finally, The Glass gave up the fight and merged its two plants with the Trust in the spring of 1904. The Trust discharged the scabs in one factory and employed federated workers there, while it kept the scabs in the other factory, excusing itself to the Federation with the statement that The Glass had signed a contract with the scabs previous to its surrender to the Trust. The federated workers were victorious, and the strike was called off.

Meanwhile, the first co-operative factory was opened, employing 150 strikers, and working at full blast. The young Federation came out of the struggle of three years tempered, reinforced, compact, and ruling practically all bottle factories in Italy. Conscious of its strength, it imposed upon the Trust a new contract for the year 1904-1905, reaffirming its rights and demands.

Its aim was to provide work for the strikers. The money needed for the first plant was put up by the federated workers. Some sold their last belongings, some raised a loan on their little house or small patch of land, some took their last pennies out of the savings banks—all contributed in some way to the erection of the federal factory. The Co-operative bought an old bottle factory in Leghorn, rebuilt and modernised it, and in October, 1903, the fire in the first furnace was lit. Soon the need of a second furnace was felt. The strikers and the bottle-blowers, after their regular daily work, transformed themselves into masons, mechanics and helpers, and set to work on the construction of the second furnace. They worked day and night, hardly drawing any pay for their enthusiastic efforts, and finished the construction of the furnace in 47 days, which under normal circumstances takes at least six months of uninterrupted work. And all this was done by the sentiment of solidarity, without the urging of a capitalist employer and without professional technical aid.

The first business year of the Co-operative showed a net profit of 15,000 lire, surprising when we consider the difficulties which every new enterprise has to meet.

All seemed to be quiet now. The Trust, still incredulous as to the final success of the Co-operative, still indulged in its dream of concentrating the whole Italian glass industry under its own leadership. A rude shock awakened it. The Co-operative, instead of going bankrupt, set out to establish a great branch factory in Imola, the Socialist municipal council of which voted 100,000 lire to the Co-operative as a premium for establishing a bottle factory. The Trust got frightened. It at once changed its attitude with the intention of destroying the Federation and the Co-operative. First of all it refused to sign the collective tariff for the year 1905-1906, declaring that it would not renew the contract unless the Co-operative formally gave up its intention of erecting the new factory in Imola, and unless it ceased to interfere commercially with the Trust. Besides this direct declaration of war, the Trust, which had in its directorate two members of the Italian Parliament, tried to induce the Government to declare illegal the act of the Municipal Council of Imola. Neither the Federation nor the Co-operative nor Imola gave in. The Trust thereupon refused definitely to comply with the demands of the organised workers, who then called a boycott upon the Trust.

"Three cheers for Imola!" was the reply of the federated workers. They redoubled their efforts to make the factory in Imola ready and give work to the new masses of unemployed federated workers. Those who had not yet subscribed shares to the Co-operative factory in Imola hastened to do so. Those who had done so, doubled and trebled the sum. In Milan the bottle-blowers subscribed 11,000 lire, thus splendidly expressing their confidence in their leaders.

Through the boycott many bottle-blowers were out of work, and even the new factory in Imola was not big enough to employ them all. It was absolutely necessary to provide work for the unemployed comrades, and the best way seemed to be

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to erect a third factory. More money was put up to establish a factory near Milan, in Sesto-Calendo, where the bottle-blowers subscribed 30,000 lire for the Co-operative. This was not enough. A fourth factory was needed, and in order to supply the demand for more labour, the Co-operative leased another factory near Naples, and put it in working order within a few months.

The boycott on the Trust brought better results than were expected. A few Italian bottle-blowers went back on their organisation, and scabbed in the factories of the Trust, and despite its great efforts to secure foreign labour very few foreigners came to Italy to work. Of its eleven furnaces only three were working at the end of 1905, producing inferior goods that the market refused to buy. The Co-operative had four furnaces in operation turning out excellent goods and unable to fill the orders pouring in from all parts of Italy. At the end of the year the Co-operative had all its four factories in operation, with six furnaces, working 24 hours a day, and closed its yearly business with a net profit of 45,000 lire. It employed now all the federated bottle-blowers striking, numbering about 1,500 men, while at the beginning it could place only 150 men; besides this number, 400 federated workers were working under the federal tariff in an independent capitalist factory.

Thus the beginning of 1906 marked a great victory for the bottle-blowers. The hard struggle that lasted five years brought its well-earned results. The Co-operative factories worked at full capacity, no federated worker remained unemployed, the material conditions of the co-operators improved very sensibly, and all this was accomplished without compromise, without bowing to the Trust, without asking aid from any other class of workers. The number of co-operators, which at the beginning was 100, reached about this time 1,000, and their capital had increased to half a million lire from 50,000 lire. The daily production, which at the beginning was five tons per day, increased to 70 tons, or in other words the Co-operative produced 90,000 bottles and 7½ railroad carloads of demijohns per day, which was more than any other Italian concern.

On the other hand the Trust operated but two factories with foreign and Italian scabs, reducing its normal production to one-half, and the goods produced in these plants were so far under the standard set by the Co-operative that many customers of the Trust went over to the enterprise of the workers. The Trust finally resorted to a most desperate move against the Co-operative, in initiating a bitter commercial fight. It cut prices 30 per cent. under the cost of production. In this battle the Trust lost a couple of million lire, while the Co-operative lost but a half million lire. The Trust, backed by the strongest bank of Italy, could easily afford such a sum for the realisation of its cherished scheme of finally getting control of the Italian bottle market.

But the Trust figured wrong once more. In this commercial struggle the technical superiority of the Co-operative factories earned a decisive victory over the unlimited capital at the disposal of the Trust. Capital was beaten decisively in this struggle, and was utterly helpless before the will of the organised workers operating their own factories. Each of the factories of the Co-operative produced a special type of bottles, of such perfect quality, that though it charged higher prices for them than the Trust, it sold all product before it was ready for shipment. The policy of price cutting proved a total failure. During this commercial struggle the Co-operative erected its fifth factory in Asti, the centre of a great wine district, adding another furnace to its enterprise, making a total of seven completely modern furnaces. The Trust abandoned its scheme of destroying the Co-operative by under-selling it, but still entertains the hope of re-establishing its power by introducing the newest bottle-blowing machine, invented by Owens, an American bottle-blower.

In 1906 the Co-operative employed 2,000 workers, who were all shareholders, and belonged to the Federation of the Italian Bottle-Blowers. Its capital was 750,000 lire, and the plants represented an investment of two million lire. The production of the Co-operative embraced a little more than half of the national production, or about twenty-five million pieces of bottles per year, not counting the demijohns. The net profit for the year was 300,000 lire. The Trust and one independent factory produced the remaining smaller half of the national production.

The Federation has increased its membership very considerably, the number in 1906 being 2,000. Keeping pace with the general technical and industrial development, the Federation is gradually becoming an industrial union, and upon a recent referendum vote it decided to admit into its fold not only the glass-blowers, but also all workers engaged directly or indirectly in bottle-making, like the workers at the gasometers, the carpenters, the mechanics, and so on. About 1,500 scabs, organised in part in "yellow unions," and in the employ of the Trust, are now negotiating for admission to the Federation, realising that they cannot afford to keep out of this powerful organisation. The Federation, together with the Co-operative, has succeeded in uplifting the conditions of its workers to such a degree that the scabs have come to recognise their weakness in keeping out of these organisations, and intend now to join in the battle led by them, the clear-cut aim of which is to expropriate the Trust and the independent factories and put the whole Italian bottle industry into the hands of the bottle workers.

What is behind all these dry figures? What does the whole struggle mean, and what factors are responsible for its success?

Two factors especially contributed to the success of this struggle: one, the technical efficiency of the glass-blowers, their professional consciousness, and the other their moral solidarity. Both characteristics were evolved by their Socialist training. The Syndicalist movement imbued the glass-blowers with that higher sense of solidarity that calls for some productive work; their professional organisation, on the other hand, gave a definite form to their work, and made them capable of realising their productive aim. In their struggle against their enemies the higher sentiments of sacrifice got the upper hand, subduing all egotistic tendencies. They forgot their immediate interests, and worked with all their manhood, careless of the to-morrow, for the liberation of their whole class from capitalist tyranny. They were dominated by the Socialist vision, by that greater sense of human fraternity, and proved by tangible facts their moral superiority. These sentiments were realised in a marvellous social discipline in the co-operative factories, a discipline that guaranteed a continuous process of production, and fired each worker to work at his best. In all five factories of the Co-operative there is not a single overseer, and the technical and business managers are all bottle-blowers.

The moral solidarity created by the struggle awakened the conscience of the workers in all directions. They gave up drinking, the classical glass-blower vice, thus creating peace within themselves and their families. They renounced their legitimate dividends, and turned over all the net profits of their Co-operative to mutual aid funds, and, as said before, they gave up their last pennies toward the establishment of the various branches of the Co-operative. Putting the question, "Do you ever hope to draw dividends?" to a gathering of a few shareholders, I got the unanimous answer: "Never!"

These workers have no intention whatever of becoming capitalists. They refuse to become parasites on the body of the whole working class. They want to free themselves from the capitalist yoke, and set an example to all the other workers. With the profits of their enterprise they aid the Socialist movement and the Socialist Press. Another part of the profits goes to an old age, invalid and widow fund, and still another fund provides for the education and bringing up of the orphans of the organised bottle-workers. They improved the conditions of their own life and work, making both healthier and less irksome, accomplishing their duty toward themselves, for a progressive working class must elevate its material level in order to make itself fit for fulfilling its social mission.

The solidarity of these working men as expressed by their marvellous social discipline and their great interest in their own work paralysed the activities of the capitalists who were unable to compete, despite the unlimited millions at their disposal. The Trust was cut off from the labour market, the work of the few scabs did not satisfy its customers. The Trust in vain now menaces the Co-operative with the Owens machine, for the Co-operative is also ready to introduce it, despite the tremendous expense involved, as soon as its practicability is satisfactorily demonstrated; then the Owens machine, even if it is a success, blows only certain types of bottles, while the Co-operative specialised itself in part on types of bottles that the machine cannot make; further, the Co-operative is technically and financially ready to change the whole or part of its production from the bottle branch to other branches of the glass industry. In this effort it will certainly be aided by the Federation in the other branches of the glass industry.

This movement represents a new fact. The trade or industrial union of the workers has found within itself all the elements of resistance against the aggressive attack of the Trust, and holds all the factors for progressing with irresistible force toward the positive conquest of the means of production, expropriating the Trusts by erecting new factories or forcing the capitalists to give up their plants to the associated workers.

The Federation of the Bottle-Blowers of Italy has found within itself the material, technical, commercial, and moral capacities for getting hold, within a very short time, of a large part of the production of the Italian bottle industry.

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There is no other group of workers in the world that has accomplished as much. The bottle-makers of Italy are the pioneers of the coming final struggle that will decide the contest between the exploiters and the exploited.

These workers have placed in the stead of individual and associated capitalist initiative, the collective effort and efficiency of their organised class, and it justifies us in entertaining the hope of a most productive future, for collective professional and moral training is the bed-rock upon which the future society must rest.

Bebel's Autobiography

"My Life." By August Bebel. Published by T. Fisher Unwin. 7s. 6d.

THE story of the life of Bebel is the history of the greatest Socialist movement in the world—that of Germany.

Bebel was born in 1840 on Washington's birthday, February 22. He is a delicate-looking man; I met him some ten years ago in Berlin, but he evidently had more stamina than his appearance indicates. No ordinary man could hold the helm of the German Socialist Party for 46 years and still have a firm grip on it at the age of 72.

He suffered many privations from poverty when he was young, his father being a non-commissioned officer in the army. Both parents died of consumption, leaving him an orphan at 13. He himself, later on, had consumption, but got rid of it in the last imaginable place—in prison, while serving a two-year sentence for a political offence. It is quite common for prisoners in American gaols to contract consumption. For one to get rid of it there is a grotesque impossibility. Evidently Germany can teach San Diego something about penology.

Bebel started out at the age of 9 as a pronounced Monarchist. He seems to have rapidly recovered from this malady, and to have become, as he reached maturity, a Liberal, but very much interested in working-men's associations. He then soon entered into a fight with Ferdinand Lassalle, which continued with the Lassalleans long after Lassalle's death in 1864 for the next decade or so, until there was finally a merger of forces with the German Socialist Party. Two years after Lassalle's death Bebel confesses he was converted to Socialism by Lassalle's own writings. It would be interesting to know how much the original impetus of Bebel's fight with Lassalle long before he became a Socialist had to do with his keeping up the fight against Lassalleism after he had become converted to Lassalle's fundamental theories.

Bebel does not enter deeply into the differences which led to this long conflict, and which undoubtedly did so much to retard the German Labour movement. Each side appears to have considered the other in the pay of Bismarck, and no doubt the astute Bismarck did very little to disabuse either of them. Bebel now exonerates Lassalle, but he still thinks Von Sweitzer, who died in 1875, a paid agent.

Bebel has nothing of the charm of style that makes Hyndman's "Reminiscences" so irresistible, nor does he seem to have any sense of humour. The interest of the book lies largely in the fact that it is an inside view of the greatest and most successful political movement of our day.

The German Socialist Party polled 4,250,000 votes at the last election, just about the same number that Roosevelt got in a considerably larger electorate. However, with all his votes Bebel seems to have very little respect for the power they represent. Nicholas Klein, an old-time correspondent of WILSHIRE'S, has recently been interviewing Bebel for the *Progressive Woman*. He reports Bebel to have said:—

"Of course, we cannot tell at this distance," said he, in answer to my question, "just what we would do in case we got a majority in the Reichstag, for great economic and political changes may take place between to-day and that time. You see, we have an old constitution made by the nobility, and an Upper House to fight, and the workers of Germany are not ripe for great changes."

I was surprised at this last remark, but he explained to me that the Social-Democracy was practically part of the German Labour movement, and that a worker usually joined the party when he joined the union of his craft.

"You see," said Bebel, "the class lines are so closely drawn here in Germany that a worker cannot help but see his political party in the Social-Democracy. But if we got a majority, well, I suppose that we could do nothing better than buy out the king business."

"Do you mean to say that the best policy would be to bribe the crowned heads?" I asked him.

"Exactly," he replied. "We could pay them to retire on a pension. You see, we are far behind the Americans. They can turn things about as they choose almost any election. They already have what we here in Germany are just fighting for. Their nation, in the main, is composed of people who are seeking freedom and better economic conditions, and this, coupled with their educational facilities and an industrial evolution that is second to none in the world, places them in the van of progressive nations. It is my private opinion," he continued, "that the United States will shortly declare for public ownership of public utilities, and that it will advance so rapidly as to be the first nation to declare a Co-operative Commonwealth."

"Now, let's just make a comparison," Bebel continued. "Here, in Germany, the railroads, the railroad depots, and even the eating-houses are divided into four classes. You see a worker is driven to class-consciousness here, while the Yankees have apparently but one class. That which they have already done is now our greatest need."

Then, leaning across the table, with flashing eyes and pointed finger, he exclaimed: "We here must struggle to dethrone militarism and the nobility, but, of course, we both must battle in the common cause of educating the workers to a full realisation of their mission; we must teach them that they have but one enemy, and that is ignorance."

Is it not strange to hear the leader of the world's greatest Socialist Party say: "The workers of Germany are not ripe for great changes; the United States will be the first nation to declare a Co-operative Commonwealth"? I suggest to Bebel that the unripeness of the German workers is owing to their lack of a proper industrial organisation to educate them as to their potentialities. It is a most singular confession for Bebel to make that, notwithstanding all the education the German workers have been receiving, from Lassalle in 1864, through Bebel and Liebknecht, Marx, Engels, and the other great Socialist leaders up to the present day, they are still not ready for Socialism. Let our own Parliamentarians take note. Bebel in his book says that in 1863 he himself spoke against universal suffrage on the ground that the workers were not then ripe for it (p. 53). They don't seem to have progressed much in 49 years!

This volume covers but the first part of Bebel's life, and carries us down to 1878, just before the Bismarck Anti-Socialist laws came into operation. A second volume is in preparation, and will bring us down to date. The book is most interesting to Socialists and Syndicalists, and no doubt each will draw his own conclusions as to why the German worker is confessedly so weak notwithstanding his immense political party. It seems to me, however, there can hardly be any doubt that if these four million Socialist voters were as well united and determined in the industrial field as they are in the political field that Bebel would hardly say that they are not yet ready for Socialism.

If not, then they will never be ready.

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WILSHIRE'S

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Prince Kropotkin at Seventy

KROPOTKIN had his seventieth birthday last month, and the event was made notable by a well-worded and sympathetic memorial drawn up by Edward Carpenter and signed by most of the distinguished literary and scientific men of England, from Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells to Sir William Crookes and Sir Oliver Lodge. Kropotkin is just about as far apart from the ordinary conception of the public as to what a man must be who is the spiritual head of the Anarchists as can possibly be imagined.

His fundamental philosophy of life is reliance upon the voluntary principle. Give a man a chance to expand spiritually and mentally and that is all he needs. You cannot force a flower to bloom. Give it water and soil and it will bloom because it must, and man is the same as the flower. It would seem ordinarily impossible for the public to connect a man holding such noble principles with dynamite bombs, but it does. The explanation is twofold. Kropotkin by his philosophy has no love for authority, and as in Russia a man who has unconventional views of any sort is in constant danger of his life, it is not surprising that Kropotkin soon found himself, after reaching manhood, in the prison of St. Peter and St. Paul. With some people, any man who gets into prison is a dangerous personage, and if he makes a dramatic escape he is still more dangerous. Kropotkin is guilty on both counts.

He found shelter for a while in Switzerland, only to be expelled. He then went to France, only to be imprisoned there in 1883 upon an absurd conspiracy charge. Released in 1886, he went to England, where he has since resided in peace. With this record, and the further fact that he has never hesitated to declare that voting for members of Parliament would never bring about the Social Revolution, he not only fell into bad odour with both the ordinary old party men in England, but with the voting Socialists as well. Furthermore, whenever any Government official in Russia or some hereditary ruler or other in Europe fell by assassination, Kropotkin was known to be always more keen to sympathise with the assailant than the victim. Although the act itself was, of course, always done quite without his knowledge, once done he never joined in the hue and cry against the assassin, but on the contrary would give a philosophical explanation as to the inevitability of such acts when people had no other way of expressing their disapprobation of tyranny.

But the main reason why Kropotkin was so universally connected with dynamite bombs was owing to the fact that he is a Social Revolutionist who does not think that voting is the method that will bring about a social revolution. He is a direct actionist, and direct action is very gratuitously translated to mean bombs. As a matter of fact, direct action merely means that the working class shall act directly to gain their own emancipation without any dependence upon elected State officials. The methods of using direct action may be diverse and numerous, but the great and fundamental method is based upon Solidarity, and the particular weapon is the General Strike.

I take it that Kropotkin is somewhat himself to blame for the general misconception about his advocacy of violence, inasmuch as he has never bothered to deny charges, nor has he on the other hand devoted much space to delineating his belief in the necessity of economic organisation of the workers preliminary to the general strike. Prince Kropotkin is a member of one of the noblest and richest Russian families. He was a page, when a boy, at the court of the Czar. He, moreover, very early devoted himself to science. His "Mutual Aid" is, to my mind, his greatest book. It is a very fine martialling of facts showing that mutual aid in the animal kingdom is much more the rule of life than is competition; that, as a matter of fact, competition between members of the same family is not known in most species, and in those where it is seen it plays a most subordinate part. Man is the only animal who makes a practice of competing his brother to death, and he never did so before the birth of the capitalist system at the end of the eighteenth century forced him to it.

His "Fields, Factories and Workshops" is a most valuable book. It is the classic upon what could be accomplished by science if properly applied to agriculture. I am rather inclined to think that Kropotkin tends to minimise the importance of the new agricultural machinery and its tendency to initiate an era of great agriculture, although it may be said for him that the effect of such machinery is not as yet sufficient to be noticeable statistically. Kropotkin is unquestionably right in all he says about small farming, but at the same time I am convinced that the future is likely to lie with the big farming.

In fact, I think that running all through Kropotkin's economics is a tendency to magnify the importance of the small producer at the expense of the large one, although I quite admit that Socialists as a rule are inclined to the other extreme. My own picture of the future coincides with Kropotkin's as to the

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voluntary association of autonomous producing groups, but I look also for a future of co-operative production upon a world-wide scale.

I first met Kropotkin in 1891, and have seen more or less of him ever since. My regret is that the less out-balances the more, for Kropotkin is admittedly one of the most delightful of men to come into contact with. In fact, I know of no one so magnetic. He is a mass of human radium emanating kindly thought to everyone within the four walls of the room. For quite a number of years recently he has been in delicate health, but his removal to Brighton about a year ago seems, I am glad to say, to have quite rejuvenated him.

One cannot help bracketing Hyndman and Kropotkin, for they are both at the head of their respective wings of the Revolutionary Socialist movement, and both have recently passed their seventieth birthdays. Notwithstanding their differences as to tactics they are warm friends, Hyndman speaking at a memorial meeting to Kropotkin the other day in London. Bernard Shaw also was one of the speakers, and rather surprised the audience by admitting that he was at last beginning to see that Kropotkin was right in a number of fundamental conceptions about Socialism, although he (Shaw) had been declaring him to be all wrong for the past twenty years.

I don't suppose Shaw quite meant that his pamphlet, "The Impossibility of Anarchism," was out of date, but I have no doubt if he had it to write over again he might modify some of his early conclusions about the vote as a weapon.

Is Berger a Syndicalist?

ABOUT the last place one would look for a Syndicalist editorial—or, at least, a very near-Syndicalist one—would naturally be in the Milwaukee *Daily Leader*, edited by Victor Berger. Of course, there can be but one explanation, and that is that it was never written by Berger himself, and that it accidentally slipped by his blue-pencil censorship. It is not quite in line with Syndicalism, as it fails to see that the industrial commissions of the future are not to be appointed, but are to be the organisations of the workers themselves in the particular industries involved. Here is the editorial:—

"The arbitrators who brought about a settlement of the wage scale which was in dispute between the locomotive engineers and the railway managers have suggested that Congress should create a Court of Wages to which may be referred all wage disputes between the employees and managers of transportation corporations engaged in inter-State commerce.

"The arbitrators' suggestion emphasises the tendency which has set in toward industrial government. When George W. Perkins asserted that the nation needs a Court of Business, composed of men who are familiar with industrial conditions and not merely learned in legal precedents that had their origin in the feudal age, he voiced the growing impatience of business with governmental institutions which are not adapted to an industrial civilisation.

"In the efforts of the reformers to regulate industry and in the desire of the business interests to escape from the bungling work of legislative bodies, commissions are being created to deal with industrial problems. The justification offered by their creators for these commissions is that 'experts' are needed to deal with the technical features of industrial questions.

"It is absurd, of course, that a legislature composed of lawyers and doctors and farmers and a few men drawn from the various trades and occupations should undertake to deal with the details entering into the regulation of railways or the manufacturing industries.

"In the management of the Post Office Department by Congress we have exemplified the unadaptibility of our political Government for the management of industry. The President has just ordered that 35,000 postmasters shall be placed under the classified service. It will operate to retain that many Republicans in office, though its effect will be to make merit rather than political service the qualification for appointment. The President's order has aroused a storm of protest from Democratic members of Congress. They promise to have the order revoked. The 'spoils' idea is still dominant in Congress. The very character of our political organisation is calculated to emphasise party service rather than industrial fitness.

"If the Post Office Department were managed by a commission, if Congress were to keep hands off, even to refraining from shipping its own junk at the expense of the Department, the efficiency of the Department would be vastly increased. Every step toward industrial government and away from political government necessarily must increase the efficiency of the industry or industries involved.

"The tendency away from purely political control in the regulation of industry by governmental agencies is more marked than many of us are aware. We doubt if few citizens knew until State expenditures were made an issue in the gubernatorial campaign, that there were over forty commissions in Wisconsin, each one of which is an acknowledgment of the inability of men, whose prime qualification is that they represent geographical divisions, to grapple effectively with the management, control or regulation of modern industry. Conceive of the intelligence that should provide for the election of the members of the Industrial Commission from counties or congressional districts! If they were to be elected, instead of appointed, how could we possibly hope to obtain, excepting by accident, a body of competent men under the existing system of representation? Yet if each industry were to be represented, it would not be difficult to elect a body of men eminently qualified to deal with industrial problems.

"The other day there appeared in the newspapers a brief interview with Dr. Charles McCarthy of the Wisconsin legislative reference bureau. He was credited with the statement that the lawyer is to become less and less a factor in government—that the future belongs to the man who is familiar with the organisation of industry and fitted to grapple with its problems. His interview gave a very faint idea of what he must have had in mind. We have an idea, however, that he was thinking along a line such as we have pursued in this article, though rejecting the *Leader's* conclusion. The doctor congratulates himself that regulation of industry, the creation of the nucleus of an industrial government, which is absolutely essential to an industrial democracy, such as Socialism pre-supposes, is calculated and designed to make Socialism impossible.

"So far as we are concerned, while we shall not cease to condemn regulation as an end in itself, instead of a means to an end, we yet recognise that the foundation is being laid for the superstructure that is to follow if our civilisation is not to perish. There can be no halting, unless there shall come with it retrogression. Every step forward, even though in its immediate fruits it is disappointing, is a step in advance.

"The Commissions which are being created to regulate industry fall far short of the Socialist ideal. The membership is rarely drawn from the industries regulated or controlled. They are not democratically organised. But they mark the beginning, the first step away from purely political government, and contain within them the germ of the coming industrial republic—the co-operative commonwealth of the Social-Democracy."

The Syndicalist looks to the workers themselves governing the various industries directly, and sees in the formation of the present industrial unions the germ of the Industrial Republic rather than, as Berger does, in the present Industrial Commissions appointed by the present State.

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Holding this view, it may be easily seen where he parts fundamentally from Berger. The Syndicalist derides the conception of capturing the present State by electing a Socialist majority, and thus indirectly controlling the appointment of Industrial Commissions. His vision of the future is that the industrial unions will grow strong enough through extensive federation to seize the various industries themselves without any reference to the present State.

Therefore, it is seen why Berger on the one hand wishes to capture the State and through it control industry, while the Syndicalist on the other hand wishes the industrial unions to capture and control industry directly. From their own different standpoints both views are logical.. It is a question of standpoint.

Spargo on Direct Action

THERE is a lot of nonsense being talked about Direct Action by people who ought to know better. I pick up the New York *Call* and find a column headed, "Spargo Aims a Blow at Syndicalism." It appears that John Spargo, who was at one time a Nonconformist clergyman in England and later on a very conformist Socialist of the old school in New York, is delivering a series of lectures in that city upon Syndicalism.

I don't find much about what Syndicalism is, or what it is not, in the report in the *Call*; but I do find that Spargo seemed to find a Syndicalist to be a remarkable composite of anarchist, murderer, bandit, black-hundred-pogromer, counterfeiter, and professional man, with no mixture of plain working man at all in him.

"Spargo said Marx's theories have been distorted and used as excuses by every alleged new theory that has sprung up. Even the Nihilists in Russia, said Spargo, defended the pogrom in 1880 by Marxian theory. They said that the people were beginning to awaken when they had taken action in the form of a pogrom.

"The idea of Bonnot, the Anarchist autobandit, who was recently shot outside of Paris, was that the only way to reach the master class is to do something that directly affects them. He believed in holding them up forcibly. The same idea prevails in the I.W.W., he continued, for they believe that the only way to accomplish the social revolution is to wrest the economic power from the capitalists.

"They, and the so-called direct actionists, declared Spargo, believe that this is the only way to hurt the capitalists. The speaker also told of a band of Anarchists who thought that if they counterfeited enough money the social revolution would immediately follow.

"The lecturer explained that the Syndicalists claim the Socialist movement is a Parliamentarian movement, and not one of the proletariat, and yet the Syndicalists are mostly professional men and women."

I wonder why Spargo did not include some anecdotes about White Slavers and the Arana brothers of the Peruvian rubber infamy, and say a little about Judas Iscariot to round up his category of the Syndicalists and such like. No doubt he would instance Cain's killing of Abel as the first example of direct action on record.

The next time that Spargo goes to Paris he ought to look in at the offices of the C.G.T. He would find on the rolls something like 700,000 names of working men, all Syndicalists, with not a single professional man among the lot.

However, Spargo does get one thing straight: "The Syndicalists believe the only way to accomplish the Social Revolution is to wrest the economic power from the capitalists." But what does Marxian Spargo himself believe? Probably he would substitute "vote" for "wrest." Voting and wresting are about the same thing if you spell wrest without the "w."

Direct action merely means that the workers shall through their own industrial organisations control industry; it has no more to do with dynamite and pogroms than it has to do with electing Spargo to Congress.

How Cannery Workers Live

Sioux Daily News

"All Canneries in the United States," Miss O'Reilly writes, "are not bad. Women and children are not slaves, and filth is not the rule in many American factories where fruit and vegetables are packed. But I found after an inquiry among Government and State officials that there are noisome canneries in the east, in the south, in a belt across the middle west, and on the Pacific Coast—noisome because of the slave-driving of women and children, and because of the filth with which they reek. Noisome conditions which amount to a national scandal.

"I chose to study the canneries of New York because central and western New York is the metropolis of the canning industry of America—an industry which employs hundreds of thousands of people in a season and represents an investment of more than a hundred million dollars."

Many of the can factories in the smaller towns of New York State, says Miss O'Reilly, bring poor families from the large cities to work during the summer season. "They lure them not only by the promise of 'good wages,' but of 'free housing' and 'country air.'"

"As for the 'free housing' and presumably wholesome 'country air,' let me tell you of some of the places where I lived and worked as 'Mamie Riley'—particularly one little town, which, like scores of cannery towns the country over, has for years ignored the factory cantonment on its outskirts.

"I found the big cannery standing beside the railroad, on the edge of the town. Between the factory and track an open drain polluted the air. Fifty feet away stood a cement shed with an overpowering pigsty odour. Hearing voices within, I called, and from the shed emerged six children, wan, timid, well-mannered little ones, whose mothers were at work.

"The reeking place, divided by rough boards, was the 'home' of three families. There was one rusty stove, three rude tables, and some foul mattresses laid upon tressels. Bed clothing there was none, nor any seats. The place was strangling as a sewer, and swarming with flies.

"There was no water provided, nor any sanitary arrangements. It was 'free housing' such as a dairyman would refuse for his cows.

"Across the unspeakable ditch, beyond the track, were ranges of rude huts and a long, low shack. The stench of crowd poison drifted from them. In the shack were housed about 20 Polish families, each occupying a single small room, poorly lighted and ventilated, almost devoid of furniture. A little distance away 16 Italian families were housed in quarters similarly crowded and unsanitary.

"Twenty-five feet from the shacks a woman kept pigs, chickens, and 'other animals' locked in the dark of a vile-smelling shed. Within 50ft. two earth closets, overflowing with foulness, loaded the air with pollution. And between the two, dirty, demoralised, and screaming their excitement, nine children, from three to ten years old, made a game of drowning five terror-stricken kittens that staggered about."

As to hours, it is pointed out that one woman, a capper, "went to work at 7 a.m., carrying her three meals. For nearly a month she never came home until 8 o'clock in the evening, often not until 2 a.m. In one week she worked 119⅞ hours, over 17 hours a day for seven days, while two other women worked 115 hours. Their mates at the machines gave up, utterly worn out, but the can-droppers who kept them supplied bore up to the bitter end."

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Is Haywood a Traitor?

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD has scandalised the Socialist Party of America by declaring that he would rather be tried by a Democratic judge than by a Socialist. I don't know exactly the reason of this outburst of frankness, but can quite easily understand certain circumstances which might have caused it.

A Socialist often judges another Socialist not so much by the evidence appertaining to the particular offence in question, but rather by the effect that the accused's conduct may have upon the Socialist vote. The question of guilt is a minor point with him. When the MacNamara brothers were on trial the evidence developed was most convincing as to their guilt, but it took a confession to convince the average Socialist that they were guilty, and even this has not convinced some.

No doubt a Democratic judge is swayed by party feeling, and so is a Republican judge, but it certainly is not true that, speaking generally, a Democratic culprit feels his treatment will be any more generous on account of the judge being a Democrat.

The old patriotic phrase, "My country, right or wrong," has been paraphrased by too many Socialists to mean "My Socialist Party, right or wrong." Where the bourgeois code of morals as to telling the truth and other conventionalities holds good with the bourgeoisie many Socialists, having parted with the conventional morality and not having taken on their new Socialist morality, are in consequence immoral both from the bourgeois point as well as from the Socialist point.

There is no use of washing dirty Socialist linen, but I think there are few Socialists who cannot remember experiences wherein they were astonished to find that a brother Socialist seemed to have less sense of honour than a mere ordinary man. This is but to be expected with men in a transition state between two codes of morality; the only wonder is that there are not more examples of it.

While unquestionably there are no set of people with a higher regard of duty to humanity than Socialists, and no people who are generally so genuine in their trust and friendship for each other, yet on the other hand there can be no question that among the Socialists there are many, and of a prominent position too, who will stoop to the most petty and contemptible methods in their warfare on each other. They do so because, as said, they not only have parted with their former code of morality, but they know that even if they are proven to have stooped to dirty tactics the membership of the Party as a whole will not seriously condemn them if their stooping seems to have been done to advance party interests.

Hence there are perfectly sound philosophical reasons for Haywood not to look for exact justice from a Socialist judge. It depends upon the case.

However, it does seem to me that Haywood has unnecessarily put himself into an illogical position as a member of the Socialist Party in his condemnation of political action.

The Socialist Party is largely made up of people who want Socialism, and who want it now; or, anyway, just as soon as they can get it, and without reference or deference to the breaking of law or order. True, as a whole, they are not contemplating breaking the law, but that is merely because breaking the law does not seem for the moment to expedite the getting of Socialism, and especially not the getting of votes. It is merely a matter of expediency, and not morals, which deters them from breaking laws. They fondly think the American people are going to have the wealth of the United States handed over to them by Mr. Morgan just as soon as they wake up and ask him for it by a majority vote, and they say so in their platform. Haywood doesn't believe this fairy tale, and he is saying so in his usual forcible language.

The result is that the American Socialist Press is full of letters from the four-spots calling Haywood a traitor, and demanding his expulsion from the Party. Logically and technically they are right, but practically, as the leaders of the Party well know, they are all wrong.

Haywood is really to-day a bigger man than the platform of the Socialist Party, and if he were kicked out of the Party it would mean an immediate split with Berger, Hunter, Spargo, Hillquit, and the rest of the Opportunists in one camp, with Haywood, Ettor, and Giovanitti in another at the head of the Revolutionists.

The next step in evolution would be the merger of the Berger wing with the Roosevelt-La Follette-Woodrow Wilson Radicals and the end of any further pretence to revolutionary political action in the United States. Probably this is what will happen anyway, and maybe the four-spots are right in demanding Haywood's expulsion and the issue brought to an immediate crisis. Sooner or later there is sure to be a division of goats and sheep; and, after all, there is not much use of continuing to try to do the impossible of inter-breeding different species.

The Case of Engine-Driver Knox

WHEN engine-driver Knox, of the North-Eastern Railway, was unjustly convicted of drunkenness by a stupid police judge, we had a fine example of the efficacy of Direct Action.

The men on the railway did not send a delegation on bended knees to Parliament to beg for redress. Not at all. They did not even communicate with a single Labour M.P. They simply went out on strike and declared they would tie up the railway until the Knox case was looked into. Result, the Cabinet held up the business of the Empire and appointed a Special Commissioner to overhaul the court record of the Knox case and re-examine the witnesses whose testimony had led to conviction. The Commissioner found that the verdict was obtained by perjury. Knox was immediately granted a Royal Pardon and reinstated in his old position.

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Hyndman's "Further Reminiscences"

HYNDMAN is a strange mixture of aristocrat and democrat. As he is a democrat he thinks the democratic management of industry is desirable, as he is an autocrat he would resort to autocracy to bring it about; always, however, posing himself as the god in charge of all proceedings.

The youthful aim of every ambitious Englishman of the upper classes is to become Prime Minister, to be the man in whom the destinies of the Empire rest. A political career ending as Premier is far more of an obsession with Englishmen than is the Presidential obsession with Americans, for the very good reason that the English form of government gives a reasonable hope for the steady progress to the Premiership to a man gifted, as is Hyndman, with unusual political parts. On the other hand, the general rule in America is for the Presidential lightning to strike a man unawares. In the last fifty years there has hardly been a single President of the United States thought of in connection with the office six months before his nomination. In fact, a candidate is usually nominated more on account of his being an obscurity with no record to be assailed. The American machine politicians pick out the Presidential timber, whereas in England the Prime Minister picks himself out.

Now, Hyndman admittedly has many of the qualities that go to build up a great Prime Minister. Among the Socialists he has no rival, and knowing this himself it is nothing to his discredit that he has instinctively laid out his life to conform. I do not mean that he became a Socialist with this end in view, far from it; he could not help becoming one owing to the honesty of his intellectual convictions; but, having become a Socialist, the picture of himself as being in supreme command of the political destinies of England became clearer to him. He had more reason to wish to become Premier, and he had a programme that, logically it seemed, should have landed him there provided the electorate were capable of following the light of political reason.

However, unfortunately for him, the electorate follows its instinct and not its reason; and, therefore, it does not, and never will, vote for Hyndman.

It has taken me, and many other Socialists, many years to see this, and switch from our advocacy of political action, which is based on reason, to the advocacy of economic action, which is based on instinct. I must add, that behind the instinct there is the sub-conscious reason, which is really sounder than that of the conscious.

However, it is obvious that for Hyndman, with his vision, probably a sub-conscious vision, of the Premiership, there is little or no chance of his switching with us lesser men who must be of necessity ambitionless in that direction. Syndicalism offers no career for leaders.

Hyndman says in his book, "The House of Commons is the best platform in the world . . . it provides such a sounding-board that every utterance . . . reaches far. . . . Therefore, it is in the highest degree desirable that any cause which aspires to make its way should have its representatives on the floor of the popular assembly." Now, it is perfectly true that a good speaker in the House can make his voice go further with the general public than if not, but the question is whether even so it does very much good. It has long been notorious that a Demosthenes could not change a single vote in the House itself, no matter how great an oration he may deliver; and it is now becoming equally notorious that he would be just about as ineffective out of the House. However, once this be admitted, the Hyndman idea that speeches of a Socialist M.P. have any superior propaganda value falls to the ground, and with the fall of this theory falls the whole theory of *revolutionary* political propaganda.

Election to Parliament at present has a value to Socialism merely to the extent the Socialist member can trade off his vote with Radicals to secure opportunist legislation, and what value this is has been shown by the record of the Labour Party M.P.'s.

The fact that political action is becoming recognised as of little or no good for either revolutionary propaganda or opportunist legislation has had the result of now throwing into equal discredit both Revolutionist Hyndman and Opportunist Ramsay MacDonald.

The explanation why Hyndman cannot move with the spirit of the times toward Syndicalism is because of the very fact that he is such a good speaker and debater, and is generally so peculiarly fitted to shine in Parliament. His very qualities cloud his future, although they have glorified his past.

Hyndman has been a candidate for Parliament for Burnley, a typical cotton-mill town, for over twenty years. Once he very nearly got in, but for the last few elections he has been steadily losing ground, and now apparently he has absolutely no chance. In fact, it is doubtful if he will ever again make the contest. When I say that Hyndman at Burnley at the last election was the only straight-out revolutionary candidate that had any chance at all, and that with him out of the next fight there is not another man nor another constituency where a revolutionary has a ghost of a chance of success, one can judge in what a parlous state I consider the revolutionary political movement in Great Britain to be.

It is quite the fashion to say that the autocratic manner of Hyndman is the cause of the failure of the revolutionary political movement.

I take no stock of this, although, admittedly, Hyndman's ways might conceivably be more winsome. The failure of the political revolutionary movement in England has no more to do with any faults of Hyndman than the failure of the opportunist political movement has to do with the smug puritanism of Ramsay MacDonald. However, MacDonald is quite as sure that Hyndman has killed his own movement as Hyndman is sure that MacDonald has killed both his own movement and Hyndman's as well.

The difference is, that while Ramsay MacDonald may rise to life again and live in the Heaven of a Liberal-Socialist Cabinet, Hyndman seems cast into the shade of a hopelessly lost cause. His only chance for salvation as a revolutionist was to join in the rising army of the Syndicalists, but by my analysis his political accomplishments prevent this evolution.

He and I have been, and are yet, old and close friends of over twenty years' standing, and I must here confess that I feel rather lonesome now that my own departure into Syndicalism has rendered difficult

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the continuance of our former sympathetic attitude as to Socialism and the Socialists. True, we still meet on mutual ground in our objurgation of the Parliamentary opportunists like Berger, Ramsay MacDonald, Jaurès and Bernstein, but I fear that as time passes Hyndman is more likely to throw in his lot with these, his ancient enemies, rather than with the Syndicalist. He cannot remain where he is, it must be either forward or back. His instinct is forward, but his reason tells him that with all his gifts for Parliamentary life he should cling to the Parliamentarians.

In his new book Hyndman deals gently enough with me considering the shock of my desertion from his standard. He rather generously says:—

"Wilshire did really wonderful work (1888 to 1901) in California with his *Challenge* and his candidatures, and the results are seen to-day in the extraordinarily heavy mayoralty vote in Los Angeles for Harriman in the recent election. . . . . While districts in California where Wilshire and his friends had taken up an apparently impossible task twenty years ago and sown the seed blossomed out in a most encouraging harvest. At Berkeley [Hyndman has it Beverly] a University town with an exceptionably well-to-do population, Socialism swept the decks. It was in this period of the early nineties, also, that Wilshire, foreseeing the futility of attempting to limit the gigantic monopolies which were growing up inevitably and, from an economic point of view, advantageously, out of unrestricted competition and the development of capital in its higher stages, raised the cry for the first time, 'Let the Nation Own the Trusts!' It was a plain, simple proposal, which became the easier to comprehend and to take up the more closely it was looked into. Of course, it was derided when originally formulated; but there is probably no single phrase which has had so great a share in stirring up Americans to the appreciation of collectivism and Socialism as this 'Let the Nation Own the Trusts.' Let the educated democrats of the United States use their power in their own interest; let them absorb the absorbers, and organise the organisers for the mass of the people instead of against them. It is to Wilshire's credit that he saw the truth about the Trusts, not only theoretically but practically, long before the others; and that, first in the West and then in the East, he never wearied of pushing his demand, 'Let the Nation Own the Trusts,' on the platform and in the Press. His comments, too, for many years on the every-day business of life, in the *Challenge* and afterwards in WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE, from the point of view of the ordinary business man, were very useful as written by a Socialist. More of this sort of plain, convincing criticism ought to be forthcoming; and by this and his debates, such as that with Professor Seligman, he did admirable service. I take pleasure in recalling these facts now, when much of his work is obscured by his own fault and he has abandoned Socialism for a hopeless farrago of incompatabilities, which he declares to be 'Syndicalism'—whatever that may mean. . . . . He has 'gone Syndicalist,' equivalent to 'going Fanti.'. . . ."

Hyndman closes by declaring that my aberrations into Syndicalism are due to my being in a "hopeless stage of deglutition," something like the late Joseph Pulitzer (not Pullitzer, as H. has it) was supposed to have been in. It may interest Hyndman to know that my taking up with Socialism rather synchronised with the beginnings of a recalcitrant liver, and that my aberration into Syndicalism coincided with its return to the normal. It is now up to him to originate another theory than being a "dyspeptic" to explain my divergence from the Parliamentarian path.

However, no matter whether it is a disordered liver or a disordered brain that accounts for me and Shaw, and other Socialists, swinging toward Syndicalism, it is a fact, and that is the main thing. The following remarks on Hyndman and his book by the Socialist editor of the *New Witness*, Cecil Chesterton—a brother of G. K.—are of interest in this connection:—

ULTIMUS ROMANORUM.

"A continuation of Mr. Hyndman's reminiscences could in no case fail to be welcome. Few men have so good a story to tell: few can tell it so well and vividly. Above all, few indeed in these miserable times are the figures that can compare in impressiveness and fascination with the veteran of old and all but forgotten battles of democracy, whose sword arm is still steady, and whose courage is still unbroken. If the Socialist movement should be wrecked utterly and for ever, and men should come to look upon it as one vast error and illusion, if Mr. Hyndman's memory remains it will be a permanent witness to how noble an error it was and how fine a type of character it could attract and mould. And that is what makes the appearance of a new volume from his pen, dealing mainly with his connection with the Socialist movement, so particularly interesting at this moment.

"For, honestly, Socialism seems to me at the moment not so much a thing defeated as a thing vanished, wiped out like the host of Sennacherib. Really, I sometimes think that if Mr. Hyndman were to die (which God avert!) Socialism—the old, lucid, definable, arguable, politico-economic theory for which I and others have so often written and spoken—would die with him. I am not talking only of Labour Members, who have sold it for a 'cause,' or of Fabians who have been seduced from it by the superior attractions (quite unquestionable from the point of view of efficiency) of Chattel Slavery. The change is quite as noticeable on the revolutionary side. I have reason to know, for I myself have so changed; but I swear that I have not changed alone. Is Tom Mann still a Socialist? Is Victor Grayson? Is Ben Tillett? Is George Lansbury? I do not venture to say that they are not; but listen to their speeches and note how often they refer to the old sovereign remedy—"the socialisation of all the means of production, distribution and exchange." Is Bernard Shaw still a Socialist? Perhaps: or at any rate he may be some sort of Communist. Am I myself—to compare small things with great—still a Socialist? Well, I am still a Revolutionist. I feel as strongly as ever that the present social system is detestable and intolerable. I hold as strongly as ever that the iniquitous distribution of wealth would fully justify to-day confiscation and civil war. But am I now prepared—for that after all is the crux of the matter—to entrust the control of all the means of production permanently and absolutely to the political officers of the State? I fear I could not assent without considerable qualification.

"This is not the place to inquire into the causes of this simultaneous yet apparently quite unconnected movement in a number of very different minds—a movement which has thrown half the Socialist army into Syndicalism and the other half into servility. For I am writing of Mr. Hyndman; and on Mr. Hyndman's granite convictions the waves have beaten in vain. He has diverged neither to the right nor to the left, but marched straight onwards. He is as deaf to the seductions of Syndicalism as he was to those of Fabianism and Labourism. It is now some thirty years since Marx convinced him that his economic doctrine was the only sound foundation of a free society. On that doctrine he has stood ever since, and still stands. Such steadiness of belief is ever a tower of strength to a man. If any fool thinks it 'advanced' to sneer at it, let us leave him to his folly. For myself at least I will only say this—that I feel towards Mr. Hyndman as one might imagine a Catholic who had involuntarily lost the Faith feeling towards one who had kept it. I envy him the splendid certitudes of which I can no longer be certain.

"In one of the most amusing passages in this book he tells us of his 'silent horror' in watching Mr. Shaw 'supply his waste of tissue by eating only the white of fried eggs.' There is nothing 'albuminous' about Mr. Hyndman. He is simply a man who from very strong personal conviction and at very great personal sacrifice joined a certain movement and stuck to it through thick and thin; and it is this that gives to his impressions of that movement so special an interest.

"On the subject of his fellow Socialists and the men he came in contact with in the course of his work for Socialism, Mr. Hyndman has many interesting things to say. Of Mr. Shaw he says some true and acute things; but on the whole I think it must be owned that it would be impossible for either of these

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two admirable and delightful men to be fair to the other; and though Mr. Hyndman is obviously trying to be strictly just I do not think he quite succeeds—any more than Mr. Shaw would succeed were the cases reversed. The best thing he says about Mr. Shaw is that he would be a better dramatist if he ate meat and drank wine. I have always held and avowed that view; but I think Mr. Hyndman's exposition of it is too materialistic. He treats it as a question of nourishment, and it is not really that at all. For all I know the white of fried eggs is quite capable of sustaining life and even physical efficiency. But it is not fit food for a man any more than cocoa is fit drink. And the man who so eats and drinks cuts himself off from common humanity—and, therefore, to an extent, from drama. If Shakespeare had lived on cocoa and albumen he would never have met Falstaff, much less known how to paint him.

"For the rest, the record set out in this book is the record of a very strenuous life devoted wholly to the cause of justice and popular right as the man who so chose to devote it conceived them. On such a life any man may well look back and say with Bunyan's pilgrim, 'Yet do I not repent me.' And this may be said without any reference to the secondary question of whether the form in which he conceived the restoration of justice to the poor will prove the ultimate one which the poor themselves will adopt.

"On the last question, as I have hinted, I now have doubts. I will not labour them here, but I will rather quote a little story which Mr. Hyndman himself tells of an attempt made by Mrs. Hyndman to convert an agricultural labourer of Sussex. Mrs. Hyndman began by pointing out the wretchedness of his present situation and the injustice with which he was treated—to all of which he appears to have assented with readiness, if with some taciturnity. She then explained to him the Socialist remedy, how by common ownership of the land and all that would go with it he would be able to reach a position of freedom and security. I give the conclusion in Mr. Hyndman's own words: 'When my wife had quite finished—and it took a long time to put all this after a fashion to be understood by the Sussex mind—he took his clay pipe slowly out of his mouth, and spat and spoke. "Thank you, marm. You thinks so! I thinks otherwise."'

"I do not regard this, as Mr. Hyndman seems to do, as an example of proletarian ignorance and apathy. On the contrary, I am disposed to believe that that rustic could help me a lot if he would only speak. But I fear he would never condescend to be my instructor."

I think Cecil Chesterton hits the nail in calling attention to Hyndman's tale of the Sussex rustic. It is so typical in showing the difference between the New School of Socialism and the old. The Hyndman theory is that to have Socialism you must have a political majority made up of Sussex rustics together with the town proletariat. He thinks you can finally educate such rustics by pamphlets and speeches to vote for Socialism. It seems to me that his anecdote in itself is a good demonstration of the futility of mere preaching. By the Hyndman theory, if you cannot convert the rustics you cannot get your voting majority, and therefore you cannot get Socialism. Is it a wonder the political Socialists feel they have a hard and almost interminable task set out before them?

The Syndicalist would say that you can never get your rustics by palavering; no, not in a century. Your method is to educate him by organising him into an agricultural workers' union, but if you can't organise him you need not give up hope for Socialism, for you will get along well enough without his help anyway, particularly as you are sure he can't help the other fellows. He can neither help nor oppose anyone unless he is organised, and if he is organised he is sure to stand by the people who organised him, the Syndicalists. However, inasmuch as Syndicalists do not look for the intellectual conversion of the majority to Socialism, but insist that a conscious minority of the workers in the vital industries can control society, they do not feel bound to wait until rustics cease to "think otherwise."

I feel it is rather ungracious of me to devote so much space to a controversial issue between us when I give a review of my friend Hyndman's book. It is indeed a most interesting book and well-told tale of a great man, even though it is not "sound" upon the subject of Syndicalism.

Hyndman is, indeed, as Chesterton labels him, the "Last of the Romans." He is the Marxian Rock who serves to let us, his weaker brethren, reckon how fast we are all drifting away from the old moorings.

Possibly one great difference between the older Socialism and the newer kind is called to mind by Hyndman's talk about the work done by his Social-Democratic Federation—I say "his," although I myself was a member for over twenty years—in relation to organising meetings of the unemployed. Where in the old days, twenty years ago, Tom Mann as a Socialist organised the unemployed, to-day as a *Syndicalist* he organises the employed and leaves the unemployed to Hyndman.

And after all, what can the unemployed do by demonstrating? They can by exhibiting their weakness excite pity and thus get charity, or they may by exhibiting their strength terrify the community and get doles.

Now, no doubt, anything that tends to alleviate human suffering is commendable, but getting doles is not revolutionary; and as for frightening the community by massing unemployed, unorganised, unarmed men, it is absurd. The day of the mob has passed.

Therefore, an unemployed demonstration is in no way a revolutionary proceeding. On the other hand, admittedly the employed workers will have supreme power over society the day they are organised; the only limit to their power is the perfection of their organisation. This realisation of the immensely superior importance of organising the employed over organising the unemployed is one item that serves to differentiate the Syndicalist from the Socialist.

On page 260 Hyndman says that "the educated middle class in England is better prepared to accept Socialism than is the working class." But he thinks that "economic development" will finally educate the workers and render them capable of handling the social revolution. Apparently, Hyndman thinks the mere material development of industrial machinery, such as we witness in Pittsburg under the Steel Trust, will alone be enough to educate the workers. The Syndicalist, on the contrary, would say that it will be the organisation of the workers in their revolutionary unions and the training they receive therein that will educate them, and not the mere being of cogs in a great capitalist industrial machine; no, not even if in addition they may also read the Socialist Press and "Further Reminiscences." Industrial unionism and strikes are to the workers what water is to the boy who would learn to swim. One can't learn the art of revolution except by strike practice, any more than one can learn how to swim by reading a manual.

Hyndman himself practically admits this when he says that "strikes are but the least valuable weapon at the disposal of the workers, yet they have produced some remarkable men." It is just this very point, the "production of remarkable men," that Syndicalists harp upon. It is the bye-product of the strike, the education and intellectual development of the strikers, that is the real value of the strike, not the increase of wages which may be gained. The bye-product occurs whether the strike is won or lost.

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Debs, Haywood, Ettor, Giovanitti, Tom Mann, Ben Tillett, and even the Right Hon. John Burns, are all bye-products of past strikes.

"Tom Mann is the boldest, most vehement, and most stirring agitator I have ever known," says Hyndman. "His dark black hair, his fiery eyes, his energetic face and figure, give Mann a distinctly foreign appearance. For life, go, humour, vigour, inexhaustible and unflagging energy, I have never met Tom Mann's equal. After spending the whole of the daytime in speaking, organising, persuading, denouncing, pervading the whole area of disturbance to an extent that make him appear ubiquitous, after a display of zeal and a manifestation of enthusiasm enough to have exhausted half-a-dozen good men, Tom turned up at tea or supper as gay and cheery and full of life as if he had done no work at all. For a good deal more than a quarter of a century Tom Mann has been carrying on this way, not only in England, but in Australia and elsewhere. And his knowledge and charm of manner are equal to his marvellous vitality. Moreover, of all the Labour leaders I have ever met, Tom Mann is the one man who, however successful he may be, puts on the least 'side.' After a speech which has aroused his audience to almost hysterical enthusiasm, down Tom will step from the platform and take names for the organisation or sell literature to all and sundry, as if he were the least considered person at the gathering. Even those who differ from him most widely cannot but respect him.

"At the time of writing Mann is, or believes himself to be, a Syndicalist, and is violently anti-political in his exhortations. More's the pity. But as to his personal influence even in this hopeless camp there is no doubt whatever."

Of course, it would never do for Hyndman to assent to Tom Mann's vitality of mind and body and then allow that his conversion to Syndicalism was not somehow or other an indication of some disorder. Wilshire is a Syndicalist because he thinks he has a liver, Shaw is a near-Syndicalist because he doesn't eat "corpses" and drink "black-jack." Tom Mann believes himself a Syndicalist because, as John Burns suggests (of all men, he to suggest to H. M. H.), he has a tidal-brain. I presume this means Tom is moon-struck since the tides move with the moon. We all remember how that eminent Pittsburg millionaire murderer, Harry Thaw, hired a lawyer to prove that he should be excused because forsooth he was subject to brain storms. It is now easy to understand, in the light of these modern theories of tides, storms, and fogs, why water on the brain is so dangerous.

Hyndman has now given us two volumes of Reminiscences that are unsurpassed in literary style and as a graphic picture of the Socialist movement in England. The price of the book is high, but there is no reason why anyone who does not feel disposed to buy them and has access to a public library should not see that the institution stocks them. Every Socialist should realise that his education is not complete until he has read them. There is no man who has had the experience in Socialism that Hyndman has had, and who is at the same time his equal in literary ability.

Although he will soon have passed his seventy-first birthday, he is still as vigorous as ever; indeed, if anything, more so. I am not sure that I would even match the indomitable Tom Mann against him. Tom's tidal-brain might take a notion to ebb just at the critical time.

May the "Further Reminiscences" have as many editions as the author has had years!

"Further Reminiscences." By H. M. Hyndman. (Macmillan.) 15s.

The Class Struggle in America

Daily Herald, London

ANYBODY seeking enlightenment on what is meant by the class struggle should study present-day conditions in the United States. There the class lines are more defined than in any other country, because industrial development is several stages more advanced. Amalgamation of capital has been carried to a much further extent, and this means that Labour in its struggle to free itself from degrading conditions of life and labour is up against what the Americans would themselves term a much tougher proposition. And the fiercer the fight between Capital and Labour the less polite argument there will be over conciliation round tables and the more violent weapons be resorted to.

The sentences just inflicted upon various trade union officials on the charge of being concerned in dynamiting certain buildings and structures because trade union labour was not employed must be counted as a victory for the capitalists. At this distance it is well-nigh impossible to form an opinion whether these men did the dynamiting jobs or not. The capitalist Press is no more to be trusted about this than about any other matter which concerns Labour. And everybody knows that the American police and courts of law are so corrupt that they certainly cannot be trusted.

Frankly, we are not so much concerned whether Ryan, the McNamaras and the rest of them did use dynamite as an argument. Even if they honestly believed that dynamite was a good argument, and were honestly trying to further the interests of organised Labour, of course, a capitalist law court, working a law made by capitalists to protect their property, must brand them as "criminals." But when the capitalist Press of the entire world weighs in about "justice" having been done, and preaches to the workers of the world about the wickedness of trade union officials, it is really underrating the discriminating intelligence of the working class. Two more colossal exhibitions of bathos and cant we have not seen for a long time as the Press preachments on the right of the working class to get drunk or to use dynamite as an argument.

It is not about the justice of using dynamite, but about the wisdom of it, that we disagree with the Structural Iron Workers of America, if it be that they have really and truly made use of dynamite. If they blew up all the property they could see to the horizon we should not worry about whether it was just or not, because we know that the capitalist's most vulnerable point is his precious property, but we should consider it none the less a stupid way of fighting, just as we think the killing of Kings or Prime Ministers or millionaires is not worth while. It is much wiser to give them the alternative of starving to death or doing honest work for a living.

When the Los Angeles "Times" office was blown up, twenty-three persons lost their lives. The owner of that paper, General Otis, has been one of the most unscrupulous opponents of trade unionism, and it would be impossible to calculate the number of deaths he has directly and indirectly been responsible for in leading the capitalists of the Pacific Coast against organised Labour. But we none the less regret the loss of twenty-three lives, because they were workpeople and not capitalists.

The judge did well to emphasise the fact in his summing-up speech last Saturday that "Trade unionism, as such, was not on trial." Notwithstanding the extraordinary character of the alleged outrages, the interest shown in the case has been far below what was taken in the Ettor-Giovanitti trial. The comparison is extremely instructive. Although Socialists and trade unionists everywhere in America sympathise with the convicted men, and rightly regard them as martyrs to Labour, there was no new principle involved, as when at Lawrence the Socialists faced the precedent of hounding down the leaders of a spontaneous and successful strike; nor was a blow struck at liberties hitherto guaranteed, as when the Syndicalist textile leaders were flung into gaol on a patently trumped-up charge of so serious a character as murder. Briefly put, Ettor and Giovanitti were fighting the battle of the future; Ryan and the McNamaras for ideas which belong to the past. The iron-workers are not much more class-conscious than were the trade union victims of the famous Sheffield dynamite trials. Most of them would have voted for Roosevelt for President if they voted at all; likewise they are for Gompers in the American Federation of Labour and against the Socialists.

Theirs has been a game fight just the same; they are pioneers, and had to fight the fight the way they found it.

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WILSHIRE'S

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Kautsky on the Present Position of German Socialism

KARL KAUTSKY admittedly holds both the premier place as the economist of the International Socialist movement and as the especial diagnostician of the condition of German Socialism. In recognition of this the *New Review*, a very excellent Socialist weekly review that appeared in New York for the first time last month, places him first on its list of contributors to its initial issue.

Kautsky, it may be added, is one of those still faithful to the old-time political-method-Socialism, and if he cannot say very much for it, then there is no one who can. He starts out by warning us that we must not expect anything to come now from the German Socialist movement merely because it polled 4,250,000 votes. Mere votes are nothing unless they elect an actual *majority* to the Reichstag. This is a little different from the popular theory of a big Socialist minority vote scaring the capitalists into passing Opportunist measures to prevent the minority becoming a majority. The German bourgeoisie do not seem to scare worth mentioning. We doubt if the English plutocracy would scare more. Kautsky writes:—

The election of 110 Social-Democratic deputies has altered nothing. The Government and the majority of the Reichstag are just as reactionary as before, social reform lags as it formerly did, and the rivalry in armaments goes merrily forward.

But those who expected that the elections could and would make any change in these respects were pinning their faith to unrealisable illusions. No bourgeois majority, no matter what its composition may be, will ever conduct an energetic struggle against the Government in behalf of a genuine Parliamentary régime, against militarism and for radical social reforms. Such a struggle can to-day be expected of a Social-Democratic majority only.

Since the beginning of the present century, Imperialism has taken possession of all bourgeois social strata in Germany. Radicals and followers of the Centre have begun to dream of colonial expansion and naval power, just like the National Liberals and Conservatives.

We have accomplished everything which, in the present situation, it is possible to accomplish by Parliamentary means.

Nowadays, it is impossible to make up a Reichstag, or any Parliament, *in any country*, in such a way as to make it capable of effecting great social and democratic reforms in the *absence of violent pressure from without*, unless the majority is composed of Socialists. The proletariat can no longer expect anything from any bourgeois party. A Parliament to-day can of itself create anything great only if it has a Social-Democratic *majority*.

This Reichstag is powerless to accomplish anything great, as is every Parliament with a bourgeois majority in a country with developed capitalistic production.

The high cost of living continues to rise. Class antagonisms are becoming ever more acute, the mass of the population is becoming more and more embittered against existing conditions. And we are making gigantic strides toward the time when we shall have half of the votes cast, and shortly after that half of the seats in the Reichstag.

But, it is true, *the nearer we approach this condition of affairs, so much the nearer do we come to the last, the hardest and most violent struggles*, for just so much the more bitter will be the resistance of our opponents.

It will be seen Kautsky takes exactly the same position the Syndicalists take, namely, that until the Socialists get an actual *majority* they can do nothing at all, and that before we get this majority "we come to the hardest and most violent struggles." It will be noted he fails to say exactly what sort of a violent struggle it is going to be, and that he also fails to say how he expects us to meet it. It is also to be noted that Kautsky quite endorses Syndicalism at another point.

He says: "Nowadays, it is impossible to make up a Reichstag or a Parliament in any country capable of effecting great reforms, in the absence of pressure from without, unless the majority is of Socialists." Exactly so, and he might have added that the only possible "pressure from without" is to come from Revolutionary Unionism.

Kautsky, it seems to us, gives away the whole Parliamentary position in this article. He admits that until the Socialists get a majority no reforms are possible, except owing to "pressure from without," no matter how large the Socialist minority may be. He admits that prior to getting this necessary majority there is to be a "violent struggle," and yet he gives no inkling as to how the workers are to arm themselves for such a struggle. Syndicalism will not only afford the "pressure from without," but also arm the workers with power for "violent struggles." Economic Solidarity is the Touchstone to Power.

The Vile U.S. Post Office

ANY newspaper or periodical, business, or man or woman, can be deprived of the "privilege" of the use of the mails, without a hearing of their own defence, on secret charges made by enemies to secret spies, and without the right of a hearing in any American court. Do you think this a right power to give *any* public servant or department of this Government?

Have you any idea that it will be used solely for the protection and good of the people? Those who have dared to publicly protest have brought on themselves the full malice and assault of such powers. Seldom have they escaped with their property, health or even their lives.

To dare to protest against these conditions, and the certain rapid loss of all true liberty and personal freedom, is to as certainly set in quick motion the powerful agencies of suppression, ruin and silence, vested in the hands of federal bureaux through a vast national spy system, secret indictment by federal grand juries at the behest of federal officials, followed by certain ruin, the confiscation of all property and resources, federal receiverships, fraud orders, the deprivation of the second-class privilege, and if possible to drive the protestor to suicide. The citizen who incurs the malice of a petty public servant in federal employ has, as has been aptly stated, "about as much chance as a tallow-legged rabbit chased through hell by an asbestos dog."—E. G. Lewis, in *Woman's National Weekly*, St. Louis.

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The Social Significance of Arturo Giovannitti

Leonard D. Abbott, in *Current Opinion*, New York

OF all the men in this country thrown up into public view by the seething, bubbling social discontent of the twentieth century, none is more interesting than Arturo Giovannitti, the young Italian who, with Joseph Ettor, was acquitted a few weeks ago of murder in connection with the Lawrence strikes. He is not the usual type of Labour agitator. The usual type is not a very complex one. Given a rough experience in the school of hard knocks, a close acquaintance with the struggles of the poor to keep a little ahead of starvation, one fixed idea such as the Socialist implant with their gospel of the class war, a certain or uncertain amount of book-education and a considerable degree of dynamic power and natural courage, and the Labour leader is in most cases fairly well accounted for. But in Giovannitti there is something else. He has the soul of a great poet, the fervour of a prophet, and, added to these, the courage and power of initiative that mark the man of action and the organiser of great crusades.

He is but twenty-eight, and he has been in this country but twelve years. Near the close of his trial he made before the court the first speech he has ever made in the English language. It held all hearers spellbound. "In twenty years of reporting," said a veteran reporter afterwards, "I have never heard the equal of that speech." Slender, pale, trembling, his voice vibrant with emotion, his eyes welling with tears, "courteous always rather than assertive," he began as follows: "So solemn is this moment, so full with clashing emotions am I now, that I do not know whether I ever will conclude what I have to say." For twenty minutes he "spoke like one in the crisis of passion," and a long hush followed his conclusion, broken by the sobs of men as well as women. Some of the reporters were busier choking down their feelings than making copy, but they have given us an apparently literal report of the peroration:—

"I have a wife who loves me, a mother who loves me, an ideal that I love. Life is so wonderful. I feel the passion of living. It is sweet to live. I do not want to die, to go away as a martyr. Though life is dear to me, there is something holier and grander; that is my conscience and loyalty to my comrades and my cause. If you say that we shall live, I want to say that in the next strike that breaks out in the country where we are needed, there will Joe Ettor and myself go. We will go our humble way, soldiers in the mighty army of workers of the world. If it be that our hearts must be stilled in the same electric chair as wife murderers and homicides; if our hearts be that black, you think—then to-morrow we will pass into a greater judgment, into the presence of the Almighty, and history will give its last word to us."

Giovannitti was never accused of committing murder himself. It was held that he and Ettor uttered inflammatory speeches, the effect of which was a riot, in which an Italian woman was shot and killed. He steadily denied ever having favoured violence. All his speeches during the strike were in Italian, and but one sentence was testified to—by two private detectives, who said they had lost their notes—that seemed to counsel the use of physical force. This sentence Giovannitti positively denied having uttered, and the jury evidently believed him. But it is certain that he is one of the leaders of the most radical organisation—the Industrial Workers of the World—that has grown out of the Labour movement. His utterances ring with defiance of the whole "capitalist class," and if he fails to urge his followers to use force, it is probably because he considers the use of force to be as yet inexpedient.

Giovannitti is a social portent, all the more so because he is far removed from the criminal type. He has come to his present extreme views by way of the pulpit and the work of a Christian missionary. He was born in Campobasso, a city of thirty or forty thousand inhabitants in the province of Abruzzi, Italy. His father is a physician and a doctor of chemistry. One of his brothers is a physician and another a lawyer. The social standing of the family is good, and they remain loyal to the son who is in this country. Arturo himself received a fair degree of education in the public schools and lycées of that country. Before he was twenty he came to the new world, going first to Canada. For a time he wielded a pick in a coal mine in the Dominion, and it was there probably that the seeds of his resentment against the industrialism of to-day were planted. Our coal mines seem to have planted many such seeds. While he was studying the English language in Montreal, a Presbyterian minister there, in charge of an Italian mission, died, and Giovannitti was asked to take his place. For months he conducted the mission, and, evidently choosing the ministry as a career, he began to attend a Presbyterian theological school. In 1904, being then twenty years of age, he received a call to Brooklyn to take charge of a Presbyterian mission there. "I was not exactly a minister," he explains, "but a sort of missionary. I preached to the people on Sundays and taught them during the week." Still bent on entering the regular ministry, he entered the Union Theological Seminary and also registered at Columbia University. But the course of study of a theological school does not seem to have suited the tropical nature of this dreamer and poet. He stalled at the study of Hebrew. It was, he modestly observes, "a little too strong for my capacities." A call to conduct an Italian mission in Pittsburg coming to him, he gave up the seminary course, and for eight months carried on his mission labours in the Smoky City.

Three Protestant missions, therefore, were conducted by this man, now a leader in a movement which blazons to the world its banners bearing the legend:

"NO GOD, NO MASTER."

In Pittsburg he seems to have come, for the first time, into close contact with the Socialists, and to have espoused their cause. The authorities connected with his mission objected to his rapidly-growing activities in behalf of Socialism. As a consequence he severed his relations with the mission, and in 1911 returned to New York. This is probably the time when he began to drop God out of his programme. There were nights when he slept on a bench in City Hall Park. Then he got work as a bookkeeper, and later was employed on an Italian newspaper, *Il Proletario*, later becoming the editor. His room on West Twenty-Eight Street became a sort of centre of the "intellectuals" of various nationalities, who engaged in radical discussions of religion, art, literature and political economy. Here he met Ettor and others of the Industrial Workers. When the strike was called in the Lawrence mills he had become a full-fledged radical, and was summoned there, his special task being to organise the work of relief for the strikers' families. He declares that the disorder there would never have occurred if the city authorities had not lost their heads completely. "Eight or nine good Irish 'cops' from New York," he says, "would have handled the situation without calling any militia." Journals like the Boston *Transcript*, the Springfield *Republican* and the New York *Journal of Commerce* take much the same view. Says the last-named paper concerning the subsequent trial of the Labour leaders: "In any riot in which weapons are used, either by the rioters or by those trying to suppress the mob, somebody is liable to be killed; but there was no reason to believe that killing was a deliberate purpose of the leaders, much less that they could be held directly responsible for the accidental shooting of a woman who was among the rioters as an act of murder. Their conviction under the circumstances would have been rank injustice."

The whole course of the authorities in the Lawrence strike is generally condemned in influential papers. The New York *World* seems to voice the general opinion in the following words:—

"Woollen Trust sovereignty in Lawrence committed many outrages and follies during the strike. It needlessly called out the militia. It asked the State's Attorney for a ruling, which he refused, that a speech in Lowell was an interference with military operations in Lawrence. It broke its promise of clemency to men in custody when the strike stopped. It arrested children for preparing to leave town with their parents' consent. Possibly without its knowledge, but in its behalf, dynamite was planted. Of such stupidity was born the arrest of the three men who were yesterday acquitted. Against Ettor and Giovannitti there was no evidence whatever. Their connection with the crime charged was scarcely a question of fact so much as it was a strained interpretation of the law. They had counselled order. They were far away when Anna Lopizzo was killed."

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A careful review of the trial is made in *The Survey* (organ until a few days ago of the Russell Sage Foundation) by James P. Heaton. He says that the belief that the charge of murder was "a trumped-up charge," brought as a piece of anti-strike tactics to get Ettor and Giovannitti out of the way, "has been shared by attorney, newspaper-men, ministers and students of public affairs who have followed the proceedings." That the conduct of the trial and its result was a vindication of the probity and judicial acumen of the court was attested by Ettor himself at the conclusion. Even radical papers in Italy, where Giovannitti in the meantime, while in gaol, had been nominated as a member of the Chamber of Deputies, expressed admiration for the court that conducted the case.

For ten months the two men were lodged in gaol, and for a little less than two months the trial was in progress. Thus, says the New York *Call*, a year of their lives was stolen from them and wasted. No statement could be farther from the mark—so far, at least, as Giovannitti is concerned. We do not refer now to what seems to be the fact, that the attorneys for the two men were themselves responsible for the long delay in the trial; but we refer to the more important fact that this gaol experience of Giovannitti's has given to the world one of the greatest poems (perhaps more than one) ever produced in the English language. It challenges comparison with the "Ballad of Reading Gaol," by Wilde, and is fully as vital and soul-stirring as anything Walt Whitman ever produced. "The Walker" is its title, and we gave extracts from it in our November number. It was published in full in the *International Socialist Review*, and the Springfield *Republican* recently reprinted it in part, giving two and a-half columns to it. It is published in book-form. One of these other poems, entitled "The Cage," not yet published, is thought by Giovannitti's friends to surpass "The Walker." He produced at least five prison poems, some of them in rhyme and rhythm, which show many technical defects, some in Whitmanesque style. One of them, on Rodin's statue of The Thinker, has the following stanza, showing how far the author has drifted from former theological moorings :—

Beyond your flesh and mind and blood,
Nothing there is to live or do.
There is no man, there is no God,
There is not anything but you.

"The Walker" is more than a poem. It is a great human document. It begins as follows :—

I hear footsteps over my head all night.
They come and they go. Again they come and again they go all night.
They come one eternity in four paces and they go one eternity in four paces, and between the coming and the going there is Silence and the Night and the Infinite.
For infinite are the nine feet of a prison cell, and endless is the march of him who walks between the yellow brick wall and the red iron gate, thinking things that cannot be chained and cannot be locked, but that wander far away in the sunlit world in their wild pilgrimage after destined goals.
Throughout the restless night I hear the footsteps over my head.
Who walks? I do not know. It is the phantom of the gaol, the sleepless brain, a man, the man, THE WALKER.

Here is another extract equally graphic and poignant :—

Wonderful is the holy wisdom of the gaol that makes all think the same thought. Marvellous is the providence of the law that equalises all even in mind and sentiment. Fallen is the last barrier of privilege, the aristocracy of the intellect. The democracy of reason has levelled all the two hundred minds to the common surface of the same thought.
I, who have never killed, think like the murderer ;
I, who have never stolen, reason like the thief;
I think, reason, wish, hope, doubt, wait like the hired assassin, the embezzler, the forger, the counterfeiter, the incestuous, the raper, the prostitute, the pimp, the drunkard—I—I who used to think of love and life and the flowers and song and beauty and the ideal.
A little key, a little key as little as my little finger, a little key of shiny brass.
All my ideas, my thoughts, my dreams are congealed in a little key of shiny brass.
All my brains, all my soul, all the suddenly surging latent powers of my life are in the pocket of a white-haired man dressed in blue.
He is powerful, great, formidable, the man with the white hair, for he has in his pocket the mighty talisman which makes one man cry and one man pray, and one laugh, and one walk, and all keep awake and think the same maddening thought.

This is the sort of thing that Giovannitti's year in gaol has produced. It was cheap at the price. Both Giovannitti and Ettor spent their time while in confinement in study, the gaoler giving them access to a well-stocked library. Giovannitti began with Taine's "English Literature." Then he took up a popular work on the history of literature in general, in four volumes. Then he began on an annotated edition of Shakespeare, who speedily became his favourite author. He dipped deeply into Carlyle and Balzac, Shelley and Byron, the rebellious note of the two poets being especially admired. Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" was another work read.

Such is the man we have called a social portent. For it is surely an ominous thing that a young man of good family, well educated, markedly religious by nature, coming to this land in search of freedom and opportunity, actively associated with the Church in its missionary work among the poor, should in a few years be transformed by his experiences into an extreme revolutionary, bitter against authority of all kinds, flouting the Constitution and denying God. If there is such a thing as a social portent, Arturo Giovannitti is one.

Parliamentary Priestcraft

George Lansbury, Ex-M.P.

The Link

PARLIAMENT has broken up for the shortest Christmas holiday of modern times, and we are told that worn-out, weary legislators, exhausted by their incessant toil, are now recuperating ready for a return to the tremendous struggle before the close of the year. This must sound very terrible to the supporters of the hon. and gallant members who believe that work in the House of Commons is hard; as a matter of fact, take out 100 men from the place, and all those who really count would be gone, for the major part of its membership consists of men who simply say ditto, and register the decrees of the tiny minority in each party who dictate policy. Organisation and discipline have reached such a point that the great bulk of the members of Parliament might just as well stay at home and send on their votes; in fact, I marvel why they are ever needed to vote except to keep up the sham and make-believe of democracy, for this is as true of the Labour Party as any other. They meet every Thursday, and solemnly proceed to discuss, but the whole business of Parliament for a week is *discussed* and *settled* in less than two hours, the reason being that in almost every case questions are left to the officers, or the officers recommend a policy which in nearly every case is accepted, as once a man is an officer he is always looked upon as a more important person than any other. It is, of course, the same with any elected person. I can feel that to heaps of my friends I am a different person now I am not an M.P. It is this kind of superstition which is the ruin of modern representative arrangements, and unless we can break it down we can't hope for a democratic State, as we poor mortals will always pose as being at least as wise as people imagine we are. It is really priestcraft over again.

American Press Censorship

The Public, Chicago

Official and judicial censorship of the Press seemed well enough to good people of the smug variety when *The Public* and a few other publications were denouncing official interferences with it. It was applied in some of the most dangerous and drastic forms in the postal service under President Roosevelt's administration, as well as by municipal authorities under police power, and by courts on pretence of punishing contempts. Those instances of autocracy are bearing their natural fruit now. In Idaho a daily newspaper has suppressed a speech by Mr. Roosevelt in fear of the Supreme Court of the State which was punishing its managers for contempt for having said editorially what this suppressed speech said. There are few things more dangerous to liberty than ignoring the first assaults upon it. To muzzle a Goldman or a Harman when they would advocate unpopular doctrines is to lay the foundations for censorship of a Roosevelt when he utters opinions that are popular. To throttle the liberties of speech and press of even the least or the worst among us is to threaten those liberties for even the biggest or the best.

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Syndicalism "Popular for the Moment"

IT'S rather amusing to see Harry Quelch, the editor of *Justice*, on the horns of the dilemma of either admitting that Syndicalism exists and is becoming all-powerful in England or declaring that it does not exist at all. Some time ago he usually said both things in the same article, but now he usually admits that it really exists and is growing, although he is sure that is purely ephemeral.

Here is an extract from an article by him in *Justice* of January 11:—

"How great has been our folly and error! And it has all been part of that dry, doctrinaire, formal Marxist dogmatism which has all along rendered us Social-Democrats such objectionable people to get on with, and which all our critics, from Victor Grayson and Russell Smart to G. R. S. Taylor; from Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald to George Simpson (plucked like a brand from the burning by Tom Mann, Guy Bowman and Wilshire!) now unite in condemning.

"Socialism is, therefore, to us still a religion—a scientific religion—to the dogmas of which we hold as firmly as we do to the scientific dogma that the earth revolves round the sun.

"And, just as in the latter case, in spite of the seductions of the flat earth theory, we hold to the dogma of the earth as a sphere, and swear by Copernicus, Galileo and Newton rather than by Joshua and the Prophet Koresh; so, in the former, in spite of the seductions of Syndicalism, or other forms of Group Co-operation, Co-partnership and Communist-Anarchism, or sentimental ideology, we still believe in Materialist Scientific Socialism—the social ownership of all production and of all wealth—and prefer Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Morris, Hyndman, Liebknecht, and Bebel as guides to the more versatile, if more recently inspired, Mann, Bowman and Wilshire!

"Social-Democracy *is still* the only hope of the workers; and the only way thereto is by the conquest of political power. If the workers prefer to waste still more time in exhausting the possibilities of error, so much the worse for them. We Social-Democrats cannot proclaim error to be the truth because for the moment it may be popular."

The point that Quelch always dodges hovers about his definition of such words as "conquest" of political power by that terrible "weapon" the vote. I am eternally asking him and his brethren of like faith: "What are you going to do if the enemy will not get out when you vote him out?" I never get an answer.

Take the present situation of the Democratic Party in Illinois. I quote from *The Public* of Chicago:—

A Dangerous Situation in Illinois.

Judge Dunne's election as Governor of Illinois will not be complete until the Legislature canvasses the election returns. The Legislature cannot canvass the election returns until it organises. It will not be organised until a majority of its Lower House members agree upon a Speaker. No party has a majority in the Lower House of the Illinois Legislature. Therefore, Judge Dunne can be kept out of the Governorship and Governor Deneen be continued in that office as long as political crooks, backed by Big Business crooks, are able to prevent a fusion strong enough to elect a Speaker. The reported plan of these crooks is to prevent any such fusion until Dunne bargains with them to their satisfaction. We greatly mistake Judge Dunne if he does not remain out of office as Governor to the end of his term, rather than bargain away his pledges to the people of Illinois.

Now, it must be remembered that the Democrats cast nearly 7,000,000 votes in the last election, and that they elected Wilson President. Yet when it comes to seating their duly-elected Governor of Illinois there are grave doubts as to whether the Republicans will not swindle them out of the fruits of their victory by a technicality. Certainly if the Democrats with all their votes and all their money, and with the Presidency in their hands, cannot seat the duly-elected Governor, then what chance is there for the Socialists with no money and no President at their back?

Of course, I can hardly believe that Judge Dunne will not somehow or other be seated; but, nevertheless, I think the situation has its lesson, and I certainly think that if Dunne were the Socialist candidate instead of the Democratic that he never would have a ghost of a chance of taking the gubernatorial chair of Illinois.

Wilshire may be "recently inspired," but he has not enough inspiration as yet to answer the question he puts to Quelch.

English Walling and His Reasoning

ENGLISH WALLING was one of the very first of the American Socialists to call attention to the rocks in front of the American political movement, and to the importance of Revolutionary Unionism, but he is still one of the "two wing" men who wish to use all the "weapons." The only marked difference between him and, say, Robert Hunter is that Walling would tie up the political wing by making the platform so strictly doctrinaire that there would obviously never be a chance of that majority vote, while Hunter would make it so broad that Roosevelt could run upon it.

Walling has an article in the "New Review" of New York criticising the overtures the American Socialist Party is making to the farmers. He points out that the new farmer plank practically offers every farmer not only the proverbial ten acres and a mule, but a slave to boot, and a first-class white slave at that. In other words, Walling says that the average American farmer has a wage-bill of $225 to $600 per year, which implies one or two hired hands, and he is to be guaranteed to remain in this favoured position by the Socialist Party in exchange for his vote. Walling says that this is no Socialism, and calls on the shades of Karl Marx for help. Perhaps not; but the point is, that unless the Party does make some such promise they will never get the farmer vote, and if they do not get the farmer vote they cannot get their majority. So what are you going to do about it, English Walling? Marx could only vote once even if you brought him back to life.

Walling makes one funny mistake in his criticism of the Socialist Platform. He says: "It mentions as the immediate cause of high prices the Trusts, but does not mention that values of farm lands rose from 1900 to 1910 thirteen million dollars, which was reflected in the doubling of agricultural prices, a far more important element than all the Trusts."

This is putting the cart before the horse. Prices of agricultural produce have risen all over the world, with the result that farming has proved more remunerative, and with the corollary that land pro-

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ducing more profit can pay more rent, and therefore has a greater capital value. Crop prices make the price of land go up rather than the rise in price of land making prices advance. Moreover, the advance in agricultural prices is world-wide, occurring in places where Trusts have no conceivable influence. Therefore we must look for a world-wide cause. We find it in the relative decreased cost of production of gold, owing largely to the introduction of the cyanide process.

The Initiative—No Protection to Labour

NO doubt but that the Initiative and Referendum afford a better method for the voters to express themselves on particular issues than does the present corrupt representative system in America. But saying this does not say that there is necessarily any protection of minority rights; it is merely saying that the rights of the majority are protected.

One might think that with organised labour controlling so many votes that when such a vital question as the right to picket in a strike were in question that there would not be much question about the way the popular vote would go. Yet when this very question was voted upon in Oregon the other day there were found 49,826 to vote to make picketing illegal, while 60,560 voted against prohibition. True, the law was defeated; but, all the same, when we see over 40 per cent. of the electorate vote against such a fundamental labour right as that of picketing, it must be acknowledged that a pure democracy is no protection for labour in a community where there is a large middle-class and farmer vote.

The only real protection that labour can have is economic organisation. Let there be economic solidarity, and then 25 per cent. of the electorate could defy any majority to pass any anti-picketing law that would be effective.

The importance of protection of the rights of minorities is just now being lost sight of, inasmuch as the rights of the vast majority are being so heavily trampled upon by a plutocratic minority, and other things being equal, the rights of the majority to receive attention take precedence to the rights of a minority.

In a way, however, protection of minorities is much more important than protection of the majority; for, usually, the majority can take care of itself, whereas the minority often is defenceless.

What will Wilson do to Warren?

MY first experience with the United States Post Office, which is usually the tool used by the Administration when it has dirty work to do, was in Los Angeles.

It was in 1901. I was then publishing *The Challenge*, the predecessor to WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE. An enthusiast writing from Ohio was unable to express all his ideas inside the letter, so he used the addressed side of his envelope as well to illustrate his admiration pictorially. It was an amusing sketch, and I innocently had a half-tone made of it and printed it in the paper. Result: the following week a couple of Post Office sleuths suddenly pounced down on my printing office and made a careful search high and low for the block of that picture. It was not to be found, much to their evident annoyance. Why did they want it? Because in photographing the envelope the cut showed that I had photographed the cancelled U.S. postage stamp. It is a penal offence to make a cut of a United States stamp. Counterfeiting! The Post Office were after that cut to get evidence. It was purely a lucky accident that the cut was not to be found, and to this day is inexplicable. Usually we waited until enough had accumulated and then sold them for old junk.

Of course, it is an old story of how later on the Post Office refused me a transfer of second-class entry for *The Challenge* from Los Angeles to New York, and thus forced me to seek refuge in Canada and publish my newspaper there for over a year. It is also a familiar story of how one department of the Government gave me a patent on the Bishop Creek Mine in the California Forest Reserve after two separate and careful examinations as to its genuineness by Government engineers; and then, how later on the Post Office sent out one of their sleuths to Bishop, an ex-dry goods drummer, to make another scientific examination in order that they might let out to the Press that Wilshire's Mine was "under investigation." A hint to some investors is as good as a lie.

Just now I am safe from U.S. Post Office persecution, my journal being published in England. Some day it may prove a happy event that at least one American Socialist journalist is in a position where he can talk freely and in safety about American institutions.

Fred Warren, of the *Appeal to Reason*, is just now not in my happy position. He is in Girard, Kansas, Free America. What the Taft Administration has resorted to in order to down Warren is almost unbelievable. First they started to put him in gaol because he committed a technical violation of Post Office law by printing a Reward Notice on the outside of his envelopes. Plenty of people had done this before without any notice from the Post Office that it was illegal, but when Warren did it Taft had him arrested at once. Then, when he found out that imprisonment would merely make Warren more popular than ever, he insisted on pardoning him, actually giving as his reason that he did not want to make Warren a martyr. No doubt many men have been pardoned before on this account, but Taft is the first autocrat to be foolish enough to frankly state his reason.

The next move Taft made was to have Warren indicted for telling the truth about the Leavenworth Penitentiary, for the rottenness of which the Taft Administration is entirely responsible. Again in this case the Post Office was called into requisition, and Warren was charged with sending obscene matter through the mails.

As if it were possible to talk about the Leavenworth Penitentiary without being profane as well as obscene.

The trouble with Warren is that he not only told the truth, but he proved it. Taft was forced to dismiss one of his obscene warders. Hence Taft's wrath.

The Des Moines *Daily News* sums up this fight against the *Appeal* thus:—

"A federal court is asked to send to gaol men who made public vile conditions in a public institution—a publicity which resulted in dismissal of the accused official.

"Some people would call that work a genuine public service. But 'the people of the United States,' through their district attorney, are trying to send these editors to prison, branded as felons."

It will be noted that I call Taft personally to account for all this petty tyranny and despotism. Warren keeps harping about an understrapper of Taft's named

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Bone, but Bone is merely a willing mucilaginous piece of gristle in Taft's hand. Taft is the man who is responsible for the Warren persecution, and his letter pardoning Warren shows perfectly that he has the whole thing well in mind.

Not only is Taft back of it all, but he is back of the absurd prosecution of Eugene Debs and Warren on that silly charge of subornation or perjury. I think the Socialists and the *Appeal* should make this responsibility of Taft perfectly clear, not in order to fix the matter upon that collapsed political balloon, but in order to fix upon his successor, Woodrow Wilson, the responsibility for the continuance of the persecution.

If Wilson is somewhere near as honourable a man as his friends think he is, and even as I think he may be, he will order the whole proceedings against Warren and Debs quashed the moment he is seated in the Presidential chair.

The Future of the Intellectuals

IT is charged by those enamoured with the political fetish that the Syndicalists are merely impatient at the prospect of waiting for a majority vote, and that they are therefore proposing a short cut via Direct Action. Not true. For, as a matter of fact, from the point of view of reason, without experience as a guide, one might readily conclude that political action offered a much shorter cut to Socialism than economic action. Experience, however, shows that it is extremely difficult to get the workers to vote for Socialism. It may, however, be admitted that in the United States it will be a comparatively simple matter in the course of time to increase the present Socialist vote of over 900,000 to, say, 3,000,000, or even 4,000,000, out of an electorate of 16,000,000; it will be almost hopeless to get it much above the 5,000,000 flood-mark, since that marks about the limit. It will be easier to rise from a million votes to four millions than it will be to rise from four millions to five millions, because we will have then approached the margin of political cultivation. True, 5,000,000 is a great many votes, but it is no majority vote. It is not even a plurality vote large enough to elect when there are three candidates in the field. It may be remarked, however, that when the Socialist Party polls five million votes there will be no split in the capitalist vote. No Socialist candidate will ever slip in owing to a division among the capitalists; and, moreover, if he should happen to do so, he would never be seated. For that matter, he would not be allowed to take his seat even if he had a clear majority over all candidates.

But I will admit that on the first blush it seems easier and more logical to try and get the workers to organise to vote than to organise to strike. If there were any short cut it apparently would be by means of voting rather than by striking. While political organisation is slow and difficult, economic organisation is at times, but not always, much more so. In fact, if we did not have the recent experience of what France has done in the way of Syndicalist organisation, of what England has done in its recent general strikes of the miners and of the railway men, and, lastly, of what America did in the Lawrence strike and the Little Falls strike, it would be considerably more difficult to realise and forecast the capacity of the workers to spontaneously organise economically sufficiently well to bring us to Socialism.

Particularly from the point of view of the average middle-class Socialist does it seem much more practical and sensible to advocate something that he himself can assist in, namely, political organisation and voting, rather than something which is largely outside of his orbit and where, as a rule, he can do little effective work, namely, in organising industrial unions. Of course, he cannot strike at all. Hence it is that the so-called "intellectuals," the parlour Socialists, the doctors, the lawyers, the preachers, etc., who are now prominent as "leaders" in the Socialist movement, will be naturally relegated to comparative obscurity in the Syndicalist movement.

However, as the Syndicalist movement succeeds it will, notwithstanding its base being economic rather than political, develop as a bye-product of its success a collateral Socialist political movement. Hence the intellectuals will not be entirely out of a job. It must not be understood that because I look upon the political movement as a powerless movement for any real revolutionary action that I am so partisan that I do not admit and foresee that it is bound to grow stronger and stronger everywhere in the world. But it cannot and will not arouse the old-time enthusiasm it did in the early days of the movement, for it will have been adjudged at its proper value.

Socialism: A Cult or a Power?

"American Socialism of the Present Day," by J. W. Hughan, Ph.D. Pub. by John Lane. 5s.

IN spite of a rather unfortunate introduction by John Spargo, who resembles a Suffragette in insisting upon presenting his own particular opportunistic programme at any and all inopportune times, Miss Hughan has given us a book which should command many readers. Spargo is quite right in saying that the author herself "has been remarkably successful in her attempt to be impartial, although her sympathies are with the Opportunists," but that gives him no call to define a Revolutionist as one "who shouts terrible phrases but declines to participate in the attempt to improve the lot of the workers because the particular measure aimed at will not, of itself, inaugurate the Co-operative Commonwealth." It was evidently the aim of the author to get Revolutionists as well as Opportunists to write something that Revolutionists and Opportunists as well as common ordinary folk might read, and I see no reason why Spargo, in his introduction, should not aid rather than hinder her attempt.

The Revolutionist refuses to be drawn into Spargo's political morass not because he thinks that by sinking himself therein he will not help provide a road for the workers to cross to the Co-operative Commonwealth, but because he thinks that he would be inducing others to follow him uselessly into a bottomless pit. Direct Action forces twenty reforms where political action begs for one.

Miss Hughan's book covers the history of the Socialist movement in America since 1892, when the first Presidential Socialist candidate was put in to nomination. It has considerable historical value from this point of view, but inasmuch as the readers of this Magazine are fairly familiar with all this I will not recapitulate. There is also a good summary of the economic theories held by the leading American Socialists.

She finds that while there is still a general adherence as a matter of form to the theories of Marx, that there is a decided tendency to formulate the policy of the party upon

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concrete facts rather than upon abstract theory. Marx can be so twisted and interpreted that I have yet to see any Socialist, Opportunist or Revolutionist, but what could prove that Marx fully endorsed his particular point of view. For my own part I never knowingly got any of my economic views from Marx, as I confess to my shame that I became a Socialist twenty-five years ago before I had even heard his name. Several years later I did struggle through "Capital," but I cannot say that I knew any more after I had finished than when I began. Marx unquestionably was a man of tremendous intellect, but even granting all it is humanly possible to grant about his greatness, I could never be impressed in any degree by a quotation from Marx as I would be by one single fact.

It does not need a gigantic intellect to see that the rich are rich because they own land and capital, and that the workers are poor because they own nothing. Moreover, it does not require much of an intellect to see that if the land and capital were owned and operated by the workers themselves that poverty would be abolished. It is merely a question of how can the workers get the land and the capital away from the rich. Marx certainly explained clearly enough in several very big volumes why the poor are poor, but he never explained his plan of expropriation clearly enough to prevent the present controversy between Revolutionists and Opportunists as to what his ideas were.

The author says "the Marxian weapons are, first, organisation of the workers; second, the ballot." I won't say that Marx never called the ballot a "weapon," for Marx wrote too much for one to say offhand that he never said anything without a long and careful search. I don't think he was ever so foolish, however. I will, however, venture to say on my own account that the ballot is about as much of a weapon as a popgun is a Creusot gun. True, the ballot gives Labour an opportunity to express its injured feelings; but what of it? A pig can squeal as it is led to the slaughter, but its squealing is no good.

On page 53 the author divides the Socialists into two camps,: Marxists or Revolutionists, those who adhere to the letter of Marx; and Opportunists, consisting of a band of social reformers who cling to Marx as a Liberal Churchman clings to Calvin." I should say that such a division is rather out of date, or rather that the Revolutionists of to-day are the Direct Actionists who pay little or no attention to Marx or any other economist. Her division, however, is fairly correct if we limit it to the so-called *Political* Revolutionists and Opportunists. No doubt this is what she had in mind.

In discussing various views (page 87) of crises, the author says: "Among present-day Americans to place emphasis upon the over-production explanation are Boudin, La Monte, and Wilshire. The latter has elevated the crisis theory into a cardinal doctrine, and exults in the fact that he predicted the catastrophe of 1907 at least a year in advance, when the general press was loud in its proclamation of prosperity . . . . both he and La Monte are now pointing to the vast military expenditures of the world as an artificial outlet for over-production. The majority of American Socialists are, however, ignoring the special theory of over-production. That these differences of opinion are negligible is indicated by the fact that differing ideas of the crisis correspond to none of the tactical divisions of the party. Ghent and Walling, who represent Opportunist and Revolutionist, have laid aside the Marxian theory in this matter; while La Monte and Wilshire, whose notions rarely coincide, are its vigorous supporters."

I don't know why the author should say that La Monte and myself rarely agree; as a matter of fact, we are rarely in disagreement. However, I must admit that Miss Hughan has reminded me, by her quotations, that I do not to-day place the importance upon the crisis that I once did. I now not only think that the expenditure for armaments will hold off the next crisis, but I also think that it will not take many more years of centralisation of wealth to so perfect co-ordination between the masters of capital as to practically prevent any long-continued danger from crisis even if they do appear. I think to-day that the Significance of the Trust is not so much in its forecast of an unemployment problem, but of a vast industrial union of the workers called into being as its reflex. I look for the economic organisation of the workers to be the feature of the Revolution rather than a vast army of unemployed, unorganised, and hence powerless mass of men.

In other words, while in the 19th century the organisation of capital was the thing of paramount interest, in the 20th century it is the organisation of Labour—the economic, not the political, organisation.

As the author points out, 71.6 of the workers of the United States are employed in establishments employing 162 or more employees. In other words, the greater part by far of the workers are employed in establishments where a union is more or less of a natural necessity. What with the interlocking of directorates of the big businesses, as disclosed by the Pujo investigation, and the general concentration of industry, we foresee as a corollary a federation of the various industrial unions of the workers is one of the inevitable protective necessities of the near future. Miss Hughan says the Revisionists, otherwise Opportunists, attack the doctrine of concentration by urging that the growth of corporations is a counter force developing a large number of middle-class folk and promoting the dissemination of income. That is, if there is a tendency to increase the number of small shareholders along with a tendency to increase the growth of the corporations, then there will be a large addition to the number of those who will not be drawn into the ranks of Socialist voters. From the political standpoint, this is of moment; from the Syndicalist one it is immaterial, inasmuch as these small shareholders are unorganised, and so have no economic importance to back up their votes.

In her chapter upon the woman question, the author quotes introducer Spargo: "Under Socialism the overwhelming majority of Socialists would insist on a certain control over marriage; there would be a maximum of freedom, but they would still insist upon a minimum of legal control."

It would be very interesting to have Spargo explain exactly how he would go about enforcing his legal minimum. To-day society and the Church taboo adulterers, divorcees, and such like, and some moral States like New York and California even put adulterers in prison. Would the Mrs. Grundys of the Socialist State merely taboo, or would they jail people who might happen to live together or who might refuse to live together in spite of Pope Spargo's commands? No doubt from a vote-getting standpoint this blarney about "legal minimum" of marriage under Socialism is a good fly-catcher, but from a logical standpoint it is buncombe, pure buncombe. The disadvantage of being a politician is that you never dare say what you think. When you abolish private property you naturally abolish any great interest in inheritance, for there will be little to inherit individually.

Marriage to-day is essentially an artificial institution to legalise inheritance. I may add that marriage is one thing and monogamy quite another. Man is, no doubt, normally a monogamist. There will be no need of a "legal minimum" to enforce a natural relationship, and if it is not a natural relationship then no law can effectively enforce it.

Spargo is later on quoted as being against the restriction of Oriental immigration to the United States. "He declared that the exclusion of these workers would avail nothing [to restrict competition with the American workers.—G. W.] since there could be no exclusion of the *product* of Oriental labour from the world market." I must say I cannot follow Spargo in this reasoning any better than I can on his "legal minimum." If the rug-worker in America can by a restrictive law keep out a Japanese worker who would otherwise compete for his job, I cannot see that he will lose ultimately just as much

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through the Japanese worker making his rug in Japan and sending it into the world market; not as long as the American manufacturer keeps the rug out of the United States by a tariff. The grievance Labour in America has to-day is that there is a tariff on rugs but none on rug-makers. Restriction of Oriental immigration may be against the law of God, and generally unethical from the point of view of Spargo's Nonconformist conscience, but it is certainly of value economically to the American worker. It is merely a question of whether it is better to be unselfish and lay up your treasure in Heaven or be selfish and get more wages here and now in the U.S.A.

I fear that I have introduced too much of controversy into this review of Miss Hughan's valuable book, and it is a lame and ungallant excuse to say that she brought it upon herself by allowing such a controversial introduction.

How Much of a Curse is Whisky?

From a review of Karl Pearson's Investigations, by A. J. Nock
(The American Magazine)

OF all things that we have been accustomed to assume as likely, one of the foremost is that parental drinking weakens children's wits.

But it was distinctly untrue of these English school-children; so very untrue, in fact, that there is a slight balance the other way. The returns show that there were born to drinking fathers 34 per cent. of defective sons and 30 per cent. of defective daughters; to drinking mothers, 40 per cent. of defective sons and 24 per cent. of defective daughters. While there were born to sober fathers 41 per cent. of defective sons and 31 per cent. of defective daughters; to sober mothers, 39 per cent. of defective sons and 30 per cent. of defective daughters.

Regarding eyesight. The children were examined for normal vision, short and far sight, and three varieties of astigmatism. The fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters were all considered separately. I omit the tables to save space; but their summary shows two remarkable facts:—

(1) The larger proportion of normal eyes is found among the children of drinking parents.

(2) The larger proportion of hypermetropia, myopia, mixed and myopic astigmatism, is found among the childen of sober parents.

An analysis of the tables themselves reveals no correlation between parental drinking and bad eyesight in the child. If anything, it is the other way: the children of drinking parents have the better eyesight.

This discovery reminded the Galton Laboratory of another curious thing. In a previous investigation of other matters, the Laboratory had noticed a similar slight correlation between normal eyesight and bad social conditions. Where, for instance, you found bad housing, congestion, or parents of depraved morals, you were apt to find it associated with good eyesight in the children. It occurred to the Laboratory that the cause was probably the same in both cases—namely, that the child spent more time outdoors. Bad living-conditions tend to drive out children, and so do drunken parents.

So the Laboratory set out to find the correlation (1) between parental drinking and how the child spent its spare time, and (2) between the child's vision and how it spent its spare time. The result showed a considerable connection between parental drinking and time spent in the streets, especially where the parent who drank was the mother. In that case it was made clear, as one would suspect, that the mother's drink was more likely to drive out the child, and that more boys were driven out than girls.

The correlation that was found between the eyesight of a child and where it spent its time brought out a curious result. The largest percentage of normal eyes was found to be among those who spent their spare time in the street. This is as we should expect. The next largest, however, was not among those who spent their spare time partly in the street and partly indoors, as we would suppose, but those who spent it practically all indoors. The reason for this has not been determined. All that can be said is that greater time in the street for either boys or girls does not appear to be continuously associated with better eyesight, either as regards acuity of vision or correct refraction—the test being made for each, and the correlation for each being separately computed.

Finally, although tables do not much adorn a page, the table showing the correlation between parental drinking and child-mortality must be given. Here the drinking parents were divided into two classes: those who drink regularly, and the "periodicals," as we know them, or those who go on sprees:—

	Father Sober.	Father Drinks.	Father Sprees.
Average size of family	5.99	6.20	6.03
Average number dead children	1.73	1.99	1.97
Net family	4.26	4.21	4.06
Death-rate, per cent.	28.9	32.1	32.7
	Mother Sober.	**Mother Drinks.**	**Mother Sprees.**
Average size of family	5.91	6.25	6.32
Average number dead children	1.68	2.09	2.28
Net family	4.23	4.16	4.04
Death-rate, per cent.	28.4	33.4	36.1

It will be seen that the death-rate is higher when the mother drinks than when the father drinks. It is possible that this may indicate some toxic effect. But noting the especially high death-rate where the mother is a "periodical," it might more reasonably be inferred that when the mother drinks a large number of deaths may be due to carelessness or misadventure.

Another common error is indicated in this table; namely, that the population would increase much faster were it not for the child-mortality due to alcohol. The relative size of the *net* family goes to show that the abolition of alcohol would not make a difference of 1 per cent. in the increase of the population.

Professor Pearson sums up the results of the investigation by saying that "no marked relation of any kind has been found between intelligence, physique, or disease of the offspring and parental alcoholism, in any of the categories investigated." This conclusion, I repeat, is not final. Finality, in a matter of this kind, is an affair of many years and much research. But as far as the investigation has gone it is dependable; and Professor Pearson, who invariably speaks with the reverent caution of a true man of science, goes so far as to say that nothing in sight at present seems likely to modify it.

It is a startling conclusion, especially to those trained, as I was, to believe otherwise. To some it may be unwelcome and shocking. It may make upon them the painful impression of an attempt to whittle down the seriousness of the problem of drink.

But truth, if one is but willing to trust it, is never found unfriendly to a good cause. If Professor Pearson's conclusions are finally proved beyond question, the cause of reform will not be weakened but strengthened. The moral burden of responsibility for this national evil will be increased, not lightened. Seen by this new light, the problem will no doubt show many aspects of difference from our present apprehension of it, but all its seriousness and all its insistency will still be there; nay, in fact, they will be redoubled.

We now think of alcoholism as a habit that a young man slips into largely because he gets into the way of bad company and saloons are handy—something, at all events, largely self-cultivated. We hold our social responsibility commensurate merely with the saloon-facilities we offer him, and conceive that this collective responsibility ends with the closing of the saloon. This is about our conception of temperance reform at the present time.

But if Professor Pearson's conclusions are correct, this conception is inadequate. No doubt, a man will not become a drunkard if he can get nothing to be drunk with; but merely keeping him sober does not solve, nor even touch, our real social problem.

Because, according to Professor Pearson, alcoholism is a *symptom*—a symptom of a defective stock. In his scientific language, it is a "somatic mark of a defective germ-plasm in the stock." The disorder then reaches far beyond the individual case; and keeping the man sober by mere mechanical means does not remedy it. He is prevented, certainly, from degenerating into a certain definite type of nuisance; but while that is something, in view of the real problem it is very little. Such treatment merely amounts to suppressing some outward and visible signs of his disorder, but it does not even approach the root of the disorder itself.

Here is a signboard pointing to the maelstrom of error that has sucked in many a statistician—the practice of taking association for causation. Thousands of consumptive parents have consumptive children; therefore, until the germ was caught and detected and the whole theory of the disease revised, we all firmly believed that consumption was inherited. Or, again, when we see a man who drinks and is poor, we infer that he is poor because he drinks. He may be; but, again, he may drink because he is poor.

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Direct Action *v.* Indirect Inaction

A Cartoon from the London *Daily Herald*

["Direct Actionists favour violence rather than discussion or reason."—Politician.]

THE PULPITEERING GENT. OUT OF DANGER (to Parent in pursuit of the child-consuming monster of Industrialism): "Really, really, you will gain no permanent benefit by mere brutal coercion of this monster. Leave it to my sweet tactfulness and trained power of reason!"

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The American Money Trust Menaces all the World

THAT a half-dozen men had financial control of the United States was a declaration of mine twenty-five years ago. I moreover said that these half-dozen were fast translating control into ownership. I may have been hasty in my statement in 1888. What I declared then may have been more a prophecy than a fact. But anyway, prophecy or fact, it is a fact now, and I now have the statements of the owners of America themselves made under oath before the Pujo Committee to back me up.

The following from the *Evening Mail* of New York is interesting, both as to its statement of fact, but more especially as to the editor's flounderings about for a remedy.

It seems that the lamb must ask the wolf to save it, if it would be saved, from inter-locking directorates and such like new-fangled beasts that now feed on lambs:—

AN APPEAL TO REASON.

The evidence thus far given in the money trust investigation by Congress, when taken together, reveals an astounding and perilous situation in this country, a situation that must and will be changed.

The only question is whether the change is to come through a bitter, costly and unnecessary struggle between the aroused masses of the American people and the concentrated and leagued power of money and credit control, or whether the remedy is to be reached through calm, intelligent, voluntary action by those who dominate the present monstrous and intolerable alliance of national banks, trust companies, railroad and industrial corporations and other public service institutions.

There can be no longer any doubt that the danger to the nation is a real one. There has been much heat and much exaggeration. Political and journalistic demagogues have been at work. Personal malice, envy and deadly financial rivalries and feuds have played their part in whipping up excitement and ill-feeling. But the responsible testimony taken by the Pujo Committee under the authority of Congress raises an issue tremendous in its character and magnitude, an issue based on the solid granite of proven fact.

It may be a technical error to call the swift concentration of control of money and credit in the United States a Money Trust. The words are immaterial. It may be that this new and sinister power over the financial, commercial and productive activities of the country has been wrought out largely within the letter of existing laws. That, too, is unimportant.

Make no mistake, the American people will have their will, with or without the consent of the masters of Wall Street. They are not unreasonable. They have shown a capacity for patient endurance and sobriety of judgment in the teeth of great and repeated provocations; but, like all other peoples, their passions can be provoked by continued injustice; and if there is one thing clearer than another just now it is that no private interest or interests, however great, however captained by men of genius and courage, or however entrenched behind the technicalities of existing laws, can enter upon a struggle against the aroused majority with any hope of success.

One has but to consider the things established under oath before the Pujo Committee to realise the imperative necessity for a change in conditions to safeguard the liberty of business enterprise in America.

The uncontradicted evidence taken by the Pujo Money Trust Committee in Washington shows clearly that the Morgan-Stillman-Baker group in Wall Street stands at the head of the impressive combination of money and credit control which has so shocked and alarmed the country. Their immediate instrument of power consists of J. P. Morgan and Co., the National City Bank, the First National Bank, the Guaranty Trust Company, the Bank of Commerce, the Chase National Bank, and the Bankers' Trust Company. These, with their subsidiary companies, and with the Mutual and Equitable Life Insurance companies, control about a billion and a quarter of dollars. Through direct ownership, identity of directors, voting trusts or community-of-interest arrangements, the colossal assets of these institutions are dominated and, for practical purposes, controlled by Mr. Morgan, Mr. Baker, and Mr. Stillman.

The money hierarchy thus established has been shown to be dominantly affiliated with or in actual control of National Banks, Trust Companies, Insurance Companies, Railroads, Commercial and Industrial Corporations and Public Service enterprises scattered all over the country. This mighty alliance of wealth, which is dominated by the Morgan-Stillman-Baker group and its partners and agents in and out of Wall Street, consists of one hundred and twelve corporations, administered by three hundred and forty-one directors, with total capital and resources representing almost exactly twenty-two and a-quarter billions of dollars. The distribution of this controlled and affiliated power is given thus:—

One hundred and eighteen directors in thirty-four banks and trust companies, having total resources of $2,679,000,000 and total deposits of $1,983,000,000.

Thirty directors in ten insurance companies having total assets of $2,293,000,000.

One hundred and five directors in thirty-two transportation systems having a total capitalisation of $11,784,000,000 and a total mileage of 150,200, without counting express companies and steamship lines.

Sixty-three directors in twelve public utility corporations having a total capitalisation of $2,150,000,000.

This represents a rapid centralisation of power over industry, commerce and enterprise without a parallel in the history of the world. Even if the size of the interests thus combined under the direction or potential influence of a few arch-millionaires were but half true, the situation ought to stir the conscience and excite the fears of the most conservative citizen. It must be evident that no new large enterprise can be established in any part of the country again unless its securities are underwritten by or with the sanction of the Morgan-Stillman-Baker triumvirate. The evidence shows that thirty-six issues of stock made through this group, with opportunities for domination in each case, represent an aggregate value of more than a billion, three hundred and sixty-eight millions of dollars.

No wonder that Mr. Baker frankly admitted to the Pujo Committee that in his judgment this movement, which has concentrated such almost unthinkable power in a few hands, had gone far enough.

Another thing that has been proven under oath is the immense power over banks and banking exercised by clearing house associations. These are voluntary private organisations which, in spite of the grave and almost indispensable functions which they discharge in the banking system of the country, steadily refuse to be incorporated, and thus bring themsleves under reasonable public control and supervision.

It has also been shown that through identity of directors in potentially competing national banks, and in subsidiary companies of national banks, with identical directors, officers and stockholders, it has been possible, and in many cases customary, for bank directors to borrow from their own banks beyond the limits set by the law.

It is sober truth to say that all this makes a black picture. Mr. Baker was forced to confess to the Pujo Committee that if the new power over American money and credit got into the hands of bad men it would be a dangerous thing for the country.

Mr. Morgan is seventy-six years old, and has not been in the active management of his firm for about seven years. Mr. Baker is seventy years old, and on the witness stand he declared that he had had little to do with the details of his bank for five or six years. Mr. Stillman is sixty-three years old. In every direction the great figures in the control of money and business are disappearing. The stupendous power which they have massed in a few hands is about to pass to new and younger men. It is admittedly a power for inexpressible harm to the people when in the wrong hands. It is actually a power that should not be permitted in any hands. Such ability to control the capital and credit of a great nation is a menace to liberty and progress. Its very existence is immoral and anti-social.

Remedies are necessary. That point is beyond discussion. The existing Money Trust, or whatever it may be properly called, cannot and will not be permitted to endure. It is incompatible with public safety and the general public welfare.

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It closes the door to equality of opportunity, and thus tramples in the dust the moral idea upon which The Republic was founded. It strikes at rich and poor alike. If allowed to continue and grow, it must be inevitably an unanswerable argument for State Socialism.

Mr. Morgan, Mr. Stillman and Mr. Baker, all white-haired men who have gained their fortunes in this their native country, should be the first to propose and support reforms that should altogether do away with the abuses revealed through the Pujo Committee. They should come out in the open at once, and take advantage of the present great opportunity to secure peace and a reasonable and intelligent solution of the situation by taking the lead themselves in the work of setting our national business house in order, a work that will be done whether they assist in it or not. Surely in a country like this there should be vision enough, leadership enough and courage enough to be found in the great banks, railway companies and other great corporate enterprises to successfully bring about a restoration of the older and better condition of financial and commercial freedom in America.

President Wilson sounded again the new note that is thrilling the purpose and policy of this continent when he warned the business men of the country that they themselves must help the Government to solve the business problems of the nation.

Really, is it not funny, too, when we see an editor as skilful in his summing-up of the findings of the Pujo Committee as is the editor of the *Mail* become so absolutely puerile in his suggestion of remedies? He seriously talks of the possibility of Morgan and Co. reforming themselves. How can they? They, of course, cannot. That is, they cannot unless they divest themselves of their money, and we may be sure that they will never do that for the mere asking.

The stupendous piling up of wealth in a few hands in America is a world problem. In reality it is more a menace to the industrial supremacy of England than is the new German navy a menace to her political supremacy. It is a menace to the industrial and financial people of all the world, and not alone to the people of the United States. It is just as simple for Rockefeller to crush a competitor in oil in Germany, or in Italy, or in China, as it is in New York. A fleet of dollars is far more powerful and mobile than any fleet of Dreadnoughts.

Talk about the danger to life in the next war from bombs dropped from airships, why it's nothing to the danger to your money to-day when Morgan sets his Money Trust at you.

However, there is an excuse for the *Mail* relying upon the Morgans to pull us out of the hole in which we are landed. We have been relying upon the Morgans to do everything for us for a hundred years, and it would be unreasonable to think we could get along without them now, especially when there is no one else proposed to take their place.

True, the editor weakly suggests State Socialism, but even if that system were possible we would have the difficulty of men. Whom could we place instead of those now in control of the Money Trust at the helm? I, of course, except Victor Berger, who is equal to any task: the more Herculean it is the better he likes it; more god-like, more natural to him.

There is but one remedy to meet the situation, and that is for an educated people to take over the industries and run them for their own benefit. But the people will never have the power to take, nor the education to manage and operate, until they have schooled themselves by means of revolutionary industrial organisation.

The Money Trust must breed its own antidote, the Labour Trust. Until it does so it is quite safe.

William Morris: Syndicalist

'William Morris and the Communist Ideal." By Mrs. Townshend. (The Fabian Society.)

IN that all-important contribution to economics, "The Servile State," Hilaire Belloc ably divides the Socialist leaders of England into two main groups: the creators, Blatchford, Hyndman and Morris; the regimentalists, Wells, the Webbs, and Shaw. The former inherit enough of the English tradition to have, in spite of their Socialism, a glimmering that the tendencies of present-day society are not toward The Great State, but rather toward The Servile State, in which, through the legislative activities of modern "social reformers," the proletariat proper, skilled artisans and such, will be reduced to that condition of chattel slavery which the Middle Ages was (momentarily) successful in abolishing. Of the creators, Morris was infinitely the greater, infinitely the least Socialistic. Indeed, had he lived to-day, we would find him emphatically denunciatory of the international Socialist movement in all its activities—save one.

This pamphlet makes it clear that William Morris was a Syndicalist.

He hated Parliament. The author of this volume quotes this saying of his: "The real business of the Socialists is to impress on the workers the fact that they are a class, whereas they ought to be society. If we mix ourselves up with Parliament, we shall confuse and dull this fact in people's minds, instead of making it clear and intensifying it."

He was ferociously anti-Fabian. He is quoted as saying in this most un-Fabian of Fabian pamphlets:—

"Philanthropy has had its day and gone; thrift and self-help are going; participation in profits, Parliamentarism and Universal Suffrage, State Socialism will have to go the same road, and the workers will be face to face at last with the fact that modern civilisation, with its elaborate hierarchy and iron drill, is founded on their intolerable burden. . . . They will see that modern society can only exist as long as they bear their burden with some degree of impatience; their patience will be worn out, and to pieces modern society will go."

Further he said:—

"The burden of the statesman is to balance the greed and fears of the proprietary classes against the necessities and demands of the working class. This is a sorry business, and leads to all kinds of trickery and evasion, so that it is more than doubtful whether a statesman can be a moderately honest man."

He emphasised the Syndicalist ideal. He was antagonistic to the ideals political of the German Socialist Party of to-day, of the dominant leaders of the French Socialist Party of to-day. He would have been, had he lived, Ramsay MacDonald's chief opponent in England. He would have argued with Hyndman on Marx, his "Capital," his economic analyses, his fatalistic belief in "economic evolution" as tending toward the comparatively prompt arrival of The Socialist State through the political representation of Labour in Parliamentary bodies. A careful reading of his economic and political writings gives strongly the impression that his Earthly Paradise was to consist of loosely federated guilds owning the instruments of their industries. The State was to him an oppressor, because he saw, as Syndicalists and many other "Socialists" are discovering, that ownership of public utilities by the State means, with few exceptions, government and control by the politicians. Morris was a Mediævalist. He absorbed and gave comparatively complete expression to the economic ideals of the Middle Ages. He called himself a "Socialist" because, as G. K. Chesterton has delightfully expressed it, in those days one had to call one's self a Socialist or be considered a crook, a sympathiser with the capitalistic results of the Industrial Revolution, an opponent of the justifiable claims of Labour. "News from Nowhere" was a poetic expression of the economic creed of the Master. His wallpapers were another. And in each the ideals he there expressed were combatively in opposition to the methods and creeds of the Socialist movement. Some day we shall appreciate Morris's economic teachings. That will be when we come to realise that capitalistic society is developing not, as Marx prophesied, into a Socialistic State, but more and more toward an abrupt return to those servile conditions which, by law, shall break society into two parts, the freeman and the slave, in proportion of one to ten thousand.

—L. H. W. in the Book Review Supplement of the *New York Times*.

The Wilshire Bishop Creek Mine will go into operation this month.

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The Psychology of Syndicalism

SYNDICALISM is essentially a theory of the inevitable development of a unified economic Labour organisation, formed as a reflex to the more or less trustification of capital already in evidence.

Whether this economic organisation begins as a federation of local groups of craft unions, as has occurred in France with the C.G.T., or whether it will take the shape of a direct federation of existing unions conjoined with further organisation of the unskilled workers, as is Tom Mann's plan in England, or whether the I.W.W. plan of Haywood, Ettor, and Giovannitti, in America, of practically ignoring the existing craft unions and forming new industrial unions, is a matter of no consequence as to the use of the word Syndicalism, for the word embraces all such forms of activity. The essence of Syndicalism is Revolution by means of the unions; the essence of Socialism is Revolution by voting. The Syndicalist looks on the vote as, at best, merely a means of reform, and the Socialist looks upon the strike as the Syndicalist looks on the vote.

This difference of attitude as to the vote and the strike is what differentiates the Syndicalist from the Socialist in every country in the world where Revolutionary Unionism has made its appearance.

A man may be a Syndicalist and yet vote for a revolutionary Socialist for Parliament, but he will not vote for him because he believes in "using all the revolutionary weapons," but because he thinks the vote has merely a reform value. Moreover, a Syndicalist may vote for a capitalist candidate for exactly the same reasons and still remain a Syndicalist. Even he may be a Catholic or a Methodist or a Jew or an Atheist and still remain a Syndicalist. Syndicalism takes no more note of how a man votes than how he prays. Let him be true to his revolutionary union; that is sufficient for the time being.

No doubt, as he grows older in the faith of Syndicalism, he will grow colder in his faith in praying and voting, but that is neither here nor there.

Voting is merely praying in a ballot-box.

The revolutionary union is the product of the automatic machine and the trustification of capital. It is the only form of organisation which can meet the present juncture, for the knell of craft unions was rung by the automatism of the machine.

The revolutionary industrial union is based upon the commodity produced without reference to the particular craft the workers engage in when they produce it. While this kind of a union is admittedly primarily formed to meet the present industrial situation and gain reforms for the workers—i.e., better wages and better hours—nevertheless, from its very form of organisation, it will inevitably give the workers a consciousness of their own power to absolutely control the machinery of production without any help from the capitalist. This is something craft unions never do. The new union is psychologically imperatively a revolutionary union.

And because it gives the workers consciousness of their power, it also shows them the uselessness of using the vote to gain indirectly through electing politicians what it is now evident to them that they can take over to themselves directly.

Syndicalism is simply an up-to-date and scientific interpretation of working-class psychology. Socialism was a good prophecy of the inevitability of the form of combination to be developed by the capitalists, the Trust, but it failed to realise the form of combination to be developed by the workers in answer to the Trust. Syndicalism, in the light of present-day experience, has formulated a present-day programme.

What is Really the Matter in Mexico

THE base of the insurrection in Mexico lies in the expropriation of the land of the peons by the State and its subsequent appropriation by the Mexican landlords. Much of it has since found its way into the possession of rich Americans.

The onslaught on the old Diaz régime had been carried on for years by the Mexican patriots against fearful odds, and finally, when it came to look like winning, Madero, a rich landowner, threw his sword into the balance and carried the day.

The revolutionists always looked with some suspicion upon Madero, but it was everything to beat old Diaz, and they supported him on the chance that conditions might be better. But, as a matter of fact, land tenure under Madero showed no improvement upon that under Diaz. It was not long before the revolutionists realised that they had been deluded by false hopes, and the insurrection fires, quenched for a short period, blazed up again.

Zapata became the leader of the insurgent peasants, and for the past year it has been war to the knife, with no quarter from either side. The movement grew and grew until the position of Madero became almost as insecure as that of old Diaz had been when Madero went to the aid of the previous insurrection.

A counter movement against Madero was also engineered about six months ago by young Diaz, a nephew of the exiled Diaz, but it was shortlived. Young Diaz was captured and sentenced to be shot, but Madero relented, and merely imprisoned him. This is where Madero seems to have made a tactical mistake, from his own point of view, for this present civil war has come about through the friends of young Diaz making an assault on his prison, freeing him, and then putting him at the head of their forces.

Young Diaz, it would now seem, is practically in control of Mexico City, and has announced himself President of Mexico, and Madero is fighting for his life. (*Some prophecy, what?*—G. W.)

Meanwhile Zapata, the head of the peasants' insurrection, is without the city with his army, evidently rather puzzled as to what course to take. He has had the lesson of Madero stealing the fruits of victory from the peons when they had almost conquered old Diaz, and he does not wish such a drama to be re-enacted.

Between Madero and the younger Diaz—or, for that matter, the old Diaz, who is undoubtedly financ-

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ing his nephew—there is practically no choice from the point of view of the peon. Both Diaz and Madero will stand for the perpetuation of landlordism, as Zapata and the peons know only too well. The fight now proceeding in Mexico City between Diaz the younger and Madero is a fight between sections of the landlords, and is in no sense a class war such as Zapata has been waging against Madero.

How it will all end is difficult to forecast. It looks at present as if young Diaz will oust Madero, and that then there will be a fight to the death between young Diaz and Zapata.—Editorial by G. W. in *Daily Herald*, London, Feb. 15.

The Peons must have Land

POOR Madero! Another idealist gone wrong! Madero was the son of a wealthy Mexican landowner, who saw the misery of his countrymen under the despotism of Diaz and set out to remedy it and create a revolution by combining exploiters with exploited. He united capitalists who had not received their share of the Diaz graft, and the starving peons who had never received a living share of the product of their labour.

Madero was successful enough in dethroning old Diaz and in retiring the Diaz ring of capitalists in favour of his own family and his capitalist backers, but when he started to carry out his land promises to his peon supporters his troubles commenced.

Mexico is controlled by an oligarchy of 10,000 landowners; the rest of the people are poverty-stricken and illiterate, 80 per cent. being pure Indians. Hence, when Madero tried to put in force his programme of "divide the land," although he had the vast majority of the people on his side, yet they were completely unorganised, and hence helpless to back him up. His own capitalist backers naturally gave him no support in his land programme; in fact, his own family went back on him. He was a puppet. He never did have the sympathy of his capitalist supporters, and it was not long before the peons, seeing nothing being done for them, deserted him. His fall became an absolute certainty.

However, the assassination of Madero will not solve the land problem in Mexico, and it is quite certain that General Huerta has no intentions in that direction.

Zapata is the only hope of the peons, and he seems unable to do much beyond conducting a guerilla fight.

Sooner or later the United States must intervene, but even so there is no possibility of peace in Mexico unless the peons are given much land now held by Mexican and American landlords.

We probably shall see a plan finally adopted somewhat after that by which the Friars' land was restored to the Filipinos.

Such a plan would combine a measure of justice to the peons together with economy, for nothing is as costly as war.

What's to be Done, Gentlemen?

THE Pujo Committee and the relentless cross-examination of Morgan, Baker, and other magnates in disclosing the enormous economic power of a half-dozen in the United States is merely confirming what I myself have been declaring for twenty-five years.

Nothing new in it all. The question is, what is to be done about it all?

Robert Hunter's Bogey Man

ROBERT HUNTER is a writer whose profundity is most obviously convincing to—himself. He is now delivering himself at great length upon the subject of the general strike. Most of his stuff is either platitudinous or quoted, so that one finds little to comment upon except the unusual dulness.

However, his statement that the "idea of an inner clique playing a great part in the Syndicalist movement" is amusingly untrue. Hunter declares, inasmuch as the Syndicalist avows his belief in the potency of the conscious minority controlling the unconscious majority, that this constitutes a tacit admission that he would have "an inner clique lead the ignorant and inert mass."

If there is one movement in the world that is open to the light of day, and whose breath of life is frankness, it is the Syndicalist movement.

In fact, it is the very characteristic frankness of the Syndicalists in admitting that a conscious minority can and will control the unconscious majority which has led to Hunter's ignorant talk about "inner cliques."

The conscious minority referred to by the Syndicalist are the men organised in the revolutionary industrial unions, and the unconscious majority are the men who are inert because they are outside the unions, and therefore have no power and no initiative which comes through organisation. The minority never disguises from friend or foe the fact that it is a minority; but, on the other hand, it openly declares that though a minority it has power over the majority. If the majority does not wish to be dominated it has an easy remedy: let it organise itself.

Let it become conscious!

Wilson Counsels Direct Action

WOODROW WILSON gives signs of great perspicacity about some things even if he does talk considerably more or less at random occasionally.

He said recently:—

"I want, above all things, to enjoy the confidence of, and to have at my service the information and counsel of, those who are engaged in these fundamental things. Most of the vitality of public action comes from outside the Government. The Government does not originate. It responds to public opinion. You are all to regard yourselves as forces playing upon the Government, and I hope that during the next four years you will find a sensitive part of the Government at the top."

I don't think the necessity of Direct Action upon the State, if you wish to have it do anything, could be better stated than in the foregoing.

The President, you will note, does not say wait till election day and then elect your man to carry out your wishes; not at all—he says the Government will never move till you play your forces upon it. Do it now, says Wilson.

How We Won't Revolute

A MOST instructive lesson in how we cannot expect to vote ourselves in has been afforded by the way Meyer London was obviously counted out in New York City and Stanton ignominiously kicked out of the Kansas Senate.

The New York *Call* is trying to whistle up its courage by declaring that they can't keep on kicking

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us out for ever. That is what the negro governors and their satellites of the Southern States during reconstruction days used to think.

Unorganised labour has about as much chance of electing and seating its men in office when organised capital really decides that it doesn't wish them seated as have the negroes of Mississippi a chance of electing a governor.

Wilshire Debates on Syndicalism

SYNDICALISM is not really a good question for a debate before a general audience, for it is a theory of action for organised workers.

Suppose hours and wages are bad in a certain locality, it is obvious that the remedy is an organisation of labour which will force the employers to ameliorate conditions. When this organisation is formed, and the workers have had their intelligence developed by it through the consciousness of power which organisation gives, then, and not till then, will they be in a receptive mood to hear the Syndicalist theory of Social Revolution. In other words, Syndicalism is a theory which requires a prepared audience, prepared by economic organisation.

Hence, when a Syndicalist debates with a Socialist before a mixed audience of unorganised people, he is departing fundamentally from his proposition that Syndicalism is for the elect, and to talk it to the general public is wasting breath. If your audience is unorganised and mixed it could not, even if it would, embrace Syndicalism, not except in theory. Now, the Syndicalists are not after theory, but action, and therefore they do not endeavour to propagate their ideas from the street-corner to passers-by. Such a course would be supremely foolish on their part, while on the part of the Socialist orator it is quite in reason, for he never knows when he may pick up a stray vote from the current. However, from a purely academic standpoint a debate on Syndicalism is interesting; at least, I found it so in my debate with Mr. Fisher, held last month in Chandos Hall, London, the headquarters of the British Socialist Party. Mr. Fisher was until recently a member of the Executive of that body.

He is a good speaker, of the long and impressive period order. Upon the proposition that oratory is only brought out on great occasions, I feel flattered that Mr. Fisher should have given to the world his estimate of the importance of our debate by letting flow his best brand of eloquence so freely. I was almost drowned in the torrent, and came out of the fray quite like a wet kitten. However, I will let an unbiased witness to my unquestioned submersion in the wordy deluge give his account of the flood. The organ of the British Socialist Party, *Justice*, rather significantly had no account at all of the debate, although no affair ever held in the hall before turned so many away from overflowing doors. The following is from the *Christian Commonwealth*:—

SYNDICALIST v. SOCIALIST

Debate between Mr. Gaylord Wilshire and Mr. Victor Fisher

In a small hall packed to suffocation last Sunday night Mr. Gaylord Wilshire and Mr. Victor Fisher met to debate the proposition "That the vote is useless as a means to Socialism." The discussion really turned upon the question of Syndicalism, and Mr. Wilshire, who is the leading representative of the Syndicalist propaganda in this country (though he is an American), took very little pains to conceal his indifference to the political reference in the resolution. Mr. Halliday Sparling presided. There was the greatest possible contrast between the two debaters. Mr. Fisher was rhetorical, declamatory, and forcible, much the better speaker in the technical sense, with a ready flow of well-turned phrases. Mr. Wilshire had no platform graces, and his attitude throughout suggested a mild surprise that he had been drawn into a futile discussion. He did in fact say that the debate was purely academic, and that he was not much concerned with the result, inasmuch as the Syndicalists did not try to convince by intellectual argument. Their propaganda advances as the psychology of the worker changes with the rise of a new form of industrial organisation. The difference between the two speakers resulted in Mr. Fisher having all the applause and Mr. Wilshire all the weight of argument. The latter's lounging indifferent appearance is very deceptive. He made his best points with quite a casual air, and, disdaining any attempt to drive them home by any display of rhetoric, they seemed to have less meaning than Mr. Fisher's resounding periods, until you examined both.

The main argument put forward by Mr. Wilshire was that a newer form of industrial unionism is coming into being, which organises the workers on the lines of their product rather than upon the craft basis as at present. This change from craft to revolutionary industrial unions has a powerful psychological effect upon the workers themselves. They have a different feeling towards the whole mechanism of industry. On the other hand, they are asked to vote as unorganised units, and the act of voting seems to have little relation to the main interests of their lives. The tendency is not to vote upon political questions; but when an industrial or economic question is raised in a union a very large percentage of the total members is polled. Further, the mere sending of a representative to Parliament has no meaning. The proprietary class cannot be voted out of the economic power they possess, and when the workers have the economic power they have everything that matters, and can take whatever there is to take.

Mr. Fisher argued that it did not follow because he declared the vote was useful that he believed industrial action was useless. He believed in both. They had not yet tried revolutionary political action, and therefore could not say whether it was worthless. He did not think it was practical wisdom to leave the capitalist in possession of the machinery of the State. A national strike would be impossible because the workers and their wives and children would be the first to suffer.

In its later stages the debate resolved itself into a persistent restatement from Mr. Wilshire of one or another point in his arguments, while Mr. Fisher, growing more and more sure of victory, hammered heavily upon some of the weak points, and carried the majority of the audience with him away from the main argument of Mr. Wilshire. But the latter was by no means perturbed, and probably left the hall without any consciousness of defeat.

Excessive Bail Unconstitutional

Excessive Bail shall not be demanded.—U.S. Constitution.

Frank M. Ryan, president of the International Ironworkers' Union, sentenced to seven years' imprisonment by the Federal Court at Indianapolis for conspiracy to transport dynamite in passenger cars, has been released on $70,000 bail.

There is a constant violation of the spirit of the Constitution in the excessive bail nearly always being demanded in labour cases. But what are laws but to be broken?

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The Workers' Only Hope: Syndicalism

By Andre Tridon, in *The Independent*

WHETHER a strike ends in victory or defeat, the suspense is soon over ; furthermore, the strikers themselves are caring for their own interests ; the strike is an education for them, as it affords them more leisure to discuss conditions from every point of view. In the meeting hall they become better acquainted with one another ; in certain cases, as in the Lawrence strike or in the cooks' and waiters' strike, the public is apprised of facts which could not have been exposed through any other procedure. At the end of the conflict the men, beaten or victorious, are better united for having fought together shoulder to shoulder.

This is, roughly speaking, the difference between Parliamentary action and direct action. Direct action, however, should not for a minute be construed as synonymous with striking. Direct action is a new and elaborate weapon, the most formidable which the working classes have ever used ; it is so formidable, in fact, that trade unions and Socialists are quite afraid of using it, and the latter have passed a motion disqualifying any member of the party who advocates direct action.

Direct action admits of strikes, but not the kind of strike with which the public is familiar. If the unionised typesetters demand an increase in wages of $1 a week they may leave the shops until the increase is granted, after which they will sign with their employers an agreement by which they bind themselves to work at the new rate for two or three years.

On the other hand, a successful Syndicalist strike, like the Lawrence strike, assures the workers certain advantages, and gives the employers no guarantee of peace. The fact that the satisfied mill hands returned to work did not imply the settlement, even temporary, of a Labour dispute. It was a mere truce during which the attacking forces planned to recuperate and fit themselves for a renewed attack on an enemy with whom no treaty shall be signed, and who must finally either destroy the workers or be destroyed by them.

During the periods of apparent peace intervening between strikes, direct actionists keep up the hostilities—though in a different manner. Defeat or victory are preceded and followed by sabotage. Sabotage, at least in the opinion of many French Syndicalists, is an essential of direct action. Strikes are mere tests of strength and part of the training which the workers must undergo in order to be ready for the general strike.

It may be mentioned before going any further that American Syndicalists prefer to be spoken of as Industrialists. This for two reasons : It is only recently that the French word " syndicalisme " has acquired its present connotation (" syndicat " meaning simply union). Furthermore, certain Anarchist groups in this country wish to be known as "syndicalist circles," with which the Industrial Workers of the World repudiate all affiliation. The practical matter of fact is, scientific industrialists of America have nothing in common with the erratic visions of the Anarchists, nor have Syndicalists or Direct Actionists anything in common with either Socialists or unionists The Socialist pins his faith to a propaganda which may some day result in a Socialist victory at the polls, after which a Socialist majority will do its best to introduce socialistic institutions in the land.

Unionists recognise the existence of two classes, labourers on one side, employers on the other. While Labour wishes to receive a fair wage for a fair day's work, it does not deny employers the right to exist as such.

Syndicalists scorn the idea of a "campaign of education." They want results, immediate results, secured with the least expenditure of cash and energy. Secondly, they do not recognise the employer's right to live any more than a physician recognises the right of typhoid bacilli to thrive at the expense of a patient.

Finally, while both unionists and conservative Socialists believe in action by a decided majority, Syndicalists contend that direct action by a live minority is more productive of results than the grouping around of a sluggish majority. Pouget writes :—

> Syndicalist action has nothing to do with government or majorities. If we obey the will of the majority, we allow ourselves to be led by the spineless ones, by the standpatters who are always willing to be exploited. Keep your eyes open and you will soon notice that only the men of strong will, the rebels, those who are impervious to the influence of a mop-like majority, are doing work that counts.

Majorities are too inarticulate to express their wishes in legal or parliamentary parlance. When they succeed, now and then, in expressing a wish and vote into Parliament a " friend of labour " his morals are very soon corrupted by political dickering and entanglements.

The example of Briand, once an uncompromising antimilitarist and direct actionist, compelled much against his desire to wield the militarist club above strikers and beat them into submission, will for many years supply Syndicalist orators and pamphleteers with evidence as to the uselessness of Parliamentary action. If a President du Conseil, the most powerful temporary ruler in Europe, supported by a solid majority, was unable to carry out any Socialist measures, and had to abandon the workers' cause for fear of national and international complications, what inducement is there for the working man to finance electoral and educational campaigns of long duration or a continued propaganda?

Syndicalists hold that propaganda is a mere matter of expenditure in which the workers find themselves at a disadvantage. Also Yvetot points out the fact that a considerable increase in the Socialist vote in a community merely brings about a coalition of the other parties which postpones the advent of a Socialist majority until a more distant future.

The Milwaukee case illustrates fairly well the truth of the French leader's statement. Socialists won easily as long as Republicans and Democrats fought their battles separately. As soon as both parties combined Milwaukee was lost to the Socialist rule, and the conservative propaganda, unhampered by the financial difficulties which beset radical organisations, will speedily offset what was gained in pre-Seidel days.

" The best form of popular propaganda," Haywood once said to the writer, " is quick results." And he added :—

> It is easier to lead men away from the mill than to the ballot box. And what does the crowd care for a restricted ballot when, by the mere act of striking against certain abuses or for certain advantages, every human being, native or foreigner, man or woman, child or negro, is given the franchise and a hand in legislation, provided that human being is a producer ?

A strike according to the Syndicalist formula is quite a different thing from a strike according to the Labour union or Socialist formula. As William Trautman points out in his pamphlet, " Why Strikes Are Lost," successful direct action demands two conditions, without which strikes are most likely to end in defeat : the workers must be able to

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strike at the very time when mills and factories are rushed with orders, and are least able to stand a sudden cessation of production ; secondly, they must close not only one part of a mill or factory but the whole plant. Therefore, no agreement binding either the whole working force or one craft must ever be entered into with the employers.

All crafts must be ready to stop work simultaneously at any time. The mere bettering of living conditions is not an aim but a means to an end ; the end being the ousting of the employers as such, and the taking over of their industries by the workers. This will be brought about by the general strike for which, according to Griffuehles, former secretary of the French General Federation of Labour, " the workers must keep themselves in training, a training more rigorous every day."

Servants or Men?

Daily Herald, Saturday, February 15

WITH the complete fusion of the three principal railwaymen's societies into one National Union of Railwaymen, there comes into existence the biggest trade union in the world, a society embracing over 180,000 men of the most diverse grades engaged in the manipulation of traffic and upon the permanent way. Nor will the new society be restricted even to those grades now included, for by its constitution the widest interpretation is placed upon the word "railwayman," so that all who draw wage or salary from a railway undertaking may claim to be enrolled among its members.

It will be remembered that this is the interpretation which the *Daily Herald* did not hesitate to place upon the new rules, noting the significance of this and seeking to warn the rank and file of railwaymen against possible attempts to obscure or impair so wise and generous an intent.

For this interpretation the *Daily Herald* was criticised and condemned in quite unnecessarily bitter language by one of the most prominent of the railwaymen's leaders. The rank and file, however, repudiated the threatened restriction, and declared for our interpretation, thus justifying our action, which was taken solely in the interests of the railwaymen themselves and of the future of their new amalgamation.

The draft rules of the new organisation were adopted without anything but slight verbal amendments, and membership will be open to all persons, male or female, in receipt of a salary or wage from a railway company. The idea of the promoters is to make the membership so representative that in the event of a strike being necessary all persons in the employ of a railway company shall be called out. Mr. Albert Bellamy, the late president of the A.S.R.S., was unanimously chosen as the president of the new organisation, whose headquarters will be at Unity House. The adoption of the scheme will be followed by a systematic campaign for the enrolment of non-unionists, and every effort will be put forth to force all railway workers into the Union.

But for the spirit of the rank and file the new organisation would have come into being as the National Union of Railway Servants. They would have none of it. Henceforth they were to be, not railway servants, but railway MEN.

Among the railwaymen the old servile, obsequious feeling is dead. So it is among the best of the workmen in all industries. But, unhappily, the old Adam has a tendency to crop up in a new and more insidious form among working-class leaders, especially among those who sit amidst cotton-spinners, ironmasters, coal-kings, and money-lords in the House of Commons.

Men of sterling personal character, who have earned the confidence of their fellows, they are not to be browbeaten, nor are they open to the grosser forms of flattery, but by subtle appeals to their "common sense," their "statesmanship," their "intelligence," the old ends may often be accomplished by the astute and experienced politicians who surround them.

The success of the biggest trade union in the world depends upon the alertness of the rank and file in seeing that this new force remains in fact, as in name, one not of Servants but of Men.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, referring to the new union says :—

"What it means is that the leaders in this movement want to be in a position to hold up the country—in other words, it is Syndicalism pure and simple. Syndicalism may be repudiated, but what else can it mean?"

What is Art?

Haldane Macfall in the *Art Journal*

WILLIAM MORRIS defined Art as "the expression of pleasure in work." This might largely define the enthusiasm, indeed the joy, in achieving fine craftsmanship; but it has nothing to do with Art. It is not even a complete definition of craftsmanship; though, to some extent, like Beauty, it is so, since perfection of handling, like perfection of anything, must generally produce an effect of beauty, or something akin to beauty. William Morris wrecked what might have been a great artistic career by essaying to employ the craftsmanship, and by seeking to see through the spectacles, in prose and in design, of dead artists, whose age and vision were wholly alien to his own age and vision.

Art is the splendid garden of man's imagination, the wayfaring by which he reaches to the majestic realm of his fullest experience, the wide highway whereby he steps from his petty agonies into the vast communion of his fellows, inherits the ages, and reaches out to his fulfilment. Art is a garden wherein blossoms the richest and the largest knowledge of life, wherein man may find a harvest for the reaping, abundance for the gathering. Without Art he lives in the sordid garret of a paltry loneliness with his own petty soul. He has but to step into the garden of Art in order to walk with the giants; hold communion with the saints; know the exquisite ecstasies of life; thrill with the impetus of the noblest passions; enlarge his heart and brain with the fellowship of such as have trod the vastnesses and have suffered with the broken, have known pity and triumph, been purified by compassion, and have strutted it to the stately measure of heroic impulses. There is no sensation that he may not experience, and, experiencing, live, if he shall wander into the splendid wayfaring.

Another New Book on Syndicalism

" Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth (How we shall bring about the Revolution)." By Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget, with a Foreword by Tom Mann and a Preface by Peter Kropotkin. Translated by Charlotte and Frederic Charles. (The New International Publishing Co., Oxford, England.) Cloth ($1.00 post paid to U.S.A.) 3s. 6d net. Paper, 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is a book by Emile Pataud ("le roi Pataud") of the Electricians' Union, and Emile Pouget of the Confédération Générale du Travail, two of the best known French Syndicalist leaders. It gives one of the best existing descriptions of Syndicalism in the form of a vivid historical story of the Syndicalist transformation that is supposed to have taken place in France, and an intensely interesting account of the new institutions at work, told by two men who had lived through this wonderful time. It is an indispensable book for all who wish to understand the aims and methods of French Syndicalism.

A French review says of it :—

"The story is laid in the spring of 19—, and the authors enable us to be present at each phase of the great Revolution.

"The General Strike has been proclaimed. From Paris it has extended to the provinces, not only to the urban centres, but also to the agricultural districts. The Government tries to combat it. It is unable to. It is in the first place paralysed by the people's power of inaction; and finally, abandoned by the army, it is overthrown.

"On the ruins of Parliamentarism, of State and capitalistic centralisation, there arises a society of freedom and well-being, industrial and federalist. We take part in the birth of this new world, in the reconstruction of all our institutions; we see how production, exchange and distribution are reorganised, and we note that Science and Art take a high place in the city of the future. Amongst the variety of incidents with which this work abounds, one of the most intensely interesting is the picture of the last war; the Revolution holding its own, without armies or soldiers, against the contra revolution, and destroying the armies and fleets hurled against it."

Kropotkin says: ". . . . this book should be spread everywhere, read everywhere, discussed everywhere."

Orders will be filled by WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE.

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WILSHIRE'S

Vol. XVII No. IV LONDON, APRIL, 1913 Price 2 Cents

Hyndman Divines Walling's Masque

IT is fortunate that funny things will be said and will happen in this world of sadness. For instance, whatever Hyndman says is admittedly well worth while, though at times we may think that he keeps us too near that Plimsoll load-line for an extensive view. He is witty enough, too, when he wants to be, but now I am to relate how he can be almost as funny when I am not certain he did want to be.

Things have obviously not been going any too well with the political Socialist movement anywhere, and in England probably least of all. So Hyndman, not finding anything here to buck him up, looked to America for encouragement, and found it in the 900,000 votes cast for Debs last November. And the 900,000 is especially encouraging because an ex-Socialist, "discouraged by the defeat of Berger," had foolishly forecast that Debs would not get half as many votes this time as he got four years ago.

Now, the only man Hyndman could have meant by ex-Socialist was myself, not because I remember forecasting that Debs would get less than he did before, or because I was discouraged by Berger's defeat, but because I was the only man who wrote about Berger's defeat as a deed accomplished before it had actually happened. Let me explain. A month or two before the election day which not only overthrew Berger but at the same identical moment gave Debs his 900,000 votes, I casually referred in this magazine to ex-Congressman Berger. This was not by any means a case of the wish being father to the thought, far from it; nothing will damn a man more surely than being a Congressman, nothing except remaining one. It was simply a safe exercise of prophecy. Berger's defeat was on the cards for anyone to read not so hot with party feeling that he could see nothing but red.

However, I am not astonished at Hyndman, an Englishman, not realising that even an ex-Socialist could not be discouraged by Berger's defeat before it could have occurred, but it is certainly strange that the editor of the New York *Call* when he reproduced Hyndman's halleluja should not have noted such a remarkable exhibition of second sight.

But Hyndman not only can wizard-like determine the forthcoming event which all-unconsciously makes a man blue long before it happens, but he also is able to almost supernaturally detect the identity of an author who essays to secretly write subversive Socialist doctrine over the signature of another man's name.

Doctor Jekyl would have never been able to play off Mr. Hyde on Mr. Hyndman. The *New Review* of New York recently published an article entitled "A Precursor of Progressivism" over the signature of Robert Rives La Monte.

The article is a well-written account of the activities of the late Henry D. Lloyd. In fact, it is practically a review of Lloyd's biography by Miss Caro Lloyd, recently published by Putnam's. I give a brief summary of it in another column.

However, excellent as it is, the article would have probably escaped Hyndman's notice had it not contained a story of an interview that Victor Berger had with Lloyd, wherein the latter said: "What is the use of voting? They will do the counting. And we can't shoot." The author of the *Review* article comments thereupon on Lloyd's "clear insight." Huh!

Now for La Monte, one of the American stalwarts of the voting revolutionary Socialists, and a personal friend of Hyndman, to have called anti-voting talk as "clear insight" was palpably incongruous; but, nevertheless, there it was in black and white. Anyone with less divination than Hyndman would have heaved a sigh at another lost brother. and let it go at that. But not so Hyndman. The old war-horse is up to all tricks—past, present, and especially the future. No Plimsoll line could ever be raised on him by sleight of hand. No, La Monte simply could not be a lost Syndicalist soul, heaven forbid! But there he is down in print saying that a man who says "what's the use of voting" displays clear insight.

How would you, gentle Socialist reader, get over that obstacle? You would not, you could not, admit it. But that's merely because you have not the Hyndman gift of divining. Solution? It is so very simple. La Monte never wrote it. Signed his name? Not a bit of it. Just a bit of a Lloyd George trickery.

As a matter of fact, the moment that Hyndman saw the name Lloyd in the article he instinctively suspected trickery. Why, it is plain as a pikestaff. As Hyndman apparently suggests in *Justice*, English Walling is really the author and is our "Anarchist friend" who thought to fool us by masquerading over La Monte's signature. It was well that Hyndman penetrated the disguise so promptly, for Walling has an article in the March *International Socialist Review*, in which he poses as a Revolutionary Socialist and discriminates in his well-known limpid style between Syndicalism and Revolutionary Socialism, showing that Syndicalism is becoming a combination of Anarchism and craft-unionism.

Syndicalism, according to Walling, "is the direct opposite of the class-struggle and a reversion to sectional unionism."

But it won't do you any good now, Walling, to talk just like Hyndman does about Syndicalism. He has found you out and branded you for all time to come Anarchist. Too late to repent now.

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If Hyndman had written the "Scarlet Letter" "A" would not have stood for adulteress, far worse.

However, to return to Walling and his article, now that the subject has been so delicately broached. I don't blame Hyndman much for thinking him an Anarchist, for, after all, Anarchist is a pretty broad label when you don't like a fellow. As I rather like Walling, I won't label him anything, although I don't mind letting him call himself a Revolutionary Socialist, inasmuch as that is getting to be about as broad a term as one can think of off-hand.

Gustave Hervé is just now Walling's particular hero, the real goods. That is, he is a "Revolutionary Socialist and Industrialist." Now by "Industrialist" Walling means a man who upholds the I.W.W. programme of unions formed along the line of product rather than craft. In this sense I myself am an Industrialist, but out of sheer perversity I prefer calling myself a Syndicalist, also because I think Syndicalist is the name which is going to stick. But I really would like to know what warrant Walling has for calling Hervé an Industrialist.

I have never seen any indication that Hervé was much of anything beyond a highly-emotional anti-militarist, who has recently switched from Anarchism to Parliamentarianism, with the result that all the Parliamentarians have hailed him as the arch-Syndicalist turned Socialist. Before the switch he was a man without mental balance; since the switch he is Aristotle and Marx rolled into a Berger.

Walling states one fact, however, which I have already noted in these columns, and that is in America the real Revolutionary Unionist movement is embodied in the I.W.W., with its slogan of "One Big Union" and incidentally "off the earth with the craft unions." The I.W.W. men call themselves Industrialists, and somewhat resent being called Syndicalists, principally because the Anarchists have taken up the name Syndicalism and are attempting to intellectually convert the craft unionists into Anarchism by means of the formation of Syndicalist leagues.

I don't think the Industrialists need worry about the Anarchists making any greater way with converting men to their faith by calling Anarchism Syndicalism. The failure of the Anarchists to get converts hinges largely upon the very fact that they have no programme of organisation. One of the reasons the Socialists have won out so far over them is not so much because State ownership is more attractive or more practical than voluntary co-operation, but because the necessity of a party to get votes necessitated political organisation. Political organisation may be useless for revolution, but it does get adherents.

The reason that Syndicalism will triumph over Socialism is that it gives men in the revolutionary economic organisations far more vital and powerful organisations than political organisations can ever be.

The Syndicalist sees in the revolutionary union the germ of the industrial structure of the future society. Unless the Anarchist sees this and strives to form such unions he can make no progress; if he does see it and strives for it, then he is a Syndicalist—but, for that matter, so is anyone else.

The essence of Syndicalism is found in Revolutionary Unionism. If a man or woman is a Revolutionary Unionist, he or she is a Syndicalist. If he can reconcile his Anarchism, or his Socialism, or his Methodism, or any other ism of politics or religion, with his Revolutionary Unionism he is a Syndicalist. If he cannot, he is not a Syndicalist.

The Syndicalist does not ask his brother what he thinks, but what he does. Action speaks like a megaphone to a Syndicalist, while the oratory of a Demosthenes falls on deaf ears.

Walling says this "anti-political Syndicalism is also represented by such writers as Odon Por and Gaylord Wilshire, though their policy is to belittle political action rather than to attack it absolutely. The basis of Syndicalist opposition to the Socialist Party is the belief that the State is only an instrument of oppression. The Socialist view, on the contrary, is that the State is only an instrument of *exploitation* —as long as it remains in the hands of the capitalists."

I would say in answer to this that, inasmuch as the Syndicalists see in the structure of the Revolutionary Unions the germ of the structure of the future society, they naturally do not see the use of striving to capture the State, which would be to them but a piece of useless machinery only fit for the scrap-pile when captured.

To the Syndicalist the thought of the State being a weapon in the hands of the workers is as absurd as thinking of a modern army clad in ancient armour and armed with bows and arrows. The Socialist may propose to abolish the present State, but he proposes to do it by capturing it first. The Syndicalist says the modern State, when the Revolutionary Unions take direct possession of the machinery of production, will disappear as the mist rises at dawn.

It is absolutely impossible for the Syndicalist to conceive of the State as surviving even to merely perish after the revolution. It must perish first in order to make way for the revolution.

The State is as surely bound to disappear before we can have the Co-operative Commonwealth as is the tail of a tadpole to disappear before we can have the frog. Walling's reverence for the State is of the same nature as Taft's reverence for the Constitution. Both are at bottom natural Conservatives. Both look for authorities and precedents to form their opinions upon.

A Precursor of Progressivism

By Robert Rives La Monte, condensed from the *New Review*.

THROUGHOUT his life Henry D. Lloyd was the valiant champion of a Lost Cause. He ever fought magnificently a losing battle. He was foredoomed to defeat. And yet he fought so unflinchingly that every defeat was transmuted into a moral victory, and so faithfully and lovingly has this story of inevitable and repeated failure been recorded by Miss Caro Lloyd that she may well be said to have given us a noble Epic of a Successful Life.

During the late seventies of the last century Lloyd was writing the money editorials of the Chicago *Tribune*, and it is of interest to note that he was one of the first to point out the economic effects of the demonetisation of silver.

By 1880 he had entered upon his real life work—the exposition of the effects upon the people, and especially upon the middle class, of the growth of monopoly. His first sketch of the rise of the Standard Oil monopoly appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1881. William Dean Howells was the editor who was brave enough to accept it. In those days Pujo committees were undreamed of, and the facts marshalled by Lloyd had all the power of stark novelty. The article made a real sensation. "Seven editions of the *Atlantic Monthly* were exhausted before the demand ceased—a thing unprecedented." In this article his style was at its best. The pages bristled with such vivid epigrams as "Only the rich can get justice, only the poor cannot escape it."

After the Haymarket bomb explosion in Chicago, when all of Lloyd's class in Chicago were howling for the blood of the "anarchists," Lloyd was visting the condemned men in their cells, and preparing an application to Governor Oglesby for

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executive clemency. It was at this time that Mr. Medill, who was associated with Mr. Bross, Lloyd's father-in-law, in the ownership of the Chicago *Tribune*, came to Mrs. Lloyd to warn her against her husband's course. "He pictured her father's extreme displeasure, and even predicted that it would result in her being disinherited."

"Do you suppose that any such consideration will stop Henry Lloyd from doing what he believes is right?" was the noble reply of that noble woman. She was right. It did not stop Henry Lloyd. He did appear before Governor Oglesby, with the result that the sentences of Fielden and Schwab were commuted to life imprisonment, and so they were saved for the subsequent pardon by Governor Altgeld. In explaining his course to his father, a clergyman, he wrote :—

"If it were possible to do everything I would attempt to rescue the victims of all injustice. I undertook this because the condemned were connected with the agitation of the great social question of our day, of which you know I have been a student. I am on the side of the under dog. The agitators on that side make mistakes, commit crimes, no doubt, but for all that theirs is the right side. I will try to avoid the mistakes and the crimes, but I will stay by the cause."

Lloyd's noble and disinterested course recalls the similar conduct of the old German Socialist philosopher, Josef Dietzgen, who, when the "anarchists" were arrested in May, 1886, offered to serve, during their imprisonment, as editor of their paper, the Chicago *Arbeiter Zeitung*. His offer was accepted. His course raised a storm of protest. Loud among the protestants were the official leaders of the Socialist-Labour Party. Referring to this in a letter written in 1896, he said :—

"For my part, I lay little stress on the distinction, whether a man is an Anarchist or a Socialist, because it seems to me that too much weight is attributed to this difference. While the Anarchists may have mad and brainless individualists in their ranks, the Socialists have an abundance of cowards."

Henry Demarest Lloyd was no coward, and while it is doubtless true that the Socialists still "have an abundance of cowards," Lloyd has had many worthy successors in our day who have risked social obloquy to demand justice for Ettor and Giovannitti and others.

After the collapse of the People's Party, "I journeyed to Winnetka to see Henry (Lloyd)," Victor Berger tells us. "I implored him to gather the scattered forces, and to lead in organising a new Socialist Party, for we had little faith in the old Socialist-Labour Party; but he said he was unfitted for that kind of work. He was in a despondent mood."

"The least democratic countries in the world," he wrote, "have State coal mines and State railroads, but they have no ownership by the people. The Socialism of a kingly State is kingly still; of a plutocratic State, plutocratic. We must transform at the same moment we transfer."

"He had already reached the conviction, which grew with the years," his sister tells us, "that when public ownership came some substitute would have to be made for party 'politics.'"

No Syndicalist sees more clearly than Lloyd the essential unfitness of the political State to adminster the business of an industrial democracy. "One of the greatest disasters the world has ever seen," he wrote, "awaits the people who attempt to adminster enterprise on Socialistic principles through present Parliamentary methods It would break down as no other civilisation has broken down before. All that a co-operative society is, Parliamentary government is not in the administration of business. . . . Banks, railroads, mines, insurance, manufacturing, 'State theatres,' 'municipal restaurants,' cannot be run by mass meetings, stump speakers, caucuses and ministerial pull—no more than private banks and business can be so run. What we know as 'politics' and Socialism are incompatible."

This belief that Government ownership alone was no cure-all he retained to the end. Only two years before his death he wrote to Professor Bemis :—

"I don't regard our situation as so simple as to be settled by our 'Government ownership' of monopolies. . . . These men have become the *masters* of us. If we buy them out, we but worsen our position, for then we become their slaves as bondsmen. No reform will be a real reform that does not destroy the *present predominance* of this property and its owners . . . . I know all that can be said as to this not being now 'a practical question.' I say in reply that anything short of this will also like all our half-reforms prove still less 'practical.'"

The coal strike gave him an opportunity to form a very definite opinion of the character of Roosevelt. In March, 1903, he wrote to his wife : "The keynote to Roosevelt is a boundless ambition. He is physically brave; morally, as ambitious men always must be, weak."

His premature death was caused by his strenuous work in the battle for municipal ownership of the Chicago traction system in September, 1903. On his death-bed he said : "It was the last two speeches that did it, *but I'd do it again!*"

The battle was lost. The people were defeated. The "interests" won. But the spirit of "I'd do it again!" is an unconquerable spirit that will inspire countless soldiers of the Common Good. Lloyd, beaten, still fights—and will fight till the People's victory is won!

For he was truly and literally—

One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake.

A Capitalist Adding Machine

FRANK MUNSEY writes in *Munsey's* for March about the loss of public confidence in the courts, and gives the following as an example :—

"Another striking illustration of the way in which the courts lose the confidence of the lay public comes from Baltimore. In August, 1911, a State-wide primary election was held, which the State 'machine' controlled. Some time afterward the illuminating discovery was made that the election officers had very generally certified not the votes actually cast, but such figures as were necessary to make the organisation win.

"More than two hundred offending election judges and clerks were indicted by the grand jury, and in time a few were tried, convicted, and sentenced. Now the highest court of Maryland, on appeal, has found justification for sending the cases back to be tried anew. There were errors enough to accomplish—unavoidably, perhaps, under existing rules of procedure—this suspension of substantial justice.

"It is such incidents that make the people disaffected with the courts. Whether the fault was in the form of indictment, in errors in admitting testimony, or in an unnecessarily technical construction by the appellate court, the fact remains that something, somewhere, prevented the substance of justice being accomplished. The gangsters who had boasted that the indicted officials would escape seemed to have ground for their confidence.

"The weighty dictum of a New York jurist, that the courts must reform themselves or the people will do it for them, may be commended to the general attention of his colleauges of the bench."

Now, what struck me in the Maryland story was not that one judge should have sent the cases back on technical grounds, but that two hundred election judges and clerks were indicted for certifying to a false count.

It is a comparatively easy matter to go after one judge, and with the proper laws recall him from office, but when you are confronted with recalling two hundred judges—which practically means that a large part of the community were backing and conniving at their false counting—then you are up against a very much more difficult problem.

The amount of the matter is that for a comparatively paltry consideration a large part of the people of Maryland were willing that the judges should perjure themselves and perform any illegal act in order to hold the political power.

I say for a paltry consideration, for there could not have been much difference to the capitalist class as a class which party was in power, even if the party they counted out had been the Socialist Party, which, of course, it was not.

When we find two hundred judges indicted in one Maryland election for false counting, I think it time to ask Mr. Hillquit if he had not better get out his tiger skin and commence rehearsing for that climb up the barricades?

In the *Survey*, February 1, is an excellent Syndicalist article by Mary Brown Sumner on "The Parting of the Ways in American Socialism."

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Berger's Mutual Aid at Six per Cent.

From the *Industrial Worker*, Spokane, Washington.

THE ways of the transgressor may be hard, but those of the compromiser seem even harder. As I.W.W. men we stand for the class war uncompromisingly, not that we like war but merely because we recognise that compromise between Labour and Capital is impossible.

Victor Berger, ex-Congressman, is one of those who differ radically from us, and he is attempting to show us how he can so submerge the class war as to actually persuade the capitalist class of Milwaukee to subsidise, with their advertising patronage, the *Daily Leader*, of which he is editor.

Here is an extract from Berger's prayer in the *Leader* to the capitalists beseeching their advertising :—

A TALK TO BUSINESS MEN.

"The *Leader* has made the claim that *Leader* advertising pays big. Next week we will tell our readers to mention the *Leader* to your clerks when they buy. We will assure them of your co-operation and the co-operation of your employees. All through the mercantile and advertising worlds there is a healthy tendency to mutual aid between manufacturers, merchants and publishers."

One of the charges that Berger is fond of making against us is that we are trying to get to the millennium by a short cut, but we must say that we have never painted the millennium as having actually arrived, as one could readily infer from this delightful picture of the "mutual aid and co-operation" existing in Milwaukee right here and now between that valiant Revolutionary, Victor Berger, and the capitalist class.

This extraordinary manifesto of the cessation of the class war impelled us to scan the advertising pages of the *Leader* with an unusual interest, to see what manner of capitalist lions had been so easily led into the Socialist fold. We must say that we did not get much enlightenment from the usual array of department store ads., which do not differ materially from those in the Los Angeles *Times*.

We have no doubt all these stores are run upon the eight-hour day with full time allowed for luncheon and plenty of seats for tired clerks. No doubt child labour in them is unknown, and no doubt none sell goods from sweat shops. We say no doubt, for otherwise we do not see how the *Leader* could prevent Editor Berger from exposing any such delinquencies and thus destroying the beautiful "mutual aid" picture, not to mention losing the ad.

However, there is one large and top-of-the-column ad. in the *Leader* by a concern which we must admit we never before had heard was noted for its extension of the right hand of fellowship to Labour. We refer to the United Cigar Stores Co. If there is one notorious labour-union busting concern in America it is the Tobacco Trust, and its chief distributing auxiliary is the United Cigar Stores Co.

We can readily understand with what joy the Tobacco Trust embraces the Milwaukee *Leader* upon inaugurating this new era of "mutual aid and co-operation," but we confess we don't exactly see why Militant Revolutionist Berger seems to enjoy the newly established fraternity with such gusto.

Of course, the *Leader* is financially hard up, and frankly says so. It is looking for "mutual aid and co-operation" and money, especially money, from any old source. In fact, it is looking so hard that it is driven to make its readers a very misleading offer of so-called Six per Cent. Bonds.

We have no objection to the *Leader* getting all the money it can from its readers upon a straight plan of donation with no hope held out to the subscriber of his ever seeing his money again. But when it offers its "Six per Cent. Income Bonds" it is not appealing from the standpoint of a gift to the cause of "mutual aid and co-operation," but it is representing to the subscriber that he is to get a bond well secured as to capital and interest. In fact, the very advertisement in which Berger offers these bonds states that "capital and interest on these bonds is *secured*."

When we hear of a bond being "secured," we naturally think that means the security is something tangible, say real estate and buildings. A bond conveys the idea of a mortgage on real estate divided into a number of equal different lots in order to facilitate disposal among a number of small investors. It also usually represents money that has been paid for something valuable and tangible. But how about these Berger bonds?

Do they represent any investment to be made? Not at all. They represent not assets, but debts now made and to be made. They are said to be secured, but have they security? No! They are merely "secured" by an agreement which provides that no interest shall be paid until current expenses are paid, and if in any one year there is no profit then there will not be 6 per cent. interest on the bonds for that year, nor will the deficit be made up by the 6 per cent. cumulating and being paid when the company has profits. In fact, the bonds are not bonds at all. The investor in these "Six per Cent. Mutual Aid *Leader* Bonds" is merely buying stock in a water-logged publishing company which is heavily in debt. The holders of the real bonds will have preference over him as to interest, and as they have a mortgage upon the real estate and machinery also, they naturally have preference over him when the company may be wound up and the assets sold out and the realised money distributed.

Berger in his advertisement of these so-called "Six per Cent. Income Bonds," which are quite unsecured, fails to mention anything about these other unadvertised bonds, held by other more favoured investors, which have priority over the advertised bonds since they are secured by a mortgage upon the tangible property of the publishing company. These 6 per cent. income bonds are of the true Blue Sky variety, they are not bonds, and they have no "income."

We would suggest to Berger that now he has inaugurated an era of "mutual aid and co-operation" in Milwaukee between Capital and Labour that he should sell his "income bonds" to the banks and trust companies, who would esteem it a great favour to be allowed to purchase such valuable securities on the ground floor.

We note that the *Leader* carries an ad. from Espenhains, whoever that may be, offering five bonds with every ten cent purchase, which bonds are doubtlessly as well secured as Berger's "Six per Cents." Here is a pointer for the United Cigar Stores Co. : Why should they not lay in a block of the "Six per Cent. Income Bonds" before they are all snapped up, in order that they might offer one Berger bond with every five cent scab cigar?

What greater example of "mutual aid and co-operation" could be offered than this? The Morgan Tobacco Trust Lion gambolling with the Berger Income Bond Lamb on the green advertising pages of the Milwaukee *Leader*. It should be a drama fit for the movies. What?

A movement is on hand to turn the National Forests over to the individual States for disposition. This means giving them over to the capitalists, but they are going to get them anyway, hence it will be but hastening a natural process. That is, if they do not get the forests directly they will get them indirectly by their control of the land and machines to which the forests supply the water and the water-power. In general I am in sympathy with Pinchot and Conservation, but nevertheless I cannot help but mentioning that he never gave me nor the people of Bishop a square deal in relation to the Inyo Forest Reserve.

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The Recall of Haywood

THERE is nothing surprising about W. D. Haywood's recall from the Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party by a two-to-one vote. What is surprising is that he had a minority of nearly 11,000 in his favour.

Haywood has repeatedly and openly derided political action, and that 11,000 members of a party which is based upon political action should vote to have him retained in their Executive is simply one of the curiosities of the workings of the human intellect. Logically, in fact, Haywood has no business in the Socialist Party at all, but the logic of the Labour movement and its members is beyond comprehension. No man can serve two masters. It is impossible for a Labour leader to be at one and the same time an advocate of revolutionary direct action and of revolutionary political action.

The *Metropolitan's* Price Theory

THE *Metropolitan Magazine* of New York is a successful high-class monthly publication selling at 15 cents per copy, yet it has an editorial policy of a very Socialistic tendency. W. J. Ghent, Berger's brains and private secretary, is on the staff, and so also is Algeron Lee, late editor of the *Daily Call*. Professor George D. Herron is also a contributor. It is significant of the times that even such a diluted Socialism as it presents should meet with approbation among middle-class readers. However, after all, when a publication finds a logical reason for Trusts, and protests against the blind folly of the politicians in attacking a natural growth, it is but natural that the Trusts should recognise a friend and that such a paper should receive at least as much of their advertising patronage as do the orthodox trust-busting magazines. In fact, it would seem only human nature if the Trusts favoured such a journal. Certainly the *Metropolitan* has no cause of complaint of any discrimination against it by the Trusts, for it seems to be getting its full share of their advertising. If a magazine can satisfy its readers and not drive away the big advertisers it is on the high road to financial success. and this would seem to be the position of the *Metropolitan*. True, its economics, outside of its understanding of the Trust problem, are ridiculously weak. For instance, it finds that "high prices increase as wages increase," that "the high cost of living in the last ten years is due to the fact that wages have doubled."

Yes, it is true enough that in some cases in the United States money wages have doubled in the last ten years; but, on the other hand, we must remember that whereas the doubling of prices is a world-phenomenon, the doubling of wages is a very restricted and local phenomenon. Moreover, where it has obtained, as in America, it has invariably occurred after prices doubled and not before. Speaking generally, money wages throughout the world in the last ten years have increased little, if any, whereas prices have universally risen, with the result that real wages have suffered a very substantial reduction.

Intervention in Mexico

POWER in Mexico resides in an oligarchy of 10,000 landowners and capitalists, native and American. Against these Zapata and the dispossessed peons, 90 per cent. of whom are illiterate, with no money and no arms, fight a heroic but seemingly a hopeless battle. At best, the peons can only hope for some measure of relief when the capitalist factions get to fighting among themselves and when one side falsely promises something in return for their services, as did the late Francisco Madero.

However, hopeless or not, the peons will certainly continue their struggle for the land. Their struggles will cause constant interruption to the development of the country, and consequently to profits.

The American capitalist is already largely interested in Mexico, and he sees enormous opportunities if a "strong" Government were able to maintain itself. He therefore looks with great satisfaction upon the advent of the Huerta gang; yet at the same time, except for one objection, he would willingly see Huerta kicked out by Uncle Sam, for he knows that this would promise an even more stable Government.

The objection to American intervention is that the expense would be terribly heavy, and he would have to pay it. Huerta gives him "peace and prosperity" at a cut rate—cut-throat rate, as a matter of fact.

This attitude explains why the American capitalists are so well satisfied with Assassin Huerta. The following from the London *Daily News* is of interest as showing how old-fashioned and out of date some London journals are:—

"The New York *Times* is annoyed because we found suspicious the readiness of American journals to condone the murder of President Madero and to welcome the accession of his murderers to office. That does not surprise us, because the New York *Times* has always expounded the doctrine that the American Trusts can do no wrong. What, however, does surprise us is that this journal should attribute our views to the fact that 'since the recent outburst in Mexico, the *Daily News* has been obviously eager for American intervention,' and is 'disgruntled' because that intervention has not come. The first time we referred to the Diaz rising was on February 15, when we wrote that 'Mexico's troubles are no ground in law or morals for American intervention.' In the very article which the New York *Times* quotes, and upon which it comments, we wrote: 'Although we have strongly denied any right on the part of the United States to intervene in Mexico, we are at liberty to ask why the American journalists who pressed such a right are convinced that intervention is no longer necessary by a series of murders which do not bring peace obviously nearer.' It will be seen that the New York *Times* has stated the very opposite of the truth, and can have been ignorant that it was doing so only if it neglected to read through the very articles upon which it was commenting."

The *Daily News* must know that from the standpoint of a "stable" government Huerta, even though he be a murderer, offers a much better promise than did Madero.

Why, then, should not the New York *Times* condone the murder? Why should the *Daily News* be querulous because the New York *Times* has "stated the very opposite of the truth"? What's profits to truth?

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Bullets v. Ballots

My Reply to Job Harriman's Article in the *Metropolitan* of New York

London, March 6, 1913.

Editor, the *Metropolitan*.

IT was with more than ordinary interest that I read Mr. Job Harriman's article "Ballots v. Bullets" in the current number of your excellent magazine.

My interest was a double one: first, in the subject itself; second, in Mr. Harriman. It so happens that it has been my lot to play John the Baptist to Mr. Harriman. In 1888 I started an active agitation in Los Angeles along exactly the same line of argument that now, twenty-five years later, I see Mr. Harriman delineating in your columns. In 1890 I was the nominee of the Socialists for Congress from Los Angeles. This was ten years before Mr. Harriman was nominated for the Vice-Presidency and twenty years before he ran for Mayor of that city.

I cannot help but feeling that some of the seeds that I dropped in those days is partly accountable for the strong Socialist sentiment in Los Angeles now at the back of Mr. Harriman.

However, I am not relating these personal details for any self-advertisement, but in order to show that those who, like myself, have abandoned our old-time faith in the "power" of the ballot to put us "behind the guns" are not people without experience in the Socialist movement.

There is much, very much, in Mr. Harriman's article with which I am in entire accord. He as a Socialist, and I as a Syndicalist, or Direct Actionist as he puts it, are both out to supplant capitalism by Socialism. We differ merely as to the method of the supplanting.

Mr. Harriman's plan is transparently simple. We will vote bonds to the capitalist in payment for his capital. Then, if we get tired of paying 6 per cent. interest on the bonds so issued, we will arbitrarily reduce the interest to "four per cent. or to three per cent. or to two per cent." Finally, if we get tired of paying any interest at all, we can coolly confiscate even the two per cent., for, as Mr. Harriman says, "being in power can we not also employ the income-tax?"

In vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird. Mr. Harriman can hardly think that the American capitalist is such a dodo as to walk into such an obvious trap.

But we have the majority vote, says Mr. Harriman, and that gives us the power to push him into the trap if he should show any reluctance to walk in of his own account. Does it? Let us see what Mr. Harriman says about the capitalists: "Let us not forget that the capitalist class is possessed of tremendous power: the army, the navy, the militia, the police, the public treasury, the public credit, the law, and the courts. Will they use this power? Have they not used it whenever occasion required? Is it not natural that they should? Will not every organism defend itself whenever its very vitals are attacked?"

Now this is rather strong language from Mr. Harriman about the power of wealth and the lengths to which it will go to "defend its organism." Sounds almost as if he himself were a Direct Actionist. But soft, he will disarm the suspicions of the capitalists by pursuing strictly legal methods. Says Mr. Harriman: "Let us initiate and pass new laws." Mr. Harriman suggests that the Direct Actionist will answer this by saying: "But they (the capitalists) will use the army to prevent such action."

Mr. Harriman does not answer his own question directly, but practically gives it an affirmative reply by ironically replying: "Then they will not use the army to prevent the Direct Actionists seizing the mill contrary to law."

Now I contend that herein Mr. Harriman has completely given away his whole case as to the likelihood of the capitalist calmly and peaceably giving up possession of his wealth merely because he has been outvoted. The capitalist will never give up his capital to either Socialist or Direct Actionist unless he is confronted by an obviously highly superior force.

He will respect only "power, and only such power as is orderly and able to stand the test of endurance," as Mr. Harriman truly says.

I see no sign, however, of any such power developing in Mr. Harriman's programme. He talks a great deal about the power of capital, but nowhere does he give us any idea of how the workers are going to get power. True, he says that the "workers propose to build up their power by political action," but he might just as well have said that they propose to lift themselves by their boot-straps. Again, he says that "mass voting is mass action: the same mass, the same power."

Mass voting is merely the symbol of power. As long as the symbol really stands for power, then the will of the voters counts, but the moment the symbol is recognised to stand for a paper brigade, then the first time there comes any reason to disregard the majority vote it will be disregarded. The wolf does not fear the size of the flock.

The capitalists are now behind the guns, and no mere majority vote is ever going to get them to abandon their position of present advantage, nor are they ever likely to be outflanked by such a transparent subterfuge as voting bonds with a string tied to them.

The Syndicalists fully admit and realise all this, and declare that the capitalists can only be brought to surrender by the power which lies within the workers through their economic solidarity, through their ability to withhold their labour-power when thoroughly organised.

To try and resist the capitalists by opposing the military force of the workers to that of the State controlled by the capitalists has all the foolhardiness depicted so picturesquely by Mr. Harriman. No Syndicalist dreams of such a programme.

The Trusts were the outcome of competition between the capitalists, and the Labour Trusts—the revolutionary industrial unions—now being formed are a reflex in the Labour world to the Trust in the world of capital.

The Labour Trust, or the "One big Union," or whatever you may please to call it, is the means by which the workers will gain the necessary power to combat the capitalists.

The formation of these unions and the strikes that must happen in their development will be the school which will educate and discipline Labour for its mighty struggle.

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Finally, it is these Revolutionary Unions which will give Labour that consciousness of its own power which will lead it triumphant to its future conquests.

True, the Socialist political movement is also bound to grow; and, in fact, the faster the industrial movement grows the faster the vote will grow; but the political movement will finally get to be recognised to be rather the by-product of the industrial movement than co-partner with it in the overthrow of capitalism.

A Fortress of Ice

AS it has often happened before with new theories, the advocates of the theory of Syndicalism do less to spread it than do its opponents. There has been comparatively little written about Syndicalism and its corollary, the General Strike, but that little has been sufficient to stir up every one of the orthodox choir of Socialist writers to sing his song of defiance. No doubt if silence had been discreetly kept there would have been as yet little or no stir among the orthodox Marxians, for, as said, the Syndicalists write but little, and the little they do write is not given much publicity in the Socialist Party Press. The Party is admittedly built up on the theory that the ballot is the chief weapon of the workers, and anyone who gives that theory a jolt jolts the very foundation upon which the Party Press stands. It is an economic foundation, it might be casually remarked.

Among those who are now very industriously giving advice to what he calls the "younger members of the Party" is Robert Hunter. Dear me, how time flies! How well I remember when Robert was a very religious young man engaged in College Settlement work, and quite the intellectual despair of us ribald Socialists trying to convert him to Marx. But we finally hooked him, and now we find that he sticks where he first landed, with no more sign of a live progression in his new environment than a herring in a smoke-house. If Robert has the same luck with the "younger members" whom he is now so sedulously herding as we had with him, then he has my sympathy in a badly-paid and an irksome job.

Hunter is now engaged in the thankless task of showing these youngsters, in the columns of the *Labour Leader* of London, how absurd it is to talk strike when you have the ballot. Here follows a letter which the editor thereof was good enough to allow me to give answer:—

Wilshire's Reply to Robert Hunter

"Sir,—The obvious *raison dêtre* of Robert Hunter's articles upon the General Strike is to show the general foolishness of revolutionary industrial action. If he can prove that the General Strike is an impossibility, and that it is only advocated by the imbeciles and infants of the Labour movement, he assumes that this will dispose of all nonsense like Syndicalism, and that the workers will once more look with awe upon the political gods.

"It is true, as Hunter says, that the General Strike has found its greatest advocates, as a theory, in those countries where there is the least organisation, the Latin countries. On the other hand, the General Strike, as a fact, has had the greatest exemplification of its power in this country, where as a theory of action it hardly is heard of.

"True enough, also, in the Latin countries men are of a more emotional nature, and a strike appeals to them with more force than voting It may be more ineffective, or it may not be, the main thing with them is that it is immediate.

"But this admission carries nothing with it more than an admission of the well-known difference of characteristics of the southern nations to the northern. The theory of the General Strike, to be a sound theory, must base itself upon the theory that the workers are sufficiently disciplined and conscious of their strength to carry it through successfully. The Latin countries may be the most easily taken with the idea of the strength that lies in a General Strike, but the mere fact that a certain number of men and their leaders are taken up with a grandiose idea is by no means any proof that they will be successful.

"Success in any strike means great pertinacity and an intense feeling of solidarity. It means that the stoppage of the machinery must so seriously affect either the particular capitalists or the community as a whole that it becomes of interest to one or the other of the said parties to make concessions and have it stopped. Now to develop this solidarity of Labour we must have certain antecedent conditions, and as a general rule this involves a very considerable consolidation on the part of the employers. In other words, the solidarity of the employers gives a reflex for the solidarity of the workers.

"This condition, in turn, means a considerable development of industry, because consolidation of capital only comes after a long period of disintegration and competition has supervened. What I am driving at is that a successful General Strike is an answer to the last series of the term of capitalist development. It can only come when capitalism has developed very highly. It is an evolutionary development of the Labour forces, just as the Trust is an evolutionary development of the forces of capital.

"No doubt strikes in the past have often been hideous, ghastly mistakes, and no doubt they will be the same in future, but that is not the point. The question is whether with the progressive development of capital is or is not the strike a natural reflex of that development?

"From the Syndicalist theory it is. Moreover, the Syndicalist declares that nothing but the strike will give that education and discipline to the worker which will give him the consciousness of power to hearten him to a revolutionary struggle. Whatever may be said for voting, no one can say that it gives of itself that discipline and solidarity, that consciousness of power, that is given by the strike.

"The General Strike may be the myth that Sorel declares it to be, but that, too, is not the point. The evolution of capital is admittedly toward one huge Trust, which, too, may be a myth, but nevertheless the tendency is certain. It's the same with the reflex to this huge Trust, which is the General Strike. The strike may never come off, it may never be necessary, but nevertheless it is certain that all the tendencies are to the General Strike, and all the quotations in the world, from Moses to Marx down to Hyndman, will not dispel a fact.—Yours, etc.,

"GAYLORD WILSHIRE."

Hunter himself gives proof of this irresistible tendency towards the general strike by the very quotations he gives in striving to deny it. For instance, he quotes Jaurès as follows: "Toward this abyss of a revolutionary general strike the proletariat is feeling itself more and more drawn." He quotes Kautsky: "When great events have moved the masses to their depths an extensive cessation of labour may easily have great political results." And again: "We are now entering upon a time where opposed to the overwhelming power of organised capital an isolated non-political strike will be hopeless."

As showing how far superior facts are to theory, especially when the theory is a false one, I might call attention to the fact that the railway workers of England have again given evidence of the power of the strike by their successful insistence last month of the return of Guard Richardson to his job on the Midland Railway.

Richardson was ordered by the boss to overload a train in defiance of the printed rules. He refused, and was discharged. He appealed to his union. His union talked with the other railway unions. Result, the federated unions informed the Midland Railway that unless Richardson was reinstated immediately there would be a general strike called upon all the railways of Great Britain.

There was no strike—was none simply because the railway directors capitulated and reinstated Richard-

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son. Can anyone doubt but that the solidarity of the workers in this matter has given them a greater consciousness of their own power than if they had returned a hundred members of Parliament?

Could there be a better illustration of the fact that the mere demonstration of the power to call a general strike may be sufficient without a strike itself ever being called?

On the other hand, can anyone think that the workers could have ever so disciplined themselves if they had not had the training of previous strikes?

There is nothing more foolish than the saying that the Syndicalists pin all their faith on one supreme effort, the General Strike, and that if this fail they are done for forever. It would be quite as silly to say that because the Socialists run a man for Parliament and fail that they too are done for forever.

As a matter of fact, strike failures are an absolutely necessary discipline for the workers, but the chances are that by the time the supreme General Strike is in order it will never have to be called, because the capitalists, like the Midland directors, will surrender on the threat.

Capitalism is a fortress of ice, impregnable in the night of ignorance and disorganisation, indefensible under the Sun of Syndicalism.

An Irish Syndicalist Epic

"Co-operation and Nationality: A Guide for Rural Reformers from this to the Next Generation," by George W. Russell. Paper (25 cents), 1s. Published by Maunsel and Co., Dublin.

IF you have anything of good red blood in your veins, here is a book which will make it spin. To me it has been the most inspiring book along social lines that I have ever read; and I have read about everything there is to read.

I am sure I cannot make my readers feel as I do about the book by any amount of talk about it, although the quotation I give may help.

It is the story of the modern agricultural co-operative movement in Ireland. That does not sound very exhilarating; it did not to me. I began the book as a duty, and to be appropriately Irish I shall say I ended it with pleasure. A bull is appropriate anyway in a treatise on dairy-farming.

Ireland has been kicked and cuffed by England now for a century or more, and at last her politicians are telling the world that Home Rule is in sight and her troubles are about over. Now, giving Ireland Home Rule is no doubt all right as a matter of justice and democracy, just as giving the Suffrage to women is the same. But an American who has seen what home rule and woman suffrage accomplishes at home cannot be made to swallow any fairy tale about the net result being any very near approach to the millennium.

And the author has no illusions about Home Rule, but he certainly has a most glorious vision of what the budding Irish agricultural co-operative movement promises.

The way Mr. Russell puts it makes one almost want to pack up for the Emerald Isle instanter to take part in the movement which is going to give Ireland all the advantages of a modern London, yet losing none of the delights of the rural life, and peopled with a race of god-like humans all artists greater than those of ancient Greece.

All this is to happen by the new social life to be engendered by the co-operative movement. Sounds foolish, particularly the way I am putting it, but it is not foolish, and if you read Russell at first hand you might think, as I do, that it is supremely good sense.

Says the author:—

"The Greeks developed the sense of citizenship by political means, and, because their States were very small, it was easy to kindle that conscious identity of interest with the community which draws out the best in man and dedicates it to the service of the State. A man that has the power of one vote among millions of votes, a power which he exercises once in five or six years, soon loses all consciousness of identity of interest with a community too vast and complex for his understanding, and which often in its workings reduces him to poverty. By political means we can now create in but a very few people that conscious identity of interest. Our co-operative associations in Ireland, gathering more and more into themselves the activities connected with production, consumption, and distribution, and even the social activities, as they grow more comprehensive in their aims, make the individual more conscious year by year that his interests are identical with the interests of the community. If it succeeds he shares in its prosperity; and it is this spirit of mutual interdependence and comradeship in life, continually generated and maintained and inbred into the people, which is the foundation on which a great State, a great humanity, a beautiful civilisation, can be built. The co-operative associations, properly constituted and organised, alone in modern times are capable of creating this spirit. Individualism in life or business can never create it. I never felt, so far, in any exposition of State Socialism which I have come across that the writers had any understanding of social psychology, or by what means life may react on life so as to evoke brotherhood and public spirit. Understanding of economics apart from life there often was, and a passion for mechanical justice, but I, at least, always feel that humanity under State control would be in a *cul de sac*. But it is quite possible to create without revolution, and by an orderly evolution of society within the State—not controlled by the State, but finally controlling its necessary activities—a number of free associations of workers and producers which, in the country, would have the character of small nations, and in the towns, of the ancient guilds, which would, I believe, produce more beauty, happiness and comfort than the gigantic mediocrity which always is the result of State activity. The Co-operative Commonwealth is the fourth alternative to State Socialism, the Servile State, or our present industrial anarchy; and Irishmen must make up their minds which of the four alternatives they prefer. They will be driven by the forces working in society to one or other of these courses. If capital wins we shall have the Servile State, and an immeasurable bureaucracy to keep the populace in order. If State Socialism wins humanity will have placed all its hopes on one system, and genius, temperament, passion, all the infinite variety of human life, will be constrained by one policy. Our present system is anarchic and inhuman, and the world is hurrying away from it with disgust. The Co-operative Commonwealth alone of all these systems allows freedom and solidarity. It allows for personal genius and unhampered local initiative. It develops a true sense of citizenship among its members. Whatever alternative Irishmen choose to promote they should think long and dispassionately on the prospects for humanity which each offers, and consider well their varying political, social and economic possibilities."

It would probably strike Mr. Russell with surprise to be told that his book is the best indirect advocacy of Syndicalism that has been written in English, but it is true.

No one better than he has grasped the true inwardness of what vital importance it is to both the individual and the community to be put into a proper industrial relation to each other. For Ireland nothing is possible now for such an adjustment except the building up of agricultural co-operatives. Ireland is an agricultural community, with agriculture carried on on a small scale, and, probably very happily, it will be a long time before either big industry or agriculture on a big scale develops, if ever.

Therefore Syndicalism as a movement of the proletarian wage-worker has no place at present in Ireland; but, nevertheless, from the standpoint of the psychological effect on the worker, the giving him the consciousness of his power, the development of his faculties, this Irish agricultural co-operative movement has numerous possibilities. Of course, all the politicians are opposing it, by the way.

Russell has a magnificent command of poetic prose, and with this and with his fire for a great cause giving him a vision of the future greatness of his country and its people, he has produced a memorable work, a classic. Read it.

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WILSHIRE'S

Vol. XVII No. V LONDON, MAY, 1913 Price 2 Cents.

Fall of the American Bastille

FIRST we have a cable in the London papers announcing that "W. D. Haywood, leader of the American Syndicalists, has been sent to prison for six months upon the charge of getting up a Labour Procession in New Jersey when the police had ordered otherwise." Then a few days later we get another cable saying that "Haywood has been retried and released because the police have decided that he had been guilty through pure ignorance."

All very interesting and most instructive. I can quite well believe that Haywood was ignorant of the law, because American laws are made to fit Labour crimes after the act is committed, and Haywood does not set up as an infallible seer. Just now it is a crime to carry a red flag in Pennsylvania, and I believe it is a crime to carry a green flag in Ulster, and no doubt New Jersey is quite capable of making it a crime to sport a blue flag if the police should happen to notice that Haywood's laundry blued his handkerchiefs too much.

There has never been the least trouble in getting a working man into prison in America when the police want him there, but to get him out when they wanted him in is something new, and I think we may thank Haywood for showing us that Direct Action is about as good a prison key as is a million dollars.

"Ignorance of the law is no defence" seems a played-out maxim.

I am writing this with no knowledge of any particulars. I simply know that Haywood was put in prison on a frivolous pretext and let out on a still more frivolous one, and I know enough to know that when the police let Bill Haywood out of prison that there must have been extraordinary pressure brought to bear on them.

Next to the original putting of Haywood into prison, the greatest tactical mistake the capitalists have ever made in America was letting him out; that is, it was unless the emergency was something extraordinary. No one but a fool or Berger will ever believe that he was let out because of any sudden realisation that injustice has been done. It is somewhat similar to the case of the Taft pardon of Warren, which everyone knows, again except fools and Bergers, was dictated by fear and not mercy. But the letting off of Haywood is much the more significant event.

That I am not altogether a prophet without credentials I would prove by referring to an article I had in the *Clarion* of London of March 28, which I am reprinting in this number. It will be seen that I then and there said that "Haywood is building an industrial organisation which means overwhelming power for the workers. As it grows the power of the State to imprison and hang the Haywoods and Ettors diminishes correspondingly and finally collapses altogether."

I, however, frankly admit that I hardly thought that Haywood would prove my contention by making the State let him out of prison ten days after my prophecy had been published.

The whole thing has come so pat that some of my readers, I am quite sure, will say that it is all a set-up job arranged between Haywood, Wilshire, and the State of New Jersey to advertise WILSHIRE'S.

Not at all; I protest. Some people, no doubt, also said when the Bastille fell that it was all done merely to prove that De Tocqueville's remarkable prophecy was right. No doubt the same people were also sure that Louis XVI. rolled his head into the sawdust basket for the same reason. There are limits, however, even to the realism of a cinema show.

I wonder if the Socialist Party does not now think it had better rescind its vote and restore to its Executive Committee the man who has fired the first shot at the Bastille in America?

I am, maybe, all wrong, but it seems to me that this is an event that may rank with the fall of the Bastille in the French Revolution.

Proportional Representation

THERE is just now considerable agitation among British Socialists in favour of Proportional Representation.

It is said if that system prevailed the Labour Party would have 80 Members of Parliament instead of 40. No doubt it is true. No doubt if the Socialists of America had the right to concentrate their 900,000 votes they would have 30 or 40 members of Congress. No doubt such a system would be more equitable, and also no doubt the very fact that the present system is inequitable and gives the old parties an advantage is the very reason why the old parties will be most unlikely to ever inaugurate a change.

But, after all, except for the benefit to the men who are elected to Parliament or to Congress, what good would it be?

I wonder if anyone really thinks that it would make much of a difference toward the forwarding of the Revolution because we had a few more members to represent our votes? At best, all a good-sized minority in Parliament can do is to trade off votes with one or the other of the old parties for various small pickings.

In those American States where they now have the Initiative and Referendum, Proportional Representation as to the State legislatures would obviously have no value at all.

As it is, the Socialists have the right to propose legislation to the voters for a referendum, and the State legislature has little power in such States now, and what it has is diminishing.

Proportional Representation would admittedly be fairer than the present system, but to think that it would have any particular value to Socialism is purely a political illusion.

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Voting : A Waste of Time and Energy

Gaylord Wilshire in the *Clarion*, March 28.

SYNDICALISTS, when they predict that the capitalists would never turn out of office upon the request of a mere voting majority, are told by their Parliamentarian friends to wait and see

What with the apathy of the workers of England in returning revolutionary Socialists to Parliament, together with the apathy of the capitalist class at the return of the few that have as yet been returned, there has been little chance of an ocular demonstration of the soundness of the Syndicalist prophecy in this country. True, Victor Grayson and Cunninghame Graham were returned to Parliament, but the capitalists were quite right in their judgment that one revolutionary springs no revolution.

At the first election to the Duma in Russia both workers and capitalists showed themselves more alert to affairs, such a large number of revolutionaries being returned that the capitalists changed the election laws so that when the next election came round there was practically no chance of revolutionary successes, and moreover, a large number of those who had been elected to the first Duma were incontinently exiled to Siberia, where they are still rotting, and their voter-backers powerless to protest effectively.

Ah! but that's in autocratic Russia, and it is no criterion as to what would happen in a democracy, is the reply. The United States, most fertile in its examples of the classic development of capitalism on industrial lines, is now logically commencing to furnish us with examples of what other countries may expect in political lines. In a recent article I referred to the case of Meyer London, a Socialist candidate for Congress from New York City, who had obviously received a majority vote, but who was counted out by Tammany Hall. When he protested to the courts he was not even allowed to open up his case.

The case of Fred Stanton, the Socialist miner in Kansas, who was elected to the Legislature last November, is even a better illustration of the Syndicalist contention than that of Meyer London. In London's case he was acually defeated on the face of returns, but in the Stanton case the count was in his favour, and yet he has been unseated. And what makes the Stanton case particularly interesting is that the validity of the count had been previously unsuccessfully contested in court. Upon the very same evidence that the court had decided upon in his favour the Kansas Senate unseated him.

The Senate practically said that they cared nothing about the honesty or the legality of the vote for Stanton, the point was that they had the power to kick him out, and they proposed to use it. They did.

Before Stanton received the final kick which lifted him out of the Kansas Senate he was graciously allowed to state his case. He did it well, for Stanton is a good fellow, too good a fellow indeed to have degraded himself by trying to sit in any Senate. He said :—

"Mr. President and Senators,—Before the report of the committee on election is voted upon, I desire to speak a few words in my own behalf.

"I am a working man.

"All my life has been spent in toil of the hardest and most dangerous kind. Since a small boy I have worked under the ground as a coal miner, and at 53 years of age, I truthfully say to you, no dollar of money has ever come into my possession that I did not give more than value for in my labour.

"I am proud that I am a member of the working class.

"I envy none of you rich men your possessions. I would not change places with the richest of you. I thank God that no human being has suffered any loss that I and mine might eat.

"My only desire when I came to the capital was to be of service to the working class. None of you doubt for a moment that if I am allowed to remain in this body every vote I cast will be for the right and against the wrong. I carry in my pocket something that none of you senators ever did or will carry. I am the first man to sit in this House able to make such a boast. I refer, gentlemen, to my Labour Union card, and I am happy to say I would not give up and abandon the men with whom it gives me the right to associate for all the world.

"You Democrats, and most of you Republicans, claim to be reformers, and you propose according to your platform promises to abolish political methods which in the past have brought Kansas into shame and disrepute.

"Now consider for a moment what a ridiculous position you place yourselves in if you uphold this committee's report. You take from a labouring man a certificate of election honestly given him by Kansas voters. You put in his stead a politician who lives by the toil of others and who was repudiated by the people at the polls. Look further, senators, and see what you have left when you have driven out of the Senate of the State of Kansas the only union working man ever elected to it. You still have the wealthy bankers, manufacturers, lawyers, and big farmers to make laws for the labouring people whom they so dearly love.

"You can, by your votes, deprive me of any right to sit among you, but if you do so you commit a great outrage.

"You can send me home to-day, and to-morrow I will be down in the earth digging coal.

"I probably never will be elected to this office again, but I warn you, if I am robbed of my place here, that some day people of my class will occupy all the seats in this Senate Chamber, and in every other place in the world where laws are made and executed, and there will be none powerful enough to remove them."

Stanton spoke well, but it was no good. Out he went.

To anyone but a Syndicalist it would have been unbelievable that such an incident could occur in America, and I admit that, pessimist as I am about Parliamentarianism, I did not look for the capitalists getting into action so early in the game. Certainly the Americans might have looked with more care at the result of Socialists electing men to European Parliaments, not to mention Westminster, and have seen that a few Stantons more or less is of no moment.

The *Daily Call* of New York, a typically staid orthodox Socialist sheet, makes the following ponderous remarks in its issue of February 1 :—

IS POLITICAL ACTION USELESS?

"From Topeka, Kan., comes the news that the Kansas State Senate has unseated its lone Socialist member, Fred Stanton, by a vote of 28 to 10, and installed a Republican in his place. The Senate did so on the charges that men crossed over from the Missouri shore to vote for Stanton, that aliens voted, and that the count contained many errors.

"And what are we going to do about it?

"The only answer is, fight with all the power we possess for his reinstatement, even though that power be as yet insufficient to effect it. And even so, the fight itself will be of the utmost value in making more propaganda and increasing the as yet deficient power.

"And this is the only answer possible to those who see in such an incident the uselessness of political action. Power of any kind is not and cannot be won in a day. It is a slow growth. It is comprised not in a mere count of votes, but in the intelligence, will, and determination behind them. The ever-increasing vote, carrying with it these qualities, means increasing power, but not otherwise.

"The grounds upon which this Socialist was unseated may be true or false, but it makes no difference. The overwhelming probability is that they are utterly false, but the majority which supported them as yet possess the necessary power to do so. *The power is everything, the pretext nothing.*

"The case is nothing different to those in which exponents of 'industrial action,' as opposed to 'political action,' are seized in the midst of their activities and rammed into gaol on one pretext or another. The cases of Haywood and Ettor and others are substantially the same as those of Stanton and Meyer London.

"Stanton may not recover his seat—probably will not. But even in this event the futility of political action is not proven. Haywood and Ettor might have been hanged despite all that was done by Socialists to prevent it, but even had this occurred it would not prove industrial action to be useless.

"Capitalism cannot externally keep on hanging all who take part in the class struggle against it, and neither can it eternally count them out at the polls.

"The working class is on the road to power, and it will come by many hard knocks on the road. Its representatives may be

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killed, imprisoned, or counted out, but the march goes on uninterrupted, on the whole, and with ever-increasing numbers and speed."

It is rather startling for the *Call* to admit the main contention of the Syndicalists, "Power is everything." Exactly so, but where does the *Call* go to find its power? It fatally admits that it is not to be found in any mere "count of votes." Not in the votes themselves, but in "the intelligence, will, and determination behind the votes," that is where the *Call* triumphantly locates the seat of power. It might just as well have said that power exists in the philosopher's stone without telling us where the stone is. How are you going to find this "intelligence, determination, and will?" Where are they to be found? That is the question. The *Call* may know; very likely it does, but is not orthodox to admit such knowledge, and it doesn't dare to say industrial organisation is the key to "will, determination, and intelligence."

And there is a vast difference between the imprisonment of leaders in revolutionary industrial organisation like Haywood and Ettor and the denial of political office to Stanton and London.

Haywood is building an industrial organisation which, as it develops more and more to perfection, means overwhelming power for the workers. As such an organisation grows, *the power of the State to imprison and hang the Haywoods and Ettors diminishes correspondingly and finally collapses altogether.* On the other hand, the mere growth of the vote means no increase of power. The *Call* is quite right in saying that "capitalism cannot eternally keep on hanging men and counting them out," but it is right merely because the growth of revolutionary unionism is inevitable, and will prevent all such amusing little capitalistic diversions.

The great danger to-day in the United States is the stifling of the workers' movement towards industrial solidarity by the leaders of the Socialistic Party. The Party now has an income of about $100,000 per annum. The distribution of this is in the hands of conservatives like Berger, Hunter, Hillquit, and Spargo, who see to it that no speaker will be employed that does not bend the knee to their orthodoxy.

Admittedly, what holds the Socialist Party together is the illusion that "votes mean power, and that when the workers get enough votes they can enter into the millennium." Anyone who tends to disturb this illusion tends to disintegrate the Party, and what is more important he tends to diminish that $100,000 per annum income.

It is a vicious circle. The American Socialist leaders and the Party editors are bound to uphold the political fetish or the organisation upon which they rest will perish. The motive to orthodoxy is not necessarily conscious among them, and no doubt is quite absent from some. But the fact remains that the Party is built upon the theory of gaining political supremacy by voting, and that anything which impinges upon this theory either impinges upon the prospects of the leaders through injury to the Party or upon their prospects of being elected to the various highly paid political Governmental offices.

From the very necessities of the situation both leaders and editors in the Socialist Party of America must be orthodox in their adherence to Parliamentarianism, and therefore anyone who would have any profound knowledge of the situation there must not be misled by pronunciamentos emanating from official sources.

More Lessons from Ireland

WE don't usually think that Old Ireland can teach the world very much, but as a matter of fact she can, and, in fact, is doing so right now.

Last month I reviewed G. W. Russell's little book on the progress of Agricultural Co-operation in Ireland, and said that I thought that Ireland is showing us how to solve one of the great problems of the future, namely, how to humanise agricultural life.

But Ireland is also showing us not only how to solve problems, but also how to prevent problems being put up to her for solution which she does not wish to solve. Here is a clipping from the *Morning Post* (London) which affords an example of what we may expect when Parliament passes a Bill which may be liked even less than the present Home Rule Bill:—

ARMED RESISTANCE PROBLEM.

"Mr. C. C. Craig, M.P., for South Antrim, speaking at a Unionist Club meeting at Antrim, said that with an unscrupulous Government in office and an apathetic electorate in Great Britain, the outlook for Irish Unionists was black indeed, and it was hard to see how a peaceful way out of their difficulties was to be found. He sometimes asked himself whether the time was not at hand when all the money which they proposed to spend on educational work would not be better spent on rifles. He had no doubt that in the end they would have as many of these as were necessary for their safety and protection, but as an argument he believed £10,000 spent on rifles would be a thousand times stronger than the same amount spent in meetings, speeches, and pamphlets. But they were under a debt of honour to do everything in their power to persuade the electors of Great Britain, by fair argument and by educational methods, of the righteousness of their cause before they took upon themselves the tremendous responsibility of armed resistance. Therefore the instructional work in England and Scotland must proceed; but in the meantime it behoved the Unionists of Ireland to prepare and drill. Let each man enrol himself in the volunteer force and perfect himself in drill, and though he was not in the secrets of the Committee in charge of the arrangements for defence, he predicted with confidence that in due time they would be given weapons which would at once convert them from a well-organised civilian force into a formidable fighting force. He was convinced that nothing would be more calculated to prevent fighting and stave off Home Rule altogether than the knowledge that in Ulster there were thousands of men, armed and drilled, ready and determined to resist any attempt to force Home Rule on them. He had been asked whether he would advocate resistance to British troops, and his answer was unhesitatingly 'Yes,' but he had yet to be convinced that British soldiers would fire on their kith and kin, fighting under the Union Jack and determined to remain part of the United Kingdom. Even if British soldiers could be induced to fire on Irish Unionists, he believed that the death of one Ulsterman—killed by a British bullet—would administer such a shock to public opinion in Great Britain that the Government which ordered the shot to be fired would be hurled from power."

Now, as I have said before, there is no doubt more or less buncombe in such speeches as that of Mr. Craig, but nevertheless there is a lesson in it for those who think that Parliament can do about as it pleases merely because it has a majority. What would be thought in America if a Congressman made such a speech?

Barking up the Wrong Tree

I HAVE said in these columns that I did not think it possible for any considerable percentage of the workers of America to be intellectually converted to vote for Socialism through the medium of speeches and literature. Nevertheless, I think a big Socialist Party will develop, and will be the means of giving many men good political jobs in the many cities and countries that will from time to time, like Milwaukee, let in a Socialist Administration. There will also be many soft jobs in the Party itself for those who wish to talk the orthodox doctrine at so much per with expenses. But all this is never going to endanger the capitalist system.

I have never gone into the question of how many votes we would get provided we got all the workers

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to vote for us, and this is what Mr. Isaac Halevy has been figuring out in an illuminating article in the *New Review*. He says:—

"The industrial wage-working proletariat forms but a minority of the self-supporting population of the United States.

"For a generation to come it is likely to remain such a minority.

"Only in a minority of the States does it form a majority.

"For some time to come it will form a minority in the majority of the States.

"It forms a majority of the urban population.

"Yet even in some of those States or parts of States where it forms a majority of the whole population it may be reduced to a minority of the voting population by the presence of a large proportion of unnaturalised aliens, or by the disfranchisement of the negro.

"As far as can be foreseen there is no prospect for the industrial wage-working class to become a majority in two-thirds of the States required for amending the Constitution of the United States.

"We assume in this discussion that the political strength of the industrial wage-working class is proportional to its voting strength. This is true, however, only with regard to propositions submitted to a referendum of the voters. In all other matters it would be true under a system of proportional representation. Under the prevailing English and American system of plurality elections, or under the systems of majority rule adopted in some countries of Continental Europe, the representation of a minority party always falls far short of its proportionate share measured by its vote A striking illustration of this fact was furnished by the last election, when the Progressive Party with more than 4,000,000 votes, representing nearly thirty per cent. of the electorate, carried but sixteen congressional districts in a four-cornered contest, and the Republican Party, with nearly as many popular votes, won only eight votes in the electoral college. These figures are suggestive as a forecast of the political prospects of a party of the wage-working class grown to the proportions of the Progressive or Republican Party of the present day.

"Not until the evolution of capitalism in agriculture has eliminated the working farmer (who cultivates his land with his own labour) can the wage-working proletariat become a majority in two-thirds of the States.

"There is no statistical foundation for a scientific forecast of the time when such a revolutionary change in American agriculture will have been accomplished—assuming for the sake of the argument that it is inevitable. The recent development of agricultural co-operation in some European countries exhibits a deviating tendency—be it only temporary—of evolution toward collectivism.

"The policy of the organised Socialist movement must take account of these facts, if 'Socialism in practice' is to be based upon the theory of the class struggle. Of course, the Christian Socialist who derives his Socialism from the Sermon on the Mount, or the idealistic Socialist who regards Socialism as the realisation of the principles of social justice, may ignore the relative proportions of social classes. He may even deny the very existence of classes and appeal on broad humanitarian grounds to all good citizens in every walk of life.

"What is the lesson of statistics to the materialistic Socialist?

"(1) If the Socialist Party is to be an uncompromising class party of the wage-working proletariat it will for a generation to come (and probably longer) remain a minority party, powerless to attain any of its ultimate aims or immediate demands by its own representation against the united opposition of all other social classes (or groups, if you prefer).

"To be sure the economic interests of other classes are divided, and this diversity of interests is reflected in political party divisions. But it is generally accepted by American Socialists that the political victory of a Socialist plurality which is uncompromising in the division of offices will force all other parties to fuse against the common enemy. An anti-fusion Socialist Party can therefore build only upon a majority of the voters.

"Should it eventually gain control of a few State legislatures, its Socialist legislation can be nullified by non-Socialist federal judges appointed by a non-Socialist President with the advice and consent of a non-Socialist Senate.

"'Political action' under such conditions is in effect nothing but a method of political sabotage, which may intimidate the political masters into conceding such reforms as they may deem expedient in order to hold the non-Socialist voters together. In other words, the planks of the Socialist platform can be enacted into laws only in so far as they appeal to non-Socialists. 'Independent political action' thus resolves itself into a latent form of co-operation with non-Socialist parties.

"The purely educational value of election campaigns need not be considered here; the time is long past in the history of Socialist parties when the election of Socialist representatives to Parliament was valued merely for the opportunity offered them to address the people over the heads of their colleagues.

"(2) Those Socialists who believe in a 'social revolution' (in the catastrophic or millenarian sense of the term) and realise the impossibility to accomplish it within the lifetime of the present generation by political action along strictly proletarian class lines, inevitably turn their attention to their methods by which a minority might gain its ends. This accounts for the recent spread of Revolutionary Syndicalism among members of the Socialist Party in the United States. A general strike of all transportation workers and coal miners must paralyse all industrial activity. It is expected by the advocates of the general strike that it can force the capitalist minority to surrender the control of industry to the wage-working minority. Whether these expectations are justified or not must for the present remain a matter of speculation. It is obvious, however, that if the aims of Socialism are to be accomplished by the action of the wage-working class alone, unaided by other social groups, Revolutionary Syndicalism holds out to its followers the promise of success within a reasonable time, whereas the orthodox programme of political action renders the political outlook for the immediate future utterly hopeless.

"(3) There are still other Socialists who also cling to the old faith in a 'social revolution,' but it must be an orderly revolution, 'in which all scholarly, refined, and conservative persons might unhesitatingly take part' (to borrow a definition from the Twentieth Century Tory historian of the American Revolution, Mr. Sydney George Fisher). The 'social revolution' must be a 'revolution' at the ballot-box. A successful 'revolution' of this kind requires a majority of the voters. Realising that the industrial wage-working class alone must for a long time remain in the minority, these Socialists seek the support of other social classes, including property-owners. The spokesman of the opportunist element at the last national conventiorn, Mr. A. M. Simons, stated unequivocally that in his opinion the Socialist Party can succeed only when it gains the support of the farmers."

I don't see how anyone can get away from the logic of Mr. Halevy. The question for those of us who want Socialism now, and not in the next generation or so maybe, is, how are we going to get it?

I admit that I for one would chuck the whole thing if I thought my only chance of revolution lay in electing a mayor of Jimtown and a dog-catcher in Tagtown, and so on, for fifty years with the hope that then there might be something doing. I would rather migrate to the South Sea Islands to catch fish and climb for cocoanuts.

The great body of the American Socialist Party joined that Party because they want Socialism now, and expect to get it. They are revolutionists notwithstanding the fact that they voted two to one in favour of chucking off their Executive their most revolutionary member.

I would like to poll them on the question, "Are you satisfied with the prospect of getting no further in the next fifty years than electing a stray man or two to various political offices and keeping up Party papers filled with hair-splitting disputes over what Karl Marx may or may not have meant to have said?"

The rank and file of the American Socialist Party are revolutionist, and will remain so. Their leaders and their editors are largely reactionary Conservatives. It seems to me that the very fact that a good tree bears such bad fruit shows that it is planted in bad soil.

I don't blame the leaders, and I don't blame the rank and file. The evil is in the system, as Socialists say when they discuss the capitalists.

The trouble with the Socialist Party is that it is barking up the wrong tree.

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Bernard Shaw Shies at American Bastilles

BERNARD SHAW some time ago refused to go on a lecturing tour in America, saying he would not go to a vile country which tries to lock up all its best citizens. I am not sure whether Shaw was referring to the Trust magnates, who are periodically sentenced to gaol but never serve their terms, or to Bill Haywood, who, profiting by the example, follows in their footsteps.

Or, possibly, he was thinking of those Mexican patriots, Magon and Rivera, whom Taft put in prison for advocating liberty, and to whom Wilson has so far refused to grant the customary parole.

Shaw might have been referring to my friend Merlen Pew, editor of the Philadelphia *News Post*, who has just had a delightful experience of freedom in America. I take the story from *La Follette's Weekly*:—

"What a free newspaper, with a brave editor, can do to arouse a community, and how a gang-system strikes back, are now being most vividly shown in Philadelphia, still 'corrupt' in spots but no longer contented.

"The newspaper is the *News Post*, only nine months old.

"The editor is Marlen E. Pew, a fighter for the common good.

"Our story starts in a sordid row in the underworld.

"Harry Hartman, fireman, is a heeler of Jim Carey, the 'bloody Fifth' ward boss for the Penrose-McNichol gang, who is also a city magistrate, with power to fine, imprison or release.

"Hartman one night, on the street, beat up a woman with whom his brother lived. She fainted. Seventeen-year-old Rose Gowberg, at a window, saw the woman fall and rushed out with a glass of water. When Hartman started to drag the reviving woman away, Rose screamed. Later Hartman came back, grabbed Rose, and ran her to the station-house, where she was locked up for the night. Next day Magistrate Jim bound her over in $200 to keep the peace.

"Rose Gowberg is a respectable girl.

"The older newspapers in Philadelphia pay little attention to such incidents. Pew featured it.

"Pew asked by what right a law-breaking fireman used the machinery of justice to vent a grudge.

"He wanted to know about the brand of justice that Carey represents.

"He sketched a few facts in Carey's public career.

"Those facts hurt. Carey sued Pew's paper for $50,000 damages to his 'character.'

"And the fight was on.

"It soon developed, of course, that back of Carey was the whole jungle system of capitalised privilege and blackmailed vice.

"Pew tore the lid off and called spades spades. For once, staid Philadelphia was forced to take notice. The revelations became the talk of the town.

"There were threats of daily suits for criminal libel. Pew invited the gang to sue. Indeed, he kept up a galling fire of facts so hot that bluffing would no longer do and Carey had to sue.

"This was how Carey and his gang backers went about it.

"Twelve warrants were fixed up in a gang lawyer's office one morning, sworn to before a gang magistrate at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and could easily have been served on Pew at his office before he left it at five.

"Instead, without notice, a constable pulled Pew out of bed at his home at midnight, dragged him four and a-half miles across the city and thrust him in a cell amidst groaning drunks. Bail in real estate amounting to $500 in each warrant was demanded—$6,000 in all.

"This was $1,000 more bail than was required in the case of Henry Clay, a former gang director of public safety, whom a jury recently convicted of having been in a conspiracy with contractors to defraud the city of $200,000. It was nine and a-half hours before friends could be notified, the magistrate located, bail supplied, and Pew released. All this time Mrs. Pew, with two small children, were left alone, newcomers in a strange community."

Now, when all this can happen to the editor of a capitalist paper, is any story incredible of what may happen to a striker who runs foul of the American police?

Pew is now out of gaol and in good fighting humour. Nothing like such experiences to make a man a Direct Actionist.

I have no doubt the next time Pew gets into gaol he will send for Haywood to deliver him rather than for a bondsman. Looks now like Haywood can open the gates of all Bastilles for his friends as well as for himself about whenever he wishes.

That Pew is quite awake to the possibilities of Direct Action is seen by the following item appearing recently in the editorial columns of the *News Post*:—

"John Spargo says Syndicalism is a vain dream. Maybe; but it won the Lawrence strike, and seems to be doing more real business for underpaid workers than any other movement in sight. It may be wrong in theory, but it seems to deliver the goods to those who need goods. Yes?"

Yes, Pew, Syndicalism sure will deliver the goods. All that is needed is Solidarity.

Down with the American Bastille.

Biting the Stone instead of the Man

"There could not be any political rulers if there were no industrial rulers.

"So long as the industrial machinery of life is in the hands of privileged people, just so long will they use politics as a means to improve their business, get more power, and hold you down under their heel."—Ernest Untermann.

If the industrial ruler dominates the political ruler, it would seem that the logical first step in the programme is to dethrone the industrial ruler. This is the Syndicalist plan. But the Parliamentarian seeks to dethrone the political rulers, although he admits them to be the servants of industrial rulers.

Reminds me of the dog which bit the stone that hit him.

Karl Marx *v.* Robert Hunter

"Violence is the midwife of every old society about to give birth to a new. Violence is an economic factor.

"There is only one means of lessening, of simplifying, of concentrating the fatally criminal suffering of this old society, and its heartrending pangs in bringing to birth the new, and that is Revolutionary Terrorism."—Karl Marx.

"Violence is the product of weakness, ignorance and despair. It saps the very foundation of organisation. It renders men incapable of education. And the harm that violence does reaches its climax in the reactions that follow, paralysing and destroying whatever organisation exists."—Robert Hunter.

The contrast between what Marx said and what present-day Marxians are saying is well illustrated by the above.

The Hunter programme of voting yourself peacefully into possession of the Earth is a very beautiful one; the only difficulty with it is that it won't work. The walls of Jericho may have fallen when the trumpet

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blew, but the walls of Capital will require more material means.

Marx, with his idea of meeting the capitalists with the violence of gunpowder, was mistaken, but he was not so supremely foolish as Hunter is in his talk of meeting them with the fearful violence of the ballot-box.

Force must be used to dispossess Capitalism, but it will be the force of economic solidarity and not that of muskets nor that of ballot-papers, both of which weapons are out of date as far as Labour is concerned.

Karl Kautsky's Little Secret

IT is one of the singular problems in human psychology how Karl Kautsky can flitter all about yet never settles down to answer the real social problem of how is Labour to get the power to conquer?

Take the following from one of his recent essays:—

"Does the idea of social revolution belong with those antiquated ideas which are held only by thoughtless echoers of outgrown conceptions or by demagogical speculators upon the applause of the unthinking masses, and which every honest modern person who dispassionately observes the facts of modern society must put aside?

"That is the question. Certainly an important question which a couple of phrases will not serve to dismiss.

"We have discovered that social revolution is a product of special historical conditions. They presuppose not simply a highly-developed class antagonism, but also a great national State rising above all provincial and communal peculiarities built upon a form of production that operates to level all local peculiarities, a powerful military and bureaucratic State, a science of political economy and a rapid rate of economic progress.

"None of these factors of social revolution have been decreasing in power during the last decade. Many of them, on the contrary, have been much strengthened. Never was the rate of economic development more rapid. Scientific economics make, at least, a great extensive, if not intensive, growth, thanks to the newspapers. Never was economic insight so broadly dispersed; never was the ruling class, as well as the mass of people, so much in a condition to comprehend the far-reaching consequences of its acts and strivings. This alone proves that we shall not make the tremendous transition from capitalism to Socialism unconsciously, and that we can not slowly undermine the dominion of the exploiting class without this class being conscious of this, and consequently arming themselves and using all their powers to suppress the strength and influence of the growing proletariat.

"If, however, the insight into social relations was never so extensive as to-day, it is equally true that the governmental power was never so strong as now, nor the military, bureaucratic and economic forces so powerfully developed."

Now, it will be noticed that Kautsky will have none of that Fabian plan of our getting Socialism without the capitalists knowing it. That Job Harriman proposition of voting yourself into office, then diddling the capitalist out of his property by giving him bonds which you will later on render worthless by taxing the income out of them, has no charms for Kautsky.

He says, "We cannot slowly undermine the dominion of the capitalist class without its being conscious of it."

No, there is strategy by which we can outflank the enemy that way, but yet Kautsky keeps on talking away about "when the proletariat shall have conquered political power," and always with never a peep from him letting us know how the trick is to be turned.

Haywood an Anarchist? So Debs Infers

ENGLISH WALLING is still floundering around in that soundless morass of compromise. He would reconcile Syndicalism and Socialism by showing that you may be a Revolutionary Unionist and a Revolutionary Voter at one and the same time. But if one remembers that the Syndicalist says that a man may vote any old way he pleases since voting is comparatively unimportant, whereas the Socialist declares that a Revolutionist who does not vote for the Socialist Party is a traitor to the cause, it will be seen that while it is easy enough for the Syndicalist to be tolerant to the Socialist it is impossible for the Socialist to stomach the Syndicalist.

The acceptance of the Syndicalist theory tends to disrupt the Socialist Party, for it tends to destroy the theory that the end of man is to vote.

I myself, just as much as Walling, would like to see tolerancy between Syndicalist and Socialist, but I recognise the plain fact that the Socialist simply cannot be tolerant; it is a logical impossibility.

But Walling does not understand this, and as a consequence he makes the world gay by relating the amusing difficulties it all brings him into. His last episode, according to his own account in the New York *Call*, was as follows:—

"I recently addressed a letter to Debs, asking him to make a further public statement as to sabotage and law-breaking, and also calling his attention to the unanimous approval expressed by the capital Press at the recall of Haywood."

Debs replied to Walling as follows:—

"Certainly I approve of some of the practices that now go under the name of sabotage, for almost everything goes under that name. The same answer as to law-breaking. There are certainly circumstances under which I advocate it, but I must know what the circumstances are. I think you know there is a very wide difference between the kind of political action Haywood advocates and the kind I advocate, even if we do happen to use identical words.

"Judging from some of the reports I have seen, Haywood has been talking a good deal more like an Anarchist than a Socialist.

"The I.W.W., for which Haywood stands and speaks, is an Anarchist organisation in all except in name, and this is the cause of all the trouble. Anarchism and Socialism have never mixed, and never will. The I.W.W. has treated the Socialist Party most indecently, to put it very mildly."

This reply made Walling very sad. It was bad enough for Debs not to extend the right hand of fellowship to Haywood, but to add insult to injury by calling him an Anarchist was quite too much for poor Walling. For, as he says, it is nothing to be called an Anarchist unless it happens to be a Socialist who calls you one, then it is simply the climax of insults. When Walling wrote this, however, he was blissfully ignorant that Hyndman was that very moment calling him an Anarchist because he thought he had written an article signed by La Monte, as I have related at length in the last number of WILSHIRE'S. I am sure Hyndman will not withdraw the label merely because he finds he attributed the wrong article to Walling, for Walling has written plenty of other articles to give Hyndman cause for using his pet word to express "I disagree with you." Walling, referring to the Debs reply, says:—

"This letter shows that Debs is not the Lincoln of the American Labour movement, as many of us had long believed.

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"I am certain that most revolutionists will agree that there is no reason why Debs and Haywood should not be tolerant towards one another. We cannot expect either to change their opinions. But this constitutes no reason for intolerance.

"But what has Debs done in the above letter? In accusing Haywood of being an Anarchist in the Socialist Party, and in saying that the I.W.W. is an 'Anarchist' organisation, he makes the most bitter and extreme attack that could possibly be made; for he accuses Haywood and his friends practically of being traitors. On the contrary, it seems to me that, though Debs has not betrayed the Socialist Party, he has betrayed the confidence that revolutionists have placed in him for all these years.

"The accusation is not merely that Haywood is an Anarchist; some people using this word against Haywood point out that it is not necessarily a term of reproach. This is true outside of Socialist circles. *But everybody knows what it means for one Socialist to call another an Anarchist.*

"Moreover, the charge is absolutely untrue, and there is no excuse for a man who is as well informed, both concerning the movement and the doctrines of Socialism and Anarchism as Debs is, to make such an unfair and unjustifiable statement."

If this thing goes on of every Socialist calling the other Socialist an Anarchist we will soon be modifying Sir William Harcourt's famous saying: "We are all Socialists now" to "We are all Anarchists now."

In the days when there were no Republics to call a man a democrat was equivalent to calling him crazy. And before the Civil War in America to call a man a Republican meant a fight then and there. Now, if in business, it is always polite and politic, in the Northern States, too, to assume a man to be a Republican. I wonder if Anarchism will not finally also become quite respectable too?

However, as Hyndman is admittedly the infallible Pope of Socialism, and as he has labelled Walling Anarchist, we fortunately have a sample by which to measure up others and to label doubtful candidates.

The editor of the *Daily Call* is very much pained at Walling for stirring up all this mud, and rather disingenuously comments:—

"Surely he knows that no matter how much a man may disapprove of political action he cannot help being a factor in politics. Economic action and political action are inseparable. The trade union movement is steadily evolving to the point where it will be the greatest and most powerful aggregate political factor. The working class is going to reconstruct politics, as it is going to reconstruct industrial society."

Now this is mere quibbling with words. No doubt it is perfectly true that "no matter how much a man may disapprove of political action he cannot help being a factor in politics." But that is not the point. The question is as to present-day tactics. Shall Revolutionists go in for direct and active political action; shall we form a Political Socialist Party, or shall we not?

Unquestionably economic action has an effect on political action, but when we talk about political action we mean, in plain, everyday language, voting.

There is no question that the working class is going to "reconstruct politics," but there is a question as to whether it is going to do the reconstruction solely by means of economic action, as Syndicalists say, or partly by political action (voting) and partly by economic action (striking).

It looks to me as if the *Call* was trying to make a very diplomatic straddle and has failed ignominiously.

Militarism and Socialism

THE problem of how Socialists are to effectively combat the growth of militarism has many thorns. In the United States it is a question as yet of comparatively little importance. True, the military expenditure is increasing in America, as it is in all countries, but the country is so rich the burden of military taxation is not noticeable.

But in England, France, and Germany the increasing taxes as the result of military expenditures and the demands for military service are becoming the dominating questions in Socialist ranks.

While, theoretically, Socialists are bound to the doctrine of the brotherhood of humanity, and are therefore bound to anti-militarism, yet when the public opinion is so set in France, and more particularly in Germany, in the other direction it becomes a difficult problem for the Socialist politician to reconcile his theory with the practice of getting votes.

It is all well enough to vociferate against militarism in a Socialist convention, but when to advocate anti-militarism means loss of your seat in the Reichstag, we can quite well understand why Bebel and the rest of the German Social-Democrats are equivocating on the subject of war.

It is customary to represent that the new military expenditures in Germany are being forced upon the people by the Emperor William and his military court, but there is good reason to think that these measures are really very popular with the majority of the people, the working class included. It seems absurd to say this, because it is so obvious that the workers have nothing to gain by war, and have their lives to lose; but we must remember that the instinct of patriotism is fundamental, and that when it is aroused the selfish interests of the individual are easily overborne by his unselfish feeling for his country. If it were a case of sitting down and listening to the voice of reason, there would never be a German working man in favour of military expenditure; but it is nothing of the sort. It is a question of the war lords talking about the glory of the Fatherland and arousing his tribal instinct. When the elections come around the aforesaid working man is pretty likely to kick overboard his Socialism if the Socialist candidate talks too strongly about disarmament. I quote the following from the Berlin correspondent of the London *Daily Graphic* in support of the foregoing:—

"The Army Bill continues to be criticised in certain quarters as inadequate. Military experts, led by the indefatigable General Keim, point out various defects, and declare that at best the measure is only temporarily sufficient, and that a fresh increase of strength will soon be indispensable.

"General Keim declares that if the French three-years' service proposal becomes law Germany will have to take fresh steps, as, in that case, the French peace strength from October, 1914, on will be at least 20,000 higher than the German. Germany, he says, 'cannot rest on the laurels of the new Army Bill,' and must proceed further to remedy deficiencies not touched by the Bill. He adds that Germany must proclaim on land the principles which England has proclaimed at sea, and refuse to allow France to become strong enough to affect German policy.

"The contrast between popular support of the Army increase and the displeasure in tax-paying circles and party councils becomes daily more marked. The prospect of paying is disliked by the well-to-do.

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"The popularity of the proposals is indicated by the fact that even a Socialist, Herr Dohnen, has pronounced for them. 'The Socialists,' he says, 'hate the German State; but they must stand for Germany.' This attitude is conditioned by the growing tendency of German Socialists to pander to popular tendencies, as is indicated by developments in the little State of Schwarzburg, where the Socialists have recently voted all Government demands, merely because they realise that an election, provoked by refusal, would sweep them away.

"A German, usually well informed about the intentions of the Imperial Government, tells me that opposition from agrarian, bourse, and industrial quarters is welcomed rather than dreaded. 'If Reichstag parties do not accept the increase in full Herr von Bethmann Hollweg will dissolve. He will do this in the certainty that the nation will give its support. The three Reichstag dissolutions over refusals of armaments have ended in Government victories, and so will the fourth."

Germany is increasing fast in wealth and population. She sees the world monopolised by England, and she has made up her mind to have her share in that monopoly. Incidentally in her military preparations to carry out this intent she naturally arouses the fear of her next-door neighbour and ancient enemy, France. The result is that France feels that for self-protection she must keep step with Germany in military preparedness, and so she, too, enters the mad race. Public opinion in France, stimulated by Germany's actions, also becomes intensely militarist. Again, the French Socialist candidates, like the German ones, are forced to either endorse militarism or lose elections. It is all very absurd, but such are the facts.

England being an island has so far felt that a big navy is sufficient protection, and she has not gone in for conscription; hence the question of militarism v. anti-militarism has not become a very acute political issue. However, what with the advance of the art of aviation, a British Navy commanding the English Channel is no longer the sure protection it once was. Already Germany has a formidable air fleet, and could right now make a night attack from the air upon England that would be very annoying, to say the least. But the present air fleet of Germany is nothing compared with the new air fleet she will have when that thirty-five million dollars are expended for aviation that she proposes to appropriate.

Hyndman is about the only one of the English Socialists who takes a strong militarist position. By that I mean, he sees the obvious intent of Germany to become paramount to England, and he declares that England must meet Germany by keeping up the naval expenditure and by organising a Citizen Army. The other British Socialists generally dodge the issue, or they declare for disarmament. They can do this safely enough to-day, because, as said, the military question in England is not yet much in evidence politically, and a candidate may have anti-military opinions without losing votes. However, once something occurs which will start up the patriotic fever, then the Keir Hardies will find themselves on the horns of the dilemma of either losing their Parliamentary seats by advocating disarmament or giving up their principles and becoming " patriotic."

There is just one way out of this military cul de sac. It is through Revolutionary Unionism. With the development of intelligence and consciousness of power which will come through Revolutionary Unionism in action the workers will refuse to be tools for firing off guns at each other, and they will, through their control of industry, refuse to make or transport war material.

This solution of militarism may seem far off, and maybe it is; but, anyway, it is the only logical solution that has yet been offered.

We cannot look for either the bourgeoisie or the working class to vote against war when they are infected with the fever of patriotism, and there is no anti-toxin for this fever other than Syndicalism.

The Syndicalist Ideal

ONE difference between the Syndicalist ideal and that of the Socialist's is that whereas the predominant demand of Syndicalism is for equality in participation of *production*, that of Socialism is equality of participation in *product*.

Let us have justice in distribution of work, says the Syndicalist; let us have justice in payment, says the Socialist.

The Syndicalist, of course, sees that if he has equality in control of production that this will give him the power to demand justice in distribution; but that is a minor motive with him. What he wants is to be vitally connected with the process of life with which he is in the closest and most organic relation —his work. He cannot be in this relationship unless he is in control of the process, and as the days of small industry are obviously past, he realises clearly that he cannot be in control of any particular industrial process wherein thousands are engaged jointly with him except by becoming a member of a normal and vital organisation of his fellow-workers in that particular industry.

Hilaire Belloc was right in his recent debate with Bernard Shaw when he said that the control of property was a necessity for a man if he would escape slavery, but where Belloc failed was in his admission that large industries like the railways should be controlled by the State rather than directly by the railway workers themselves. Belloc thus gave Shaw an opportunity of declaring that the only industrial property a man could own and operate for himself was a three-acre farm. Belloc has not grasped the fact that in an industrial organisation a man can just as easily protect himself from servility on a three-thousand-acre farm as on a three-acre farm. Belloc was quite right, however, in being sceptical about the mere vote being any protection to a man from being reduced to servility in Shaw's Utopia, but the trouble was he offered no alternative.

Shaw seems to think that once you establish equality of income for all, from infants to adults, that you have reached the earthly paradise.

What a man really wants is a normal and free relationship with his brother men. He wishes to work for and with them, and he also wishes them to work for and with him. The product is of itself the smallest part of his reward.

When we are Counted Out

"And if we are counted out we will mount the barricades and fight like tigers."—Morris Hillquit.

Yes, and we would have about as much chance as the tigers would have before Maxim guns. As a matter of fact, when we are counted out we are more likely to resemble tom-cats yowling on a back fence than tigers on barricades.

There is but one weapon to meet the power of the capitalist: Revolutionary Industrial Unionism.

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WILSHIRE'S

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The Californian Situation

WHEN I first went out to California in 1884 the State was then in the throes of the Chinese question, as it was called. Chinamen were coming in unrestricted by the thousands with every steamer, and white men were losing their jobs also by the thousand. Naturally, there was great excitement among Labour, but the capitalists viewed the question with great equanimity. Finally, after California had passed a referendum vote of about 100 to 1 in favour of restriction, Congress passed a Bill preventing the further immigration of Chinese into the United States, and the Chinese question was settled.

This time, however, it is a Japanese question, and it is the capitalists who are excited rather than Labour. Why? Because the Japanese, who were not included in the Chinese restriction Act, are commencing to accumulate money, and are menacing not only the job of Labour, but the job of the California capitalist. In other words, they are buying out the white capitalist, and when they can't buy him out they get him out other ways.

The most objectionable of the "other ways" is for a Jap to pay a high price for a small plot of ground in a hitherto exclusively white farmer's district and then to colonise it with Japs. The white man next door will be sure to wish to sell out and move away, and as no other white man will buy next to a Jap, and as the Japs themselves are combined and will not bid against each other, he is finally compelled to sell his place for a song to his new Jap neighbour next door.

This is a general process going on all over California, and it unquestionably means that California will become finally, if something is not done, like the Sandwich Islands, nine-tenths Jap and one-tenth white. And, what's more, the Jap majority will not be all labourers, nor the white minority all capitalists. The whites will become both a numerical and financial minority.

Not only are the Japs out-generaling the whites in farming, but in many lines of manufacture and merchandising as well. All this naturally adds to the discontent of the middle-class Californian.

The State has now passed a Bill prohibiting aliens from owning farming land. As the Japs, as well as other Orientals, are ineligible by law from becoming naturalised, the Bill automatically prevents them from extending their ownership. Japan has made a protest on the ground that her honour has been touched, and there is some talk of war. But Japan is not ready to go to war over such an incident now. It is certain that she could not at present anyway compel the United States to allow Japs to own land in California. What she may be able to do in another twenty-five years is a different question; but, probably, by that time Australia will be a more tempting tit-bit than California.

One interesting part of the Japanese affair is the fact that Bryan and Wilson, heads of the Democratic Party, the Party advocating the integrity of the sovereign States, have been compelled to abandon their theory and join those who would spell nation with a big N. Japan has very properly replied that if California has insulted her it will not do for Washington to reply that California is a sovereign State, and, therefore, Washington cannot make her apologise, because if that is the case, then Washington should allow Japan to deal directly with California. Wilson in sending Bryan out to California to reason with the State broke with his State's rights traditions for no purpose, for California very promptly ignored Bryan, and has passed a Bill which was an absolute necessity if she is to remain a white State.

Perhaps there are humanitarians who see no reason for not turning the State over to the Japanese, but most of those who are so detached in their view will be found to be people who have neither jobs nor capital to be menaced by the invasion. It is easy enough to be a humanitarian when it costs you neither money, jobs, nor votes to be one.

Questions from Utopia

AN old-time Socialist Utopian writes me that:—

"I read carefully most of what you say, but at the ultimate you break down completely. Like the Anarchists, you have to come to everybody doing as they please or you are bound to advocate some sort of central authority for national distribution, if for nothing else. None of you face that. Who is to say under Syndicalism how much railway fares are to be? How much labour-power used in making bread, say, is to be demanded for so much railway travel?"

As a matter of fact, I don't myself see that the solution Socialists may find to such questions is necessarily so very different from that found by Syndicalists. Engels, and all other Socialists, propose the abolition of the State *after* it is captured; we are then to have the administration of things instead of the government of men. The chief difference is that the Syndicalists propose that the Revolutionary Unions shall abolish the State *before* it is captured.

True, under Syndicalism the Industrial Unions will continue to exist and form the structure of organised industry. Their existence is a guarantee to their members that they can resist oppression if there ever should be any need of such a guarantee.

But even such an orthodox Socialist as Sidney Webb looks for the continuance of labour unions of some sort under Socialism, so that point is not altogether one which differentiates Syndicalism from Socialism.

The Central Body under Syndicalism will be made up of delegates from the Unions, whereas the Central Body of the State to-day is made up of representatives of unorganised men residing in certain specified territorial districts.

But this difference of the make-up of the two bodies will tend decidedly in favour of Syndicalism being able to apportion distribution to the extent that need be more equitably, inasmuch as such a Central Body will be made up of industrial experts.

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English Free Press Menaced

IN America when the authorities wish to suppress a newspaper that is obnoxious to them they usually have the Post Office trump up some ridiculous charge against the editor and get him into gaol, or they will find some excuse to withdraw his second-class entry. Either of these proceedings will usually land their victims. When these plans fail to work they will instigate a mob to burn down his place and destroy his machinery and presses. If they cannot hire a mob they will secretly order the police to do the dirty work, letting them know that if the editor's head happens to be incidentally broken the chief will not be displeased. In England, however, when they wish to suppress a paper they are not quite so rough and woolly, but their process is quite as effective all the same.

Just now they are trying to suppress the *Suffragette*. A little over a year ago they were trying to suppress the *Syndicalist*. It is merely a question of which organ, for the time being, happens to be the most dangerous to the stability of things as they are.

They arrested the editors of the *Suffragette* just as they arrested Tom Mann and Guy Bowman, the editors of the *Syndicalist*. And they have arrested the printer of the *Suffragette*, just as they arrested the printer of the *Syndicalist*.

The *New Statesman*, the new weekly published by Sidney Webb and Bernard Shaw, writes as follows:—

"The Crown is now proceeding in the prosecution of certain persons who are charged with conspiracy to cause damage to property, against the terms of the Malicious Damage Act, 1861. With that case, within its proper limits, we have nothing to do here. But there are certain issues which have been raised indirectly by that prosecution; and with these it is urgently necessary for us to be very much concerned indeed.

"In the course of the proceedings when Mrs. Drummond and her friends appeared before the magistrate, Mr. Bodkin gave utterance to several very remarkable obiter dicta. One should not hold Mr. Bodkin responsible for these statements, for it must be presumed that he was only carrying out the instructions of higher powers. Indeed, there is every reason to sympathise with him that it should have been his lot to give voice to official orders (or, shall we say, threats?) which the learned gentleman must have known were of no legal value in the sense that it seems obvious he intended the general public to understand them. Let us consider these points.

"First, Mr. Bodkin stated that, in the opinion of the authorities, the *Suffragette*, the organ of the W.S.P.U., was 'week after week encouraging persons to commit damage against property.' So far he was within the limits of his brief; it was a perfectly legitimate statement of the case, which it will be the business of the prosecution to prove by evidence. But then Mr. Bodkin went beyond his case and made this obiter dictum: 'That organ must be put a stop to.' If, by those words, the learned counsel meant that there is any legal process by which a paper or any printed matter can be censored before it appears, then one can only remark that any student at the Bar will be able to correct such a curious misapprehension. If Mr. Bodkin's masters have any respect for the rulings of Lord Chancellors, they will know that 'the liberty of the Press consists in printing without any previous licence." If the Home Office will deign to read the standard work of Professor Dicey, it will learn that 'such checks and preventive measures are inconsistent with the prevailing principle of English Law, that men are to be interfered with or punished, not because they may or will break the law, but only when they have committed some definite assignable legal offence. Hence . . . no such thing is known with us as a licence to print, or a censorship either of the Press or of political newspapers.'

"That may or may not be a satisfactory state of affairs. But it is the law of Great Britain at this moment. When Mr. Drew was arrested for publishing the *Suffragette*, it was not of the slightest consequence whether Mr. Bodkin had uttered a warning or not. The prosecution had to prove that the paper when issued contained evidence of taking part in the alleged conspiracy. One has not yet heard any attempt to prove that the paper did in fact contain any evidence. Indeed, it can still be sold under the nose of any constable in the land, and is continually so being sold. If a new number is brought out this week, or any subsequent week, there is no legal process of our law by which the editor or printer can be touched, except by proving that it, itself, contains evidence of illegal matter."

The comment of the *New Statesman* reminds me of the old story of the man in gaol sending for his lawyer. After telling him his story, the lawyer exclaims, "Why, man, they can't put you in gaol for that." To which the man replied simply, "But, damn it, I am in gaol!"

It's well enough for the *New Statesman* to say there "is no legal process by which the printer can be touched," but the fact remains that not only has he been touched, but the manager of the National Labour Press, who printed the subsequent number, has also been arrested. And now Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour M.P., offers to become responsible for the printing of the next number of the *Suffragette*, and challenges the Government to put him in gaol. We all remember the story of the very pompous man nearing death and telling the priest not to worry about his salvation, for God would think twice before putting a man of such consequence into Hell.

However, the situation regarding the liberty of the Press in England is really serious, and no joking matter. I think the following letter, which I had in the London *Daily Herald* of May 9, is not drawing it a bit too strong:—

"Perhaps a personal experience of my own as to the effect of the arrest of the printer of an obnoxious paper upon freedom of the Press may be at the moment of interest.

"It may be remembered that a little before this date last year that Tom Mann and Guy Bowman, and the Buck Brothers, their printers, were all convicted and sentenced to prison on account of the publication of the 'Don't Shoot' article in the *Syndicalist*.

"The matter of editing and publishing the paper during their incarceration devolved upon me, and if it had not been for the courage of the *Daily Herald* and the Victoria Press, Ltd., I am free to admit that I might have found it quite impossible to find a printer willing to take the risk of printing the journal.

"I can't say how many different printers I approached with the matter, only to get a flat refusal. Neither Radical printers, nor Government printers, nor even Socialist printers were willing to risk joining the Buck Brothers in their sojourn at Wormwood Scrubbs.

"It was in vain I would explain that it was not the *Syndicalist* as a Syndicalist paper that was under the ban, but the misdemeanour merely lay in the printing of that particular article 'Don't Shoot,' and that I did not propose any reprinting of it or any similar article.

"In fact, I explained that whatever went into the *Syndicalist* would be subject entirely to the censorship of whoever might do the printing job.

"But it was all to no effect. It must be remembered that the coal strike was on then, and Syndicalism loomed very large in the public eye.

"However, by a lucky chance I went into the office of the *Daily Herald*, which then, by the way, had not made its appearance, and there I found people who were willing to print the *Syndicalist*.

"The paper was printed, and nothing was done about it, and it is still making its monthly appearance.

"However, the point is that in the case of the *Syndicalist*, although there was no warning against printing the paper as such, or under that name, nevertheless I could find, after a long search, but one printer in London who would take a chance and print it for me.

"And now that man has been arrested for doing the same thing for the *Suffragette* that he did for the *Syndicalist*.

"True, Mr. McKenna says that there was no warrant for anyone thinking that there was a ban on the printing of the word *Suffragette* at the top of a paper, but we must remember that not only did Bodkin make the threat that he would arrest any printer who should print the paper, but the printer has actually been arrested for doing so, and is now bound over in the sum of £2,000 for two years.

"Now, I would ask what chance there would be next time to get the *Syndicalist*, or any other paper, printed in London

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if another 'Don't Shoot' article should appear? If I had so much trouble, over a year ago, to get a printer, how much trouble would a man to-day have to get one?

"Before the *Daily Herald* came to the rescue of the *Syndicalist*, I was seriously considering going to Paris to have it printed.

"I consider the attack of Bodkin upon the *Suffragette* the most dangerous attack on the liberty of a free Press that has occurred in England for half a century, and I am quite certain if people could realise how thoroughly the attack on the *Syndicalist* had already intimidated the printers that the matter would receive much more attention than has yet been given it by those who value free speech."

I should explain that since I wrote the foregoing letter the National Labour Press, which is owned by the Labour Party, printed the next number of the *Suffragette*, and their manager was subsequently arrested for doing so. He gave bonds not to do so again, and this is where Ramsay MacDonald comes on the scene with his offer to print the next number and make a test case of the matter.

Ramsay certainly has the law on his side, and the episode should prove a thorny matter for the Government to handle. He declares that he has no sympathy with suffrage militancy, nor will he allow any illegal matter to appear in the paper; but, as far as all this goes, the manager of the Victoria Press has probably no sympathy with militancy, and thought he had excluded all illegal matter. He was arrested all the same, and had to give bonds not to print any more *Suffragettes*.

NOTE.—As we go to press we hear the women have spurned Ramsay's offer to sacrifice himself if his company were given a three months' contract with the right of censorship, and have managed to find another printer who has braved the powers that be on less onerous terms. The *Suffragette* has again appeared, and the third and last printer awaits the axe to fall. To be concluded in our next.

Mother Jones in Jail

IF there is one woman in America in whom the spirit of Joan of Arc has re-incarnated itself it is Mother Jones. She is the soul of the Revolutionary Unionist movement.

It is simply extraordinary the power this old woman, now in her eighty-first year, has over the working class, especially the coal miners.

When Mother Jones is with the miners on strike, I feel sure that absolutely nothing could break that strike. Unfortunately, the owners feel as I do, for they act upon the theory and almost always get her away from the scene of action some way or other when the fight is at its hottest. In one of the strikes out West they alleged she had small-pox, and put her in quarantine till the trouble blew over. Then they found they had made a wrong diagnosis.

In West Virginia, where they have been having the greatest Labour war in American history over the coal strike, they declared martial law and kidnapped her openly in the streets, and held her two months without trial in defiance of all law and constitution. The old lady, however, is still game, and writes to my wife that she would not have missed the fracas for a million dollars.

Harold West writes in *The Survey*:—

"This old woman, more than 80 years of age, was in the mines when I got there," he said, "and I got to know her well.

"I have been with her when she was compelled to 'walk the creek,' having been forbidden to go upon the footpaths that happened to be upon the property of the mining companies, and denied even the privilege of walking along the railroad track, although hundred of miners and others were walking upon it at the time. She was compelled to keep to the country road, although it was in the bed of the creek and the water was over her ankles.

"I protested to the chief of the guards, saying that no matter what her attitude might be, no matter how much she might be hated, she was an old woman, and common humanity would dictate that she be not ill-treated. I was told that she was an old 'she-devil,' and that she would receive no 'courtesies' there.

"I was with her when she was denied 'the privilege' of going up the footway to the house of one of the miners in order to get a cup of tea. It was then afternoon. She had walked several miles and was faint, having had nothing to eat since an early breakfast. But that did not shut her mouth. She made the speech she had arranged to make to the men who had gathered to hear her, although they had to line up on each side of the roadway to avoid 'obstructing the highway,' a highway that was almost impassable to a wheeled vehicle and on which there was no travel. And in that speech she counselled moderation, told the men to keep strictly within the law, and to protect the company's property instead of doing anything to injure it.

"And this is the old woman whom nearly all the operators in the non-union fields fear, and whose coming among their workers they dread more than the coming of a pestilence. This woman the West Virginia mine-owners put in gaol."

Mother Jones is the original American Syndicalist. There was a time when I thought she was wrong in talking strike so much and vote so little. But I see now that the old lady knew a great deal more than I did as to what were the right tactics to arouse Labour in its strength to right its wrongs.

Just now the particular wrong to right is the illegal and outrageous treatment being handed out to strike leaders all over America. There is but one weapon adequate to cope with capitalist brutality. It is the General Strike. No doubt the time is not yet ripe. Probably, Mother Jones must be imprisoned a few more times, and more heads must be bloodied, but ultimately the General Strike must come to its own.

Industrial Unionism and Syndicalism

By Robert Rives La Monte in *New Review*.

IN the *International Socialist Review* for March, William English Walling points out the obvious truth that there are differences between French Syndicalism and American Industrial Unionism. But he bears down so hard on the differences that his article practically obscures or eclipses the essential identity of the two movements. This can but breed and foster pernicious confusion.

Let us get back to first principles. Social movements are begotten by economic conditions. Like causes produce like effects. At a certain stage of the development of capitalism Socialism inevitably emerges. At some stage in the further development of concentration of capital, and of the gradual demonstration by growing political Socialism of its inefficiency, Revolutionary Unionism under some name is equally seen to appear. Its substance or essence must be the same in all countries. Its details cannot be identical in any two countries, since no two countries have precisely the same present economic conditions and historical traditions.

What gives unity everywhere to Revolutionary Unionism is its determined purpose to use Labour unions not merely to ameliorate working conditions, but to overthrow wage-slavery.

In spite of superficial differences this living spirit of revolutionary purpose unifies French and British Syndicalism and American Industrial Unionism. To forget or even to make light of this underlying identity can but substitute muddle-headed confusion for clear thinking. In fact, it is tantamount to a denial of Economic Determinism.

Because Revolutionary Unionism is the child of economic and political conditions, it differs in different countries. In France the use of machinery on a large scale has not gone so far—nearly so far—as it has in America. France produces a vast quantity of articles of luxury, and in the production of these manual dexterity and skill still count for much. In these respects France is behind both England and America. Hence we find craft differences less obliterated in French Syndicalism. On the other hand, the revolutionary tradition is far more vital and virile in France than with us, while no country in the world has had such an enlightening experience as France of the demoralising and paralysing effects of political ambitions and Parliamentary tactics on the Working Class Movement. As a consequence there is in French Syndicalism a vividly keen

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consciousness of the necessity of the spiritual re-birth of the proletariat—the ethical quickening inspired and effected by the daily revolutionary conflict. This idea appears everywhere in the literature of French Syndicalism. Unfortunately, though quite naturally, it is as yet far less common in the literature of American Industrial Unionism.

In spite of Walling's strange anxiety to differentiate, he admits the battle for a different name is as good as lost. He writes: "So that it is possible that what we call 'Industrialism' to-day will also be spoken of as Syndicalism in the future." Why should it not be? If we can use the word "Socialism" in England, France, and America in spite of local differences of organisation and tactics, why not "Syndicalism"?

In my pamphlet, "The New Socialism," I tried to show that there was no necessary conflict between Marxian Socialism and Syndicalism. I think I succeeded. Walling, in his eagerness to establish a distinction where there is no real difference, writes: "The basis of the Syndicalist opposition to the Socialist Party is the belief that 'the State is only an instrument of oppression.' The Socialist view, on the contrary, is that the State is only an instrument of *exploitation*—as long as it remains in capitalist hands."

In the name of common sense what's the difference? The purpose of "oppression" is "exploitation"; exploitation cannot be carried on without oppression. Who cares whether you call the State the instrument of the one or the other?

I am inclined to think that the real reason some of us are so eager not to be called Syndicalists is that some Anarchists in this country have become Syndicalists. If Syndicalism is a good thing, shall we be afraid to say so because Emma Goldman happens to say the same thing? For my part, I am not willing to pay Emma the compliment of thus exaggerating her importance.

But the fact is that the Anarchists did not invent Syndicalism, nor have they since captured it. On the contrary, Syndicalism seems on the testimony of no less distinguished an expert than William English Walling, profoundly to have transformed Anarchism, for he writes the "modern form" of Anarchism "is that of an economic and class-struggle movement." Further on he tells us "the communist Anarchists, led by Prince Kropotkin, and supported in this country by Emma Goldman, have gone over bag and baggage to Syndicalism." If we can rely on Walling, the Anarchists have not captured Syndicalism, but rather Syndicalism has converted the Anarchists from the error of their ways.

Is that a thing to be regretted, or hidden, or apologised for?

It was the hope of the great Socialist philosopher, Joseph Dietzgen, that education (on both sides) would unite and reconcile the Anarchists and the Socialists. In 1886 he wrote: "While the Anarchists may have mad and brainless individualists in their ranks, the Socialists have an abundance of cowards. For this reason I care as much for the one as the other. The majority in both camps are still in great need of education, and this will bring about a reconciliation in good time."

According to Walling, Dietzgen's hope has been fulfilled, Anarchists and Socialists are reconciled in Syndicalism. But the "education" that has reconciled them has not come from books, but from the actual battlefields of the Class War.

It is the glory of Syndicalist tactics that they have thus been able to accomplish the dreams of philosophers and seers.

How the General Strike Brought About Socialism

"Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth (How we shall bring about the Revolution)." By Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget. Foreword by Tom Mann. Preface by Peter Kropotkin. Drawings by Will Dyson. Translated from the French by Charlotte and Frederic Charles. (The New International Publishing Company, Oxford, England.) Cloth, 3s. 6d. net. Paper, 2s. 6d. Paper edition, post paid to the U.S.A., 65 cents.

THIS book by the two well-known French Syndicalists puts Utopia on the map, and hands us a railway guide of how to get there and enjoy our visit. Get there now, to-day, too, without waiting for any special election excursion train billed to run God knows when, as the late-lamented Taft would say.

The story begins in Paris. A brutal exercise of authority by the police leads to a General Strike throughout all France, which finally turns into a successful revolutionary struggle. I am not sure but that the battle is won rather too easily, yet, on the other hand, solidarity accomplishes wonders. And solidarity, we must remember, is not altogether a matter of organisation and long preparation.

The extraordinary things men do spontaneously when animated by the will to do is often astounding.

It is probably because the authors are Syndicalists, and hence have a truer idea of the future of society than previous Utopia builders, that they have given us a more than usual logical conception. Certainly the book to me is much the most likely picture of what we may expect than anything I have yet read. Bellamy never could interest me in either his "Looking Backward" or "Equality." They were books that I always cheerfully handed over to the other fellow. Morris's "News from Nowhere" interested me merely as a fanciful sketch. But this Utopia of Pataud and Pouget grips one with a sense of reality. It will do a prodigious amount of good in getting those to move who will only move when the vision of the future is put on the cinema for them.

As a minor criticism I would say that the picture of the workers using airships to scatter disease germs among the capitalist-cohorts might well have been omitted. The essence of the book is to show that the workers merely by means of withholding their labour can win their great battle. The authors show this most graphically in their first chapters; and for them in a subsequent chapter, when they represent the capitalists to have had a rally, to defeat them by such fanciful means serves but to weaken the story. The workers require no such extraordinary weapons to win their battle; and, anyway, if airships laden with germs were such deadly weapons, we may be quite sure that the capitalists would also use them.

The incident allows the translators, who are apparently hot anti-vivisectionists, to interpolate a note to the effect that all this serum theory of the authors is a fad, anyway. I disagree with the translators that the serum theory is a fad, quite as much as I disagree with the authors that scattering disease germs is ever likely to win a battle for labour. However, as said, the incident is very minor. The main thing is that the authors have given us a most convincing sketch of how to get Socialism without electing Bergers and such like to Parliament, and have also shown us a most delightful sketch of life under Syndicalism.

Syndicalism and Bergson

By Louis Levine, Ph.D., in the New York *Times*.

THE Frenchman's proud assurance that France leads in the intellectual and social progress of the world would seem more or less pardonable at the present time. Probably not since the times of Rousseau and of the Encyclopædists did Europe and America take such deep interest in the philosophical thought of France, and, surely, not since the days of 1848 did French social ideas and ideals sway men and women of other countries to the extent they do now.

The recent rise of French influence is closely bound up with two movements entirely distinct in character and origin. One is purely philosophical, and originated in the mysterious depths of the heart and brain of one man—Professor Henry Bergson. The other is both practical and theoretical, destructive and constructive, and originated in many hearts and many brains, aspiring and working in common. Its name—Syndicalism—bears no etymological relation to any one individual. It tersely expresses the idea at the foundation of this movement—the supreme social value of the producing group.

Though independent in origin, both movements developed approximately during the same period of time. Professor Bergson's idea was first put forth in 1889 in "Time and Free Will," and developed in 1896 in "Matter and Memory," and in "Creative Evolution" in 1907. The Syndicalist ideas found their first more or less definite expression in 1895, when the General Confederation of Labour was founded, and grew steadily with the growth of that organisation after 1900. And both movements of thought began to stir public opinion about the same time—in the interval between 1906 and 1908.

Undoubtedly Professor Bergson's philosophy has a well-marked revolutionary tendency. It views life as a ceaseless effort toward new forms, and it boldly proclaims its faith in the possibilities of the creative process as a stream carried forward by the pressure of an original impulse (élan) and accumulating on its onward march all its experiences and elaborations. There is, in Professor Bergson's view, a solidarity between past and present and a total incorporation of the past in the present. This idea, when applied to social life, would seem to be but little in harmony with the fundamental Syndicalist ideas of class struggle and social revolution, which, if anything, mean

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a break between the past and future and a total destruction of the culture of the past by the civilisation of rising classes.

Besides, it would seem that the philosophy of Professor Bergson has a fundamentally individualistic character. To Professor Bergson the social world is essentially the result of the rational activities of man, the product of man's adaptation to material conditions. As such, society makes no demands on the true self of the individual, and is anxious, on the contrary, to compress the individual into a fixed type obedient to habits and general rules. The social world would, therefore, seem to be an obstacle to be overcome by the creative process, the latter finding its vehicle in the individual revolting against social constraint.

On the other hand, the Syndicalist movement—represented by the organised workers—has but little use for metaphysical ideas, and is animated by sentiments foreign to anyone outside of the movement. To the hard-working men and women who are engaged in the rude struggles of the day, abstruse metaphysics and subtle dialectics are but the frivolous play of idle minds in which they take no interest. Their programme is determined by conditions of life, their ideals by their ideas of human dignity and human solidarity. They fight not because they want to, but because they have to; but, having been driven into the struggle, they are determined to keep it up until they win, no matter what becomes of any and all metaphysical ideas.

It is preposterous, therefore, to speak of any inherent connection between Bergsonian philosophy and Syndicalism. The works of George Sorel are undoubtedly interesting and suggestive, and may be read to great advantage; but they are not representative of the Syndicalist spirit as manifested in real life. Besides, even if they were, they fail in the attempt to construct a real synthesis. All that George Sorel and his associates have accomplished was to call attention to interesting points of contact between Bergsonian philosophy and Syndicalism. But these points are of comparatively less significance and far between along the divergent lines which separate the metaphysical elaborations of the Professor of the Collége de France from the concrete and practical programmes of the workers of the General Confederation of Labour.

Gustave Le Bon's View of Syndicalism

"The Psychology of Revolution." By Gustave Le Bon. (T. Fisher Unwin.) 10s. 6d. net.

LE BON is a most elusive writer. You no sooner feel yourself in accord with him than he will say something in his next line to prove how much you disagree with him. For one to think so clearly on so many points as does Le Bon, and to have such a good general knowledge of both past and present, and then to have admittedly arrived at no definite conclusions, is both singular and significant. Perhaps Le Bon knows just enough to know he don't know. It were well there were others.

The book is at once a history of France since the days just preceding the great Revolution, and at the same time a philosophic treatise on the psychology of men in the mass.

Says the author:—

"Among the events whose study seemed completed was the French Revolution. Analysed by several generations of writers, one might suppose it to be perfectly elucidated. And yet its most positive defenders are beginning to hesitate in their judgments. . . . . Thinkers are wondering whether the present dispensation could not have naturally developed without violence in the course of progressive civilisation."

I take it that almost anyone to-day will agree that a great part of the violence was quite unnecessary, and that without it France would be substantially where she is to-day, but when we analyse the causes that led up to the violence we are bound to admit that the violence seemed necessary, notwithstanding its philosophic inutility.

No doubt slavery would have been abolished in the United States without the bloodshed of the Civil War if only more patience had been exercised on both sides for a few critical years. Certainly, all the life lost in the Boer war was waste. Practically everything the British contended for would have been allowed very shortly by the Boers if they had been more patient and the mine-owners less grasping, and had realised the power of the Boers. But, as Le Bon says, men are creatures of impulse rather than of reason.

"The actors of this great drama of the French Revolution seem to move like the characters in a play. Each says what he must say, acts as he is bound to act. Only, the actors in the Revolutionary Drama differ from those in a play, for they had not studied their parts, which were dictated by invisible forces. And precisely because they were subjected to the inevitable progression of logics incomprehensible to them, we see them as greatly astonished by the events of which they are the heroes as we are ourselves. Although they pretended to speak in the name of reason, reason by no means guided them. The historians who have judged the events of the French Revolution in the name of rational logic cannot comprehend them, since this form of logic did not dictate to them. The past never dies. It is even more truly within us than without us. Against their will, the reformers of the Revolution remained saturated with the past, and could only continue, under other names, the traditions of the monarchy, even exaggerating the autocracy and centralisation of the old system. De Tocqueville had little difficulty in proving that the Revolution did little but to overturn that which was about to fall."

However, while it may be true that the Revolution merely gave the final push to the edifice already toppling, nevertheless it is also justifiable to say that the very obviousness of the imminent toppling induced the effort to complete the topple. While the author has little liking for revolutionists either past or present, yet neither has he any love for the capitalists of the day.

"Our rulers to-day behave as did the ancient conquerors; the vanquished have nothing to hope from the victors.

"Far from being peculiar to the lower orders, intolerance is equally prominent among the ruling classes. Michelet remarked long ago that the violence of the cultivated classes is often greater than that of the people. It is true they do not break street lamps, but they are ready enough to break heads. The worst violence of the Revolution was that of the cultivated bourgeoisie-professors, lawyers, etc., possessors of that classical education which is supposed to soften manners. It has not done so in the present any more than it did in the past. One can make sure of this by reading to-day's advanced journals, whose contributors and editors are largely from the professors of the University. Their books are as violent as their articles, and one wonders how such favourites of fortune can have secreted such stores of gall. The only explanation of their violence is the hope of being remarked by the mighty ones of the day or of creating a profitable popularity."

Nor has Le Bon any love for the present representative political system and its parasites. What he says refers to France; but it applies equally to other so-called democratic countries:—

"Universal Suffrage really represents a most limited suffrage, and there resides its real danger. The political party committees, having need of docile servants, naturally do not nominate as deputies to the Chamber men gifted with lofty intelligence nor high morality. They must have men without character or social position, and above all docile."

While Le Bon is an unsparing critic of the bourgeoisie and all its doings, nevertheless he has little liking for the workers or sympathy with their aspirations. He, however, sees clearly enough that Syndicalism is bringing in a new factor, the consequences of which he hesitates to pass upon:—

"The most important democratic problem of the day will perhaps result from the recent development of Syndicalism. It has rapidly assumed such enormous development in all countries that it may be called world-wide. It is not like Socialism, a Utopian dream, but is the result of economic necessities. In its aim, means of action, and tendencies, Syndicalism presents no kinship with Socialism. For Socialism would obtain possession of all industries, and have them managed by the State, which would distribute the products among the citizens. But Syndicalism, on the other hand, would entirely eliminate the action of the State, and divide society into small professional self-governing groups of workers. Although despised by the Syndicalists and violently attacked by them, the Socialists are trying to ignore the conflict, but it is rapidly becoming too obvious to be concealed. If

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Syndicalism is everywhere increasing at the expense of Socialism, it is because it synthetises certain needs born of the specialisation of modern industry. It is increasing rapidly, and finds Governments powerless before it, able to defend themselves only by yielding to every demand—an odious policy, which may serve for the moment, but which heavily compromises the future.

"It was to this poor recourse that the English Government resorted in its recent struggle against the Miners' Union, which threatened the industrial life of England. We may profitably read the weighty words of Mr. Balfour before the House of Commons :—

"'*The country has never in its long and varied history had to face a danger of this nature and this importance. We are confronted with the strange and sinister spectacle of a mere organisation threatening to paralyse—and paralysing in a large measure—the commerce and manufactures of a community which lives on commerce and industry. The power possessed by the miners is, in the present state of the law, almost unlimited. Have we ever seen the like of it? Did ever feudal baron exert a comparable tyranny? Was there ever an American Trust which held the law and the general community in such contempt? The very degree of perfection to which we have brought our laws, our social organisation, the mutual relations between the various professions and industries, exposes us more than our predecessors in ruder ages to the grave peril which at present threatens society. . . . We are witnesses at the present moment of the first manifestation of the power of elements which, if we are not heedful, will submerge the whole of society. The attitude of the Government in yielding to the injunction of the miners gives some appearance of reality to the victory of those who are pitting themselves against society.*'"

Le Bon quite significantly makes no further remarks upon Syndicalism. He evidently sees in it the power which will bring about the next great Revolution, and is reserving further comment thereon for his next book.

The Soul of the C.G.T.

"The Worker and his Country." By Fabian Ware. (Published by Edward Arnold, London.) 5s. (will be sent post paid to U.S.A. by WILSHIRE'S for $1.30).

FRANCE is unquestionably the country to-day where the theory and practice of revolution is best understood. The French workers have tried about every method of putting labour in the saddle, and their opinion to-day, says Mr. Ware, is that Syndicalism is the only method. Strange to say, until quite recently, Mr. Ware has been the editor of the London "Morning Post," the one paper which above all others appeals to the cultured, fashionable, conservative class. And yet, notwithstanding all this misfortune of an early training, Mr. Ware has broken with all his traditions and written the best and clearest account of the present-day Syndicalist movement in France and its relation to the Labour movement in England that has yet appeared.

"As one looks back to-day over the history of the last century there is something pathetic in the faith of those generations who hailed with an enthusiasm akin to religious fervour each succeeding extension of the Parliamentary franchise, believing that it had exalted the humble and meek in the human brotherhood and had built another span of the bridge over the gulfs of inequality, and had let the light of liberty into the darkness of social captivity. . . . Now a remarkable change has taken place. . . . Finally, even those who still clung to their belief in the common sense of the Representative System, and the justice which it claimed to secure for all, were startled by the great railway strike (in England) of 1911, to be followed by the national strike of the miners in 1912. For many this was their first direct acquaintance with discontent becoming active, taking the remedy in its own hands. . . . Representative Government evidently was no government; it would not take the initiative, which is one of the primary functions of governing. It would move only under pressure, and then no further than it was obliged, to allay public resentment. . . . The miners took their own affairs into their own hands. Having declared a national strike, which as it developed brought more and more of the industries to a standstill, they called upon the Labour Party in Parliament to take no action and leave them to settle the matter themselves directly with their employers. They swept Representative Government aside, from which experience had, they thought, taught them to expect neither the willingness nor the competence to satisfy their demands. . . . Representative Government, which in its final development was the result of a long and bitter struggle of the lower classes to conquer liberty and an equal share in the control of the State, was now regarded by these very classes, or, at any rate, by an important and increasing section of them, as useless for the redress of grievances."

I regret that I have not more space to quote from the book, since it is so packed with information and well-digested thought. The author finds that while France has so well developed the general theory of direct action and repudiation of politics, yet England has been the first to apply the theory to action on a large scale. True, a few years ago the French started a General Strike on the railways, but it was put down by Briand mobilising the troops, and thereby making the railway men subject to the severest penalties if they continued on strike. The order was unconstitutional, and was, in fact, disobeyed by a far larger number of men than is generally known ; but nevertheless it was effective. The author considers the unconstitutional use of the order to mobilise has been a great stimulus to the anti-militarist movement in France. He finds that anti-militarism, in fact, has its base much more in the fear that the Army will be used at home against strikers than in the humanitarian feeling against war in general or in Marxian anti-patriotism. He gives a most interesting account of the formation of the Confédération Générale du Travail by Pelloutier, who died in 1895. The story of Marx and Bakunin and the old International is also told in a way that will open the eyes of many orthodox Marxians if they can only be persuaded to read the other side.

If there is one thing that the French workers may be supposed to know something about it is the inefficacy of armed insurrection, and their annual pilgrimage to the graves of the 30,000 martyrs of the Commune tends to keep up their interest in the matter.

Notwithstanding their fiery nature, you never hear to-day of any French Bergers talking about the necessity of every worker having a musket under his bed, nor of any French Hillquits gassing about tigers on barricades. No, if the French have learned one thing it is not to play the enemy's own game.

These are the resolutions which the C.G.T. passed in 1892 at the Marseilles Congress, and which are renewed annually with little change. Berger and Hillquit ought to paste them in their hats to read whenever they may feel a rush of blood to the head.

"That the people have never derived any advantage from revolution accomplished through bloodshed, which has benefited agitators and the middle class alone.

"That, moreover, in face of the military force placed at the disposal of capital, an armed insurrection would only provide the governing class with a new opportunity of drowning social demands in the blood of the working class.

"That the formidable social organisation at the disposal of the governing classes renders vain and powerless the friendly attempts (i.e., voting—G. W.) at emancipation made by the Social-Democracy.

"That Revolution alone can give economic liberty.

"That the General Strike would lead to triumph the demands of Labour."

Thus runs the thought of the 600,000 united working men of France. No longer do they propose fooling away their time and energy on the dream of voting the capitalist out of power. Nor have they any Berger-Hillquit illusions about either shooting or clawing him out of his barricade.

Economic solidarity, the sole road to liberty, is the motto of the French working class, as it soon will be the motto of England and America.

There is no writer in English who has demonstrated the truth of this better than Fabian Ware.

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A Daughter of the People

By Reginald Wright Kauffmann

Author of "The House of Bondage," "Daughters of Ishmael," "Running Sands," etc.

"Comrade Yetta," by Albert Edwards. The Macmlllan Co. $1.35. (6s.)

MY one quarrel with "Albert Edwards" is that he is "Albert Edwards." His name is such a good one, and he is such an honour to it, that it annoys me to see him doing good work under a pseudonym. However, the point at issue just now is not the name of the author, but the soul of the latest book that he has written; and about that I feel far more strongly and far more favourably.

Against a background of the foul sweat-shops and teeming tenements of New York's East Side, with oppressed workers and rebelling workers for its mass-action; with Syndicalism and Socialism for warp and woof; this novel is the story of Yetta Razefsky, daughter of a delightful Jewish second-hand bookseller, who has fled persecution in Russia, and who dies when his little girl is only fifteen years old. Her unworthy uncle, who appropriates her wages, forces her into a factory, where she is given the job of a "speeder," to quicken the pace of the other enslaved employees, and where she narrowly escapes the clutches of a professional "cadet." How this happens; how Yetta becomes the friend of the secretary of the Women's Trades Union League; the part she plays in the love affair of that leader, Mabel Train, and Mabel's repeatedly rejected lover, Walter Longman; Yetta's self-education and her rise, by the aid of the Socialist lawyer and journalist, Isadore Braun, to the place of leader among her fellow-workers—all this is told, not only with a power for interesting narrative and for characterisation, but with a sympathy resulting in a charming style and a burning sense of the wrongs of our industrial civilisation, which, even where one disagrees with this or that opinion of the author, touches the entire book with Promethean fire.

Do you think that I am using terms too elaborate? Publishers' advertisers have done that sort of thing until a mere writer hesitates to use most of the words of commendation in the dictionary, and is inclined to damn by faint praise rather than ruin by a full expression of his genuine appreciation. Nevertheless, I shall take a chance. I mean just what I have said.

I remember one evening at Graham Stokes's house, on Caritas Island, when "Albert Edwards" came to my rescue. I had got into a fight with James Shields, who has rechristened himself, even in ordinary life—a course such as "Edwards" has not stooped to follow—"Shaemas O'Sheel." Mr. Shields has mistaken the cloudy East River for the clear St. George's Channel; he has plunged into it and come out a revived Celt, and is all eighteen-eighty-nine art-for-art's-sake. Against him I was maintaining my friend Robert Henri's thesis: "Not Art for Art's sake, but Art for Man's sake"; I was trying to point out to him that there comes a time in every writer's life when he must religiously make choice between what he believes to be good Art and what he believes to be not, in the old sense, "good morals" (which never meant anything), but the good of Man. And just then "Edwards" strolled up and illuminated our beclouded sky with something like this:—

"Perfect Art is the result of having something worth the saying, and of saying that something in the manner perfectly fitted to saying it. The things best worth saying are the things best for Man, and the only manner perfectly fitted for saying them is the manner that Man will most readily understand. The greatest work you can do is to help the race; if what you have written is written so that it does help the race, then you've created Art. That *is* Art for Art's sake, because it is primarily Art for Man's sake. Art for the sake of an abstract thing called Art and above Man or aloof from men is bad art. It is also Tommy-rot."

Well, this is what I recalled in reading "Comrade Yetta." It is the story of the development of a strong and beautiful character; but it is also a story of the Gospel of Class-Consciousness. It is eminently the former; it is pre-eminently the latter. From the point of view of fiction, it is admirably fitted to convey its narrative; but inherent in its narrative is its Message, and therefore it is admirably fitted to conveying its Message, too. That is why "Comrade Yetta" is not Tommy-rot; that is why it is Art.

The Co-operative Movement in England

THE Co-operative movement in England, in which so much stock was once taken by those who thought its growth would eventually mean social transformation, is now being confronted with a new and dangerous competitor, the multiple stores.

As long as the capitalists confined their distributive shops and stores to big central depots the co-operators—who largely confine themselves to the distributive part of production—were safe. But the capitalist is now extending his operations to the stocking of innumerable small shops all under one management. His capital is larger than the Co-operative, and he seems to have better management; at any rate, he is encroaching upon their preserves in an alarming manner. The following is from the London *Daily Chronicle*:—

"About 1,350 delegates from all parts of the British Isles are attending the forty-fifth annual congress of the Co-operative Union, which opened at Aberdeen yesterday.

"The effect of the multiple shop system on the Co-operative movement and the great scheme which is on foot for uniting the Co-operative and trade union movements were dealt with by Mr. James Deans, of Kilmarnock, in his presidential address.

"With respect to the question of co-operation with other 'forces' making for the social betterment of the people, a preliminary conference, he said, had already taken place of representatives of the Executives of the Trades Union Congress, the Executive of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the united board of the Co-operative Union. Many excellent co-operators viewed these negotiations with much anxiety and aversion, but it was absolutely impossible to prevent such questions arising, and to attempt to suppress them would be fraught with great danger.

"There was no ground for much of the apprehension expressed. He did not believe that anything would be done to endanger the unity and harmony of co-operation. Should there emanate from the proceedings any definite and clear-cut proposals, he asked the co-operators of every shade of opinion to extend to them fair and unbiased consideration.

"Dealing with the future of co-operation, he said some anxiety had been caused by the rapid strides with which the Trust system was advancing. The Trust system of distribution by the multiple shop was coming into closer conflict with co-operation than any other. The extension of those shops had been almost phenomenal. Several of these Trusts, it was stated, possessed over a thousand shops distributed over every part of the country, and it was also affirmed on good authority that between 70,000 and 80,000 of these shops were in existence.

WILL ALL SOCIETIES COMBINE?

"Hitherto co-operative production had been of a purely domestic description, limited to producing goods to meet the requirements of the distributive societies. The scope of production should be widened until it included absolutely all the requirements of the retail societies. When co-operation was faced with the competition of the multiple shop its methods must be as elastic as those of its competitors. The ideal of Mr. J. C. Gray of the formation of a national society which, while conferring a large amount of local autonomy on the individual societies, the total reserves of the federation could be applied in propagating the principles or defending the interests of individual societies, was the only solution of the problem.

"Probably co-operation might face the future in alliance with trade unions. If the latter could organise themselves into a

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productive camp to manufacture for the open market at home and abroad the Co-operative Wholesale Societies, for instance, might lend them a great deal of capital. The annual profits in co-operation amounted to something like 12 millions, and a portion of that might be loaned to the trade unions to carry out their productive work. If every co-operator became a trade unionist, and every trade unionist a co-operator, there would be very little difficulty in finding a basis for joint action.

"The report of the Central Board again showed steady progress throughout the movement. The membership for 1912 had increased by 116,361, the share capital by £1,613,033, the trade by £6,785,312, and the profits by £323,787."

It certainly would be a grand thing if the actual trade unionists in the production of goods could unite with the Co-operatives and form One Big Union for production and distribution.

The trade unions are fighting organisations, however, and their funds cannot be invested in the Co-operatives without such a loss of mobility as to practically nullify the object of their accumulation. For instance, the Miners' Union may have a million dollars in their treasury at the beginning of a strike, and yet in a few weeks the treasury may be empty. If they had their money deposited in the Co-operative, and should withdraw a million within a few weeks and without warning it would probably bankrupt the Co-operative.

But the trade unions might invest their goodwill and labour in the Co-operatives upon some well-worked-out plan to mutual advantage.

An International Syndicalist Congress

Now that the transport workers of the Atlantic and the Gulf have joined the I.W.W., it becomes imperative that steps be taken to participate in the International Syndicalist Congress, probably to be held in London, England, in the latter part of September. The transport workers are the means of communicating and visualising international solidarity, and their presence in the I.W.W. places a new duty upon the movement. —*Industrial Worker*, Spokane.

There will be no question as to the seating of the I.W.W. delegates in the London Congress. Industrialist and Syndicalist are synonymous.

How the British Socialists Put in their Time the last Twelve Months

Thomas Kennedy in *Justice*.

With really clever, unscrupulous, and determined leaders the effect of Syndicalist agitation on the Socialist movement in Britain might easily have been far more disastrous than it has been. As it is, while practically the whole time and energy of organised Social-Democrats has been taken up with "the pricking of Anarchist windbags," during the last twelve months the capitalist enemy has steadily pursued the policy of developing the chains of State bureaucracy and governmental tyranny.

Presumably, Mr. Kennedy is suggesting that if Tom Mann and Co. were "really unscrupulous" instead of otherwise that the Social-Democracy of England would have quite perished.

No Bar on Talk about Voting

The New York *World*, in confirming the Socialist contention, expresses surprise that the American people permit public officials to abuse their authority to serve their exploiters. It says:—

"Where do Americans find all the petty despots that they elect to office? How does it happen that these upstarts are so rarely called to account?

"When the sheriff of Cayuga County told Emil Seidel, once the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, that in his speech at Auburn he must make no mention of the strike in progress there, he was perfectly lawless and impudently tyrannical. When for the sake of peace Mr. Seidel obeyed this outrageous order, he proved himself a better American and a better man than the oppressive officer who by distortion of law and usurpation of power invaded his rights.

"The sheriff of Cayuga has no more authority to muzzle Mr. Seidel than he has to gag the Press or the pulpit. If he were conscious of being in the service of the people he would not think of such a thing.

"Too many functionaries in this country are only nominally in the service of the people. They enforce laws with partiality. They are respecters of persons. They get their inspiration from interested parties. They serve the rich!"

It is very infrequent that such a frank statement of fact is permitted to appear in the editorial columns of any of the larger daily newspapers. Such admissions are dangerous. They are calculated to awaken the workers to a consciousness of their situation.—*Milwaukee Leader*.

The interesting point about all this clubbing of speakers is that it is happening not because the sheriffs fear being voted out of power, but because they fear their masters, the capitalists, will be injured by a successful strike.

It is certainly significant that speakers who ask men to vote are free from molestation of the policeman's club.

Counters for Coin

Cecil Chesterton in the *New Witness*.

A LITTLE while ago I said in these columns that I doubted whether there were many people ouside the Old Guard of the Social-Democratic Federation who were still Socialists. That enterprising and courageous journal, the *Daily Herald*, published my challenge, and urged Socialists to reply to it. They did reply; and what they said fully confirmed me in my opinion. It is true that they all declared that they were still Socialists. But they hastened almost as unanimously to add that nothing would induce them to entrust the ownership and control of the means of production to the State. That is what I call wantonly destroying the usefulness of words.

There is a certain economic and political theory on behalf of which strong arguments have been and can be urged. It is this: that the only permanent solution of our social problems will be achieved by taking the means of production away from the private persons who are at present their legal owners and vesting them in the political officers of the State that they may administer them for the benefit of the whole community. That theory is called Socialism. If you believe in the theory it is natural and proper that you should be fond of the name. But that anyone's affection for the name should survive his belief in the theory (as it quite evidently does in many cases) I cannot conceive.

But that is not the main point I want to emphasise. The main point is this. The theory still exists and still demands a name. If you deprive it of the name it has always borne you commit an act of pure waste; and you do not, in this case, or in other similar cases to which I shall presently refer, even justify your action by making any valuable use of the name you have stolen. If a Socialist does not mean a man who wishes the State to own the means of production, what does he mean? As to that the new "Socialists" seemed quite vague. Sometimes it seemed to mean a man discontented with existing social conditions—that is, a man who is neither a knave nor an ignoramus. I can only say that when I called myself a Socialist I meant by Socialism something explicit, definable, and distinctive, and I am quite certain that until it again means something as explicit, definable, and distinctive it will be no use preaching it.

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Secret of Patriotism

Gaylord Wilshire in the London "Daily Herald."

THIS natural racial antagonism the scientists talk about (quoth the Fat Armour Maker) is all right, but I find it requires plenty of cultivation and manure to keep it in a proper state of vigour. One must be original nowadays if he would succeed in business, and making big guns is no exception to the rule. It is not only a question of supplying legitimate demand. In fact, if we relied on that we would starve to death. What we find we must do is furnish the demand as well as the guns, and I can tell you, sir, that the manufacturing of the demand is more troublesome by far than the manufacture of the guns. Of course, chauvinist newspapers are cheap enough, but the trouble is that people don't pay much attention to them nowadays. We have also worked the "espionage" racket almost to death. There are plenty of men who are quite willing to send fake cypher telegrams containing military information, and to photograph foreign forts and then be caught with the goods on their hands, but I find that unless we get an officer to be the pretended spy it don't create much impression.

Officers come higher, especially now, when we find that the terms of imprisonment must be made longer to impress people. Pardons seem to take off the edge of the scheme, and we don't agree any more to arrange for them. But, after all, I can't see why, say, a German officer should not esteem it quite a chance to be arrested taking photographs of obsolete forts in England, even if he must spend a year or so in prison for it. It gives him an excellent chance of learning English, and when he gets back to Germany he is a social lion and on the direct road to military promotion. Of course, they see all this, but, nevertheless, they insist on my paying for their education in English and better chances of advancement anyway. Fearful greedy lot those German officers, and the French are getting to be about as bad.

We are now trying out a new scheme which, so far, works splendidly. It is sending up a German military airship or aeroplane and having it pretend either to get lost in the fog or to be blown over by a storm, so that it must come down and land on French soil. Wonderful how a little thing like that works up the French, they are so excitable. I can't say how many thousands of pounds of extra military expenditure we have worked up in France by this little joke. Costs us very little too, for every mark we have to pay the German officers for a landing in France I should say we sell at least a thousand marks worth more of guns. You must remember that we not only stir the French up to buy more guns, but when the French buy more the Germans have to also buy more, and, in fact, even the English and the Italians are indirectly affected by such incidents, and all buy more guns. Wonderful plan that.

We also find those little Army and Navy Leagues that we start up in various towns in Germany, France, and England are splendid centres for the stirring up of war sentiment. There are a lot of retired officers who have nothing on earth to do but talk war, and they are only too glad to organise such Leagues for almost no pay at all. In fact, these Leagues often get along all right when once started without calling on us for any subsidy after the first year or so. Especially so if we can get a prince or a duke as president.

You see, we have so many interests with us. We, as manufacturers of the guns, are directly interested in having a demand created for guns, but you must remember that all the people from whom we buy our raw material are also naturally interested in our prosperity, and will do all they can for us. The coal and iron men are our very good friends, and they have a big pull with the politicians. It's easier, too, for them to work their pull than it is for us, because their interest in war is not so obvious. The manufacturers of khaki and other military equipment also help us along very liberally. We have it pretty well systematised now, and every man who is likely to make money out of preparations for war is levied upon for our general fund.

But, after all, it is a troublesome business this selling of big guns and armour plate. The people are everywhere getting tired of spending more and more every year on the Army and Navy; the working men are especially becoming aggravating. Why, they not only are kicking about paying war taxes, but are actually so unpatriotic that it is difficult to get them to voluntarily enlist. In fact, on the Continent they only do so because they are conscripted. We are now working to have the Army made more attractive, better pay and better chances for advancement, but I have given up hope of ever making service really popular with the masses.

At one time we feared the Labour Members in the various Parliaments would interfere, but we have found it is all talk with them, and that when it comes around to supporting the Budget they are always on hand with the rest of our patriots. The working-men politicians like a little sport, too, as well as any of the others. Why, you would not believe it, but we even got up a tiger hunt for our friend Ramsay, while he was in India, and allowed him to bag a tiger. Of course, it cost us something, but we will get it all back a hundredfold.

But this striking business is worrying us some. The Governments are seeing that it is one thing to buy guns and powder, and it is quite another thing to get men to set them off against each other. And it is not only the soldiers we are afraid may go on a strike at the critical moment, but it is the men who are working the railways and the factories. If they refused to work, the soldiers could do nothing, even if they remained loyal to us. Strikes should be put down with an iron hand.

I think that the Belgian Government makes a great mistake in not giving the men the full and equal suffrage. Voting never hurt anyone yet in any country. They have made voting illegal and striking legal, whereas any fool should see that it should be just the reverse. Someone has said I care not who makes the laws of a country as long as I can write the songs. That's my idea about voting. I care nothing about who casts the votes, but I do want to know who calls the strikes.

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A Suppressed Reply to Mr. Watts

Note: The following is a reply to a half-page attack on myself by Mr. Watts in *Justice*. The reply was not published by *Justice*.—G. W.

IN answer to Mr. Hunter Watts, I would say that the essential difference between the Socialist and the Syndicalist is that whereas the former thinks he will vote himself into control of the State and then abolish it if he so wishes, the latter proposes to have the revolutionary Unions absorb the industries, and declares this very act of absorption in itself dissolves the State.

According to the Socialist theory of nationalising industry, the framework of the future society is found in the present State, the change to Socialism being one from control of the State by the capitalists to control by the workers. The Syndicalist considers the present State useless for the industrial framework of the future, and sees in the Revolutionary Unions the germ of the future framework.

"The more modern industry and competition develop, the more elements are there which provoke and support competition, and as soon as combinations of labour have become an economic fact, acquiring greater consistency day by day, they will not be slow in becoming a legal fact."—KARL MARX.

Hence it is that the Syndicalist with his theory considers it foolish to work for the control of the present State, for he would be fighting for something quite useless after he had won it.

The Syndicalist prophesies that political action will be futile: first, because he doubts if it is psychologically possible to convert a majority of the voters to Socialism; and, secondly, because even if this were done there is no reason to think that the capitalists would allow the workers to get behind the guns merely because they had polled a majority vote.

The capitalists are now organised and in possession of the guns, and they will never give them up except when confronted with superior force. Mere numbers constitute no force; if so, the sheep would never fear the wolf.

The workers must have power, and nothing but organisation can possibly give them power. The Socialists admit that the workers must have organisation to give them power to back up their votes, but they look to military power, to a citizen army, etc., or some such plan.

The Syndicalist scouts all idea of the workers ever developing any military force able to compete with the capitalists' military, and declares that the workers' only chance to gain adequate power is by economic solidarity, by Revolutionary Unionism. By this I mean unions of the workers formed upon the basis of all workers in the production of a certain product being united rather than a union of the workers in a certain craft.

Such unions are far better able to cope with modern conditions than the present form of trade unions, and when imbued with the revolutionary spirit will prove an irresistible force.

The Syndicalist looks forward to the formation of Revolutionary Unions not because Syndicalists will teach the workers how to organise, but because the logic of events will teach them. No Socialist theory moved Rockefeller to form the Oil Trust, and no Syndicalist theory moved the railwaymen of Great Britain to form their new union. The logic of the situation in each case forced both capitalist and worker to the method of organisation best fitted to protect his existence.

Revolutionary Unionism is a new departure in organisation of labour, just as the Trust was a new departure for the capitalists.

Syndicalism is the word which has been adopted not only in France, but in all the world, to mean Revolutionary Unionism.

Syndicalism looks for recruits to its theories after they have joined their Revolutionary Unions, whereas the Anarchist and the Socialist appeal directly to the individual.

The Syndicalist looks to the activities of the union to educate the workers by action into Revolutionists, whereas the Socialist and the Anarchist look to the conversion of the worker by means of speeches and literature.

The Syndicalist, in other words, declares that it is action which makes men Revolutionists, whereas the Socialist depends upon talking.

The Syndicalist looks to a perfectly natural transition into the new society through the Revolutionary Unions becoming stronger and stronger, and as they grow in strength they will come into greater and greater control of the industries and finally full control.

Neither Anarchist nor Socialist have evolved any practical plan showing how the transition period is to be passed over; therefore, from the point of view of the evolutionist, Syndicalism offers the only logical, scientific, sociological theory.

Power Gives Knowledge

Gaylord Wilshire in the *Clarion*.

THE control of capital gives the capitalists control of the workers. Belloc is quite right when he says that the Socialist, to be true to his creed, *must* ask for confiscation. I might add that the Syndicalist, to be true to his creed, *must* confiscate. It is the difference between asking and doing which differentiates the two creeds.

Every successful strike means a certain amount of confiscation, a gain for the workers at the expense of the capitalists. The strikers may not consider it confiscation, and may look upon it merely as striking for less hours or more wages, but the employers have no illusions. They know it is confiscation, and resist it as such.

Now Socialists, when they enter into a political contest, simply do not dare follow Belloc's advice, and ask for confiscation; if they did they would get no votes. There is not a constituency to-day in England that would give anywhere near a majority vote for confiscation. A few may give a majority vote for a revolutionist, but it is because he has the endorsement of the trade unions, and even in such a case, if it were thought that a policy of confiscation might really be in order as the result of their vote, it would not be given. The workers are not to be *talked* into backing a political policy of confiscation. I say talked into, because I wish to emphasise the point that it is not that they object to confiscation as a theory, but that they simply cannot understand it. That they do not object to it in fact is seen from the fact that when they strike they are quite willing to confiscate all the surplus value they can get.

Now, if confiscation of capital is a necessary preliminary to the workers emancipating themselves, and

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if from experience we know that they are unwilling by voting even to merely ask for confiscation, whereas by striking they are always quite willing to commit the very act itself, it seems to me that all this is a strong indication that striking rather than voting is the natural weapon for confiscation.

However, it will be said, even admitting that there are very few men who will vote for out-and-out confiscation, nevertheless there are few revolutionists who will so vote, whereas the men who strike are not thinking of any revolution, nor even of confiscation as confiscation, but are merely struggling for better wages. Is it not, then, better to cultivate the few conscious revolutionist voters than to rely upon strikers who are as yet unconscious of the revolutionary bearing in their activities?

I would reply no, because the present-day activities of the strikers will develop their revolutionary consciousness far faster than any intellectual appeal to them as voters can ever make them Social-Democrats. I say present-day activities, because the activities of strikers to-day in France, England, and America partake of quite a different character from such activities a few years ago. The old-time strikes did little, if anything, toward developing a revolutionary spirit, whereas almost any strike anywhere in the countries named seems now naturally to develop revolutionary characteristics. The manner of conducting the recent dramatic hotel strikes is significant. When in the past did we ever see strikes such as the recent railway strikes in France and England, and the Lawrence and Little Falls strike in America? To-day in West Virginia the coal miners are on strike, and the State is under martial law. In America and France the strikes are under the direction of conscious revolutionists. In England, while it is true that the railway men and the coal miners are not of themselves consciously revolutionary, nevertheless it is noticeable that the capitalists have not been slow to rightly diagnose their activities as revolutionary, as confiscatory.

And while it is true that the men themselves have indignantly repudiated the label "revolutionist," nevertheless it has stuck, and will stick, for the men are becoming revolutionists in spite of themselves. The coal miners at the beginning thought that the mere bluff of down tools would bring the masters to terms. Then when the strike actually came about they thought a strike of a week at most would force a settlement. The finality was a strike of months, and with it a development of a consciousness of power such as they had never before dreamed of possessing. A similar liberal education was afforded the railwaymen in their strike. They have become conscious of their own power in a most remarkable way. Their firm attitude in the Richardson case was most significant.

It seems impossible to me that here in Great Britain the railwaymen and coal miners, in particular, will not hereafter enter into strikes with an altogether different spirit from that which has previously characterised them. It seems to me that the revolutionary spirit of the French trade unions, of the C.G.T., is bound to have birth in the unions of this country. When this occurs the unions will certainly develop tremendous potentialities.

G. K. Chesterton is declaring that our only salvation from the servile State lies in such a wide distribution of private property that everyone shall have some for himself. Belloc stood for the same theory in his recent debate with Shaw. Yet when Shaw retorted that it was impossible for every man to own his own railway, Belloc quite unnecessarily weakened, and admitted that the State might well own such great properties as railways.

It seems to me that the tendency of the railwaymen to Revolutionary Unionism, and to demand that they shall be the practical owners of the railways, shows us how Belloc might have made a more effective reply to Shaw. Private property is necessary to protect the individual, and the railwaymen are showing us how every railway worker may own his own railway, so to speak.

The whole tendency of modern industry is toward larger and larger units. If Belloc and Chesterton are right in their contention that private property is a necessity for the protection of the individual's freedom, then it seems to me that the only method by which this end can be achieved in the big industries is by joint ownership of the workers operating them through their labour organisations. We may have a nominal private ownership or a nominal State ownership, but in any event the real ownership must eventually rest in the railwaymen's unions when they become conscious of their power. We could not prevent it if we would. That is, the people in actual ownership will be the people in actual possession. They may not be called the owners, but the nominal title is of no consequence. It is something like the Australians. Nominally Australia is under the British Crown, actually the British Crown has no control at all.

"The emancipation of the workers must be done by the workers themselves." Emancipation admittedly can only be accomplished by the confiscation of capital, and this is already going on through the activities of the Labour organisations.

True enough, the amount of confiscation so far is inconsequential, but, at any rate, it is more than has ever been accomplished by political action. However, the amount of confiscation is unimportant compared with the education the workers are getting by the process, and particularly to the development of the consciousness of their economic power.

When the workers have knowledge and power they can confiscate, and they will confiscate!

The Necessity of War

Gaylord Wilshire in London *Daily Herald.*

MAX BEERBOHM'S cartoon of the man who has been away from England thirty years only to return and find Bernard Shaw standing on his head, in the same position as when he last saw him, raises the question as to whether Shaw stands so because he wills it or because he cannot help it. It may seem absurd to say that a man stands on his head because he can't help it, something like the waltzing mice waltz because they can't help it; but let us pursue the argument.

Some years ago I had the fortune to be the guest of Professor Jacques Loeb, at Berkeley, California, while I was delivering a lecture at the University there. He took me into his laboratory, and showed me some very small crustaceans enjoying a free and independent existence in a large glass jar. Each little chap was swimming around any old way he happened to list. But, presto! change, eyes front, attention, all you crustaceans! Behold it was no longer as they listed, but as if they had enlisted. Every

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little recruit now had his head to the sun, and all were in as exact a line as if they had been manœuvring in the German Army ever since Sedan and before.

It was miraculous. In the Middle Ages Loeb would have had to have given but one exhibition of witchcraft like that to have been a candidate for the stake forthwith. Even the wand with which he commanded his little pets would have been deemed quite sufficient to prove him a devil who could at will make water run uphill. It was a syphon of soda. The moment after he had shot a few drops of soda water from the syphon into the jar of water containing the crustaceans the phenomenon of all heads to the sun occurred.

But Professor Loeb was not showing me the experiment to demonstrate will power either in himself or in his animals. On the contrary, he was proving that will power had nothing at all to do with these little crustacean Shaws trying to stand on their heads in the sun. It was all because the water in which they swam had had the carbonic acid thrown in it that every last one of them was compelled to face the sun, because he had become heliotropic.

Now, we merely have to go back far enough, no doubt, to find that our primordial grandfathers were quite as heliotropic as these little animals in Loeb's glass jar, and who no more could resist swimming toward the sun than a true Briton can resist having his heart beat faster when the band plays "God Save the King" on Mafeking night.

Militarism, or patriotism, is really a kind of heliotropic instinct lyng latent within us that only requires a little acid to make us all heel round in a most ridiculous manner and face the flag. And when this condition of affairs is in evidence it is quite as useless to argue with the Mafeking mob about the foolishness of it all as it would be for Loeb to try and argue his crustaceans out of their heliotropism.

However, heliotropism has its utility and also its cure. Loeb says: "It serves to save the lives of the young larvæ of the chrysorrhœa. When awakened from their winter sleep by the warm sunshine of spring, their heliotropism forces them to creep straight upward to the top of the tree, where the first buds are. They eat, and their heliotropism disappears; if it didn't, they would be forced to starve at the top of the tree. As it is they can now turn their tails to the sun and crawl down the tree and eat the buds of the lower limbs. After they have once eaten, however, they never become heliotropic again, no matter how hungry they may become.

The lesson we may learn from the caterpillars is that the best way to resist a primal and imperative instinct is to remove the cause. The cause of war lies in the desire of capitalists to extend the sphere of profit-making. The capitalists are in command of affairs, and therefore it is but logical that they should inaugurate wars, especially when the workers, carried away by the patriotic instinct, back them up so enthusiastically.

When we are in a state of peace it is easy enough for our Labour candidates to orate against war; let but one bomb from a German airship drop in England, however, and the man who then talks peace will be lucky if he escapes hanging at the nearest lamp-post.

As long as the capitalists hold and control the wealth of the nations we must expect war. The first practical step to peace is not to try and persuade the capitalist to refrain from war, for that is impossible. What we must do is to first get rid of the capitalist, then war will cease automatically.

"A proletarian movement can have no part, however slight, in the game of politics. The moment it takes a seat at that grimy board is the moment it dies within. After that it may for a time maintain a semblance of life and motion, but in truth it is only a corpse."—Charles Edward Russell.

What is Anarchism, Anyway?

"Modern Science and Anarchism." (Published by the Freedom Press, 127, Ossulton Street, N.W. London.) 110 pp. Paper, 6d. (15 cents postpaid by WILSHIRE'S.)

"Fields, Factories, and Workshops." (Thos. Nelson and Sons. 477 pp. Cloth, 1s. (30 cents postpaid).

"Conquest of Bread." (Chapman and Hall.) 298 pp. Cloth, 1s. (30 cents postpaid).

NOWADAYS, where there is so much bandying between the comrades of the epithet Anarchist, it may be worth while for Socialists to read up a bit and find out exactly what Anarchism is. I give above the titles and prices of three of the most notable books on Anarchism. They are all by Prince Peter Kropotkin, the best known and most distinguished Anarchist in all the world.

Perhaps after you read these books, if you have not read them, you will be in better position to judge if Debs is right when he calls Haywood an Anarchist, and if Hyndman is right in bestowing the same title on Tom Mann, La Monte, Walling, and myself.

I presume if anyone is to speak with authority on the subject that Debs and Hyndman have as good a right as anyone else.

However, it is not authority we are now seeking as much as information, and, therefore, I suggest a course in Kropotkin's books. One thing is certain to await the reader, and that is a most fascinating account of Modern Science in the first book on the list by a man most eminently qualified to write on science. Kropotkin is a constant contributor to the "Nineteenth Century Review" upon scientific and sociological subjects, and is now engaged in writing the article on Anarchism for the new Encyclopædia Britannica.

The book is also a first-rate history of the early days of the Socialist movement, with which the author has been in close contact for years.

The "Conquest of Bread" may shortly be said to be a vision of mankind under a voluntary co-operative organisation of society. A system of federated productive communes is Kropotkin's general definition of Anarchism. The book was written some years ago, but this is a new edition, just published, at a popular price. It is a very strong presentation of the difficulties if not impossibilities of the organisation and control of industry by the State as is suggested by the orthodox Parliamentarian Socialists.

I think Kropotkin fails to make out any very convincing argument to the ordinary reader that his scheme of voluntary co-operation would gain enough adherents to make them powerful enough to be able to overthrow the existing order and substitute the proposed new order. In fact, I doubt if the said ordinary reader would think that the scheme would work even if it ever got adherents enough to have it given a trial.

It is quite usual for Socialists to say that Anarchism is a very beautiful theory, but that men must be prepared for it by having a preliminary course of Socialism for a thousand or so years.

Few could object to Anarchism if a plan could be devised to have it. Now this is where to the Anarchist Syndicalism appears to be of use. Syndicalism certainly offers the power to inaugurate a change of system, and inasmuch as its power is derived direct from the solidarity of Labour without connection with the State, it naturally appeals to the idealist Anarchist, who has no use for the State. To this extent Anarchists are Syndicalists, even if Syndicalists are not Anarchists.

Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories, and Workshops" is not only a powerful plea for a new order, but is a compendium showing how by better organisation of men and methods we could enormously increase our agricultural yields, and

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could make our factories more productive yet at the same time give the workers a more human-like existence.

This book, too, is a revised and up-to-date edition of a well-known book. At the new price this classic should meet with an immense sale. It is astonishing from the purely typographical point that a book of nearly 500 pages in clear type on good paper can be sold for a shilling.

Allan Benson and his Book

"The Truth about Socialism." By Allan L. Benson. (B. W. Huebsch, N.Y.) $1

WHEN Benson writes you always know exactly what he means to say, and that's something to start with in recommending his book. I don't agree with all he says, but when I read his book I know exactly where I agree and where I do not. Benson's English is the best and crispest, and if he ever returns to editorial writing he would distance Arthur Brisbane.

When I first met Benson, some years ago, he was editor of the *Detroit Times*, and his editorials for that capitalist sheet were more Radical than any editorials in any Socialist paper of the period. In fact, his stuff was so Radical that it finally lost him his job, for while he brought circulation to the paper he also brought down pressure of such weight upon his non-Socialist employers that they were compelled to ask him to ease up. But Benson is not the kind that can ease up even if he would. He resigned. He then wrote to a big New York Life Insurance Co. that he wanted their agency in some large city. They wrote back asking him about his experience in life insurance. None, said Benson; but, nevertheless, says he, I can handle your business better than any of your experienced men. Strange to say, Benson got the agency, after having shown his ability by a preliminary canter in a small town. Nothing like assurance for insurance, especially life insurance. And Benson made good. The company never had such business developed before from that town, and Benson soon was enjoying an income of something over $10,000 per annum. Nevertheless, no sooner did our Don Quixote get well seated in his saddle than he dismounted, never again to remount. Why? You will hardly guess. All this was before the days of the exposure of the true inwardness of life insurance. Benson was totally ignorant, and quite unsuspecting, and the only way he could find out, in those days, was to get within. He got within, and then got out. When he discovered what a large percentage of the premium money went into salaries and expense, and how far apart realisation was from expectation regarding endowment policies, he felt he could not in honour take the policy-holders' money. He resigned and went out into the world without knowing where he was to earn his next dollar. However, he had no difficulty landing on his feet as a free-lance magazinist and journalist, and his stuff to-day is in constant demand.

There is no use of my explaining where I agree with Benson, for nine-tenths of his book is quite incontrovertible.

Where I disagree is in his theory that the election of thirty men to Congress by the Socialist Party is going to make all the difference he looks for. Election of thirty and more Socialists to the Parliaments of Italy, France, and Germany has shown us that Karl Kautsky is right in declaring that no minority in Parliament is of any particular value to Socialism. Since Benson does not seem to be foolish enough to look for the impossible Socialist majority, I don't see where he gets all his optimism in having a programme that takes no note of the necessity of economic solidarity of Labour if Socialism is to be achieved.

However, Benson is tied to no party and no creed. I look for him to come along across to the Syndicalists as time proceeds.

The General Strike and the Revolution

"Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth (How we shall bring about the Revolution)." By Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget. Foreword by Tom Mann. Preface by Peter Kropotkin. Drawings by Will Dyson. Translated from the French by Charlotte and Frederic Charles. (The New International Publishing Company, Oxford, England.) Cloth, 3s. 6d. net. Paper, 2s. 6d. Paper edition, post paid to the U.S.A., 65 cents.

G. R. S. Taylor speaks enthusiastically as follows of the book in the "Daily Herald" (London):—

"This is a book of the coming Syndicalist Revolution, as it visualises itself in the minds of two of the leaders of that philosophy of life. And the first thing that appeals to the reader is the fact that this vision of the future is put in the form of a romantic story—not a story about the private affairs of a pair of lovers; but the romance of that greatest of all adventures, the adventure of human society. There is a titanic passion about the angry and triumphant crowds that sweep through the pages of this romance; it is the infinite multiple of individual passion.

"Let the reader get that fact well into the mind; this book of Syndicalist philosophy is cast in the form of a romantic story. It gives us human beings—not the puppets of statisticians. If you observe carefully, you will note that it is usually the revolutionaries who take most strict account of that alarming phenomenon—human nature. Therefore, they are inclined to express themselves in the form of romance. The gentle, moderate people, who go out towards reform with trembling (as a child walks down a dark lane), these gentle persons know nothing of romance. They can only draft Acts of Parliament and draw up tables of statistics. They may be useful in their way; but it is a humble trade. In the crafts of life they must rank with the unskilled. These Syndicalist philosophers think in terms of flesh and blood.

"This is a book which, if it have good fortune, may well become one of the text books of humanity. It has that greatest of all assets—a superb confidence and a great hopefulness. It is a book which makes the pulse beat quicker. Most great deeds and thoughts that leave their mark on the world come with a plunging heart-beat. It is the smaller things that go with a sluggish flow. That is why calm statesmanship does so little. Our comrades Pouget and Pataud know too much of humanity to be hopeful of gentle and silent change. They think reform is more likely to come riding on a hurricane. In this book the Revolution begins by the police, the servants of the rich, shooting at a reasonable mob of strikers. It is an act which lights the flame. That has so often been the way; the rich dig their own graves. Revolution will, perhaps, come not because the people are wise, but because their masters are so unutterably foolish.

"But this book is not merely inspiring. It is convincing. It is the most complete statement of the Syndicalist theory and practice which has yet appeared There are some who will shrink away from the breadth of its sweep. That is to be expected. Timid souls always dread what is new. There is no one, perhaps, who will agree with it all. It would be a dull creed that could find no unbelievers. But take it as a whole, let the orthodox reformers produce, if they can, a more coherent and a more probable forecast of the future. There is no logical flaw in the argument as a whole. When a certain number of people think as Pataud and Pouget think, then it will all happen so. It is merely a matter of time. That is our final taunt to the rich. Sooner or later we must win, while they must lose.

"It is hard to see why the orthodox State-Collectivists should be bold enough to think that they have a stronger case than the Syndicalists, who base their faith on the action of the rank and file of the Trade Unionists and the Co-operators. By what right have the Collectivists this supreme confidence in the success of the official to save society? We have officials innumerable to-day: we can observe them in action—or inaction, let us say, rather. Do they inspire confidence? Are there any good grounds for believing that they have more possibilities for good than that development of the Trade Unionists which the Syndicalists desire? Let the State-Collectivists get it out of their heads, without delay, that they have an unanswerable case. They have nothing better than a debatable case, at the best.

"The State has been masquerading so long as the organ of the popular mind. Now the truth is better known. It is just

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nothing more than the entrenched fortress of the Fat Men. It is a fortress which they have built for their own defence; and as the chief instrument of tyranny. It is time, indeed, that some brighter minds began to be suspicious whether this invention of the master class is really the fittest method for the workers' use. It may well be that the official and the State are the real root of all evil. Anyhow, it is worth most careful examination. This book must be read by everyone at once."

A Political Superstition

From "Social Statics," by Herbert Spencer.

OF political superstitions none is so universally diffused as the notion that majorities are omnipotent. Under the impression that the preservation of order will ever require power to be wielded by some party, the moral sense of our time feels that such power cannot rightly be conferred on any but the largest moiety of society. It interprets literally the saying that "the voice of the people is the voice of God," and, transferring to the one the sacredness attached to the other, it concludes that from the will of the people—that is, of the majority—there can be no appeal. Yet is this belief entirely erroneous.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that, struck by some Malthusian panic, a legislature duly representing public opinion were to enact that all children born during the next ten years should be drowned. Does any one think such an enactment would be warrantable? If not, there is evidently a limit to the power of a majority. Suppose, again, that of two races living together—Celts and Saxons, for example—the most numerous determined to make the other their slaves. Would the authority of the greatest number be in such case valid? If not, there is something to which its authority must be subordinate. Suppose, once more, that all men having incomes under £50 a year were to resolve upon reducing every income above that amount to their own standard, and appropriating the excess for public purposes. Could their resolution be justified? If not, it must be a third time confessed that there is a law to which the popular voice must defer. What, then, is that law, if not the law of pure equity—the law of equal freedom? These restraints, which all would put to the will of the majority, are exactly the restraints set up by that law. We deny the right of a majority to murder, to enslave, or to rob, simply because murder, enslaving, and robbery are violations of that law—violations too gross to be overlooked. But, if great violations of it are wrong, so also are smaller ones. If the will of the many cannot supersede the first principle of morality in these cases, neither can it in any. So that, however insignificant the minority, and however trifling the proposed trespass against their rights, no such trespass is permissible.

When we have made our constitution purely democratic, thinks to himself the earnest reformer, we shall have brought government into harmony with absolute justice. Such a faith, though perhaps needful for the age, is a very erroneous one. By no process can coercion be made equitable. The freest form of government is only the least objectionable form. The rule of the many by the few we call tyranny: the rule of the few by the many is tyranny also, only of a less intense kind. "You shall do as we will, and not as you will," is in either case the declaration; and if the hundred make it to ninety-nine instead of the ninety-nine to the hundred, it is only a fraction less immoral. Of two such parties, whichever fulfils this declaration necessarily breaks the law of equal freedom: the only difference being that by the one it is broken in the persons of ninety-nine, whilst by the other it is broken in the persons of a hundred. And the merit of the democratic form of government consists solely in this—that it trespasses against the smaller number.

The very existence of majorities and minorities is indicative of an immoral State. The man whose character harmonises with the moral law we found to be one who can obtain complete happiness without diminishing the happiness of his fellows. But the enactment of public engagements by vote implies a society consisting of men otherwise constituted—implies that the desires of some cannot be satisfied without sacrificing the desires of others—implies that in the pursuit of their happiness the majority inflict a certain amount of *un*happiness on the minority—implies, therefore, organic immorality. Thus, from another point of view, we again perceive that even in its most equitable form it is impossible for government to dissociate itself from evil; and further, that, unless the right to ignore the State is recognised, its acts must be essentially criminal.

The Bold Yeomanry of Old England

"The Tyranny of the Country Side." By F. E. Green. (T. Fisher Unwin.) 5s.

MR. GREEN certainly gives an account of an economic slavery of the English farm hands that will not tend to make poets sing very loud about Merrie England. The condition of the British city worker is bad enough, even if he may be extinct after three generations. Anyway, he does live, after a fashion, during his process of extinction, but the country labourer never lives, and indeed hardly vegetates. True, he has the vote, and a lot of political privileges and rights which if he dared to exercise them should ameliorate his lot. But, that's the rub; he doesn't dare. He is of the floating proletariat, says the author, that would find his job gone, and even his house taken away from him, if he should insist upon his sovereign rights as a free Briton. The author is evidently a Syndicalist, for he sees no hope except in a general strike, and he quotes approvingly Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, who said: "In my opinion England's one chance of regaining her alleged pride in a bold peasantry is in the bold peasantry having the boldness to organise a strike." But just now there seems little likelihood of this in England.

Men cannot strike successfully when they are employed in small groups by many employers, and this is the condition in the countryside in England. In Italy, where agriculture is conducted on a large scale, and where there are vast groups of agricultural labourers collected in small districts, a militant organisation of the workers has been a huge success, both from the point of view of organising for co-operative agricultural production and from the point of raising wages. But Italy is not England.

Mr. Green's previous work, entitled "The Awakening of England," and published by Nelson at two shillings, should be read as well as the one now under review by those who wish to really know the present condition of the farm worker in England and Ireland.

Mr. Green seems to agree with Mr. G. W. Russell that Ireland is to-day showing the greatest agricultural awakening of any country with its successful co-operative organisations.

We can never have Socialism without the farmers, and it behoves all Socialists to study the farmer question by reading these books.

Can the A.F. of L. become an Industrial Union?

From the *Industrial Worker* of Spokane, Washington.

THE whole composition of the American Federation of Labour, as well as its basic principles, practices and teachings, absolutely prevents it from evolving into an industrial union, even though a large portion of its individual members become industrialists in belief.

The A.F. of L. is composed of an executive board of 11 members. Seven of these are members of the National Civic Federation. They are bosom friends of Carnegie, Belmont and other capitalists whose hands are red with the blood of murdered workers. The remaining four are in the same category so far as their beliefs are concerned. All deny that there is a class struggle in society. All are advocates of "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," whatever that may mean.

There are 112 or more international unions affiliated with the A.F of L., each having a set of highly-paid officials. The majority of these officials are on more than friendly terms with the employers of labour, and many belong to the Civic Federation, the Militia of Christ and similar capitalistic organisations that are against the workers.

Each of these internationals spends the larger part of its energy in carrying on jurisdictional fights with the other job trusts so as to keep the dues headed their way. The weighty questions they fight over involve the matter of whether the plumbers or steamfitters should set a water jacket in a stove.

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There is an interesting number of jurisdictional fights arising as new materials and new machinery are being introduced, each international claiming the right to the job. There is no process of gradual and peaceful absorption of closely allied internationals into one organisation. The more closely they are allied in industry the more bitter are their fights. The plumbers spent thousands of dollars, and then practically scabbed the steamfitters out of business before they could settle jurisdictional difficulties with the latter union. Those who were forced to join lack entirely the spirit of solidarity necessary for industrial unionism Yet there are some who point to the plumbers as an evidence of industrialism within the A.F. of L.

The Harriman System Federation shows clearly how these internationals prevent revolutionary Industrial Unionism from developing within the old organisation. The Harriman railway workers were brought together by a federation system that left all the highly-paid officials more firmly entrenched than before, and which created another set of well-nigh useless job holders as well. The old craft affiliations were retained, unskilled workers in Pullman and elsewhere were openly sneered at, and the Japanese car cleaners at Ogden were turned down flatly when they asked admittance. There was no taking down of craft barriers, no mutual interchange of cards between the railway crafts, and so the Harriman System Federation is but a good warning against craft federation and not an example of industrial unionism.

Next to the internationals come the State federations. These are a hindrance to industrial organisation, for industry is not concerned with such political divisions as States. The fact that the A.F. of L. moved its headquarters to Washington, D.C., and maintains State federations, with official lobbyists to lick the boots of the capitalist legislators, is proof that the A.F. of L. is a political organisation and not a Labour movement.

When certain State federations declare for Industrial Unionism they are simply giving lip service. They cannot carry any industrialism into effect, for the various internationals alone have the power to remove the restrictions to membership. The international constitutions are mainly arranged so as to prevent a vote on such changes, and where such matters may be brought to a vote it requires two-thirds or three-fourths to carry.

The city central bodies are also powerless to change the requirements for admission. They, too, are organised mainly for political purposes. No local union can engage in a sympathetic strike without the sanction of the international. As the bulk of the internationals owe their existence to the fact that they can promise the employers that there will be no labour difficulties for stated periods, there is small chance for an international to side with the local union in an unsanctioned strike. The city central bodies are almost always forced to take the side of the Conservatives in case of a dispute. When the Radical faction of the electrical workers were recognised by the Oakland Labour Council, the A.F. of L. withdrew their charter and forced them to expel the rebels. It is significant that the leader of the Conservative electricians is a relative of Gompers.

Local unions are bound by the international rules, and are further restricted by State and central bodies. But even were it possible to have a revolutionary element in control of a local union they would be as far from industrialism as before. This is because an Industrial Union must group the workers just as the employer has grouped them in industry. It is only in this manner that effective fighting can be done. Furthermore, if the Industrial Union is to carry on production when capitalism has been overthrown it must meet every change in industry with a corresponding line-up in the workers' union.

A Middle-Class Elixir

"Economics and Land Values." By Harold Storey. (T. Fisher Unwin,) 1s.

THE author sees clearly enough the illogicality of the present methods of taxation and also the weakness of the single tax as any complete remedy. His solution is a combination of single tax and an income-tax rising heavily on large incomes. His argument is good enough from the point of view of the middle class, but as it does not profess to abolish the labour class, and does propose to abolish the upper class, we see no hope of the latter two classes assisting the middle class in helping the scheme along.

For reformers the book is useful, owing to its sound economics and clear logic. For revolutionists it does not profess to be a guide.

The Failure of the Labour Party

Daily *Morning Post*.

WHY is the Labour Party so ineffective a force in the political life of the country? A visitor from another planet on coming to England and being informed of the system of government and of the social conditions of the country would naturally jump to the conclusion that since the working classes constituted the majority of the electorate the party which was formed to represent their interests must be supreme in Parliament. And a few years ago, when a solid phalanx of Labour members was first returned to the House of Commons, many people assumed that the new party was bound to grow rapidly in power and influence. Yet it has gone backwards rather than forwards during the life of the last three Parliaments. It cannot be said that the explanation of this phenomenon lies in the fact that the mind of the country has been absorbed by questions which do not directly concern the working classes. On the contrary, the public has not paid much attention to foreign affairs, and has been rather bored by purely political controversies. It has shown no excitement over the fate of the Persian Nationalists. It has watched with equanimity the whirligig of events in the Near East. Towards the old issues, such as Education, Home Rule, and Disestablishment, which form the stock-in-trade of the Liberal programme, it has exhibited an attitude of mild indifference. The questions in which people are really interested at present are social questions, and one might have expected that a party professing to voice the aspirations and explain the needs of the working classes would leap at a bound to the front of the political stage. It cannot be said that the failure of the Labour Party is due to lack of ability. So far as debating power is concerned its members have no reason to fear comparison with the rest of the House. Yet, for some reason or other, the party not only does not advance, but is even unable to hold its own against its two rivals.

Its failure in recent bye-elections has been very striking. On several occasions it has placed candidates in the field against orthodox Liberals and Unionists when the verdict lay in the hands of a working-class electorate, and it has suffered a series of ignominious defeats. The great strikes supplied another illustration of its lack of influence among that section of the community which it is supposed to represent. The working men who plunged into tremendous fights for their dearest interests never thought of consulting the Labour Party in Parliament or of coming to it for assistance.

The Sole Weapon of Labour

The *New Age*.

We, to quote Burke again, confided to Parliament the most extravagant powers, powers of the military, powers of the police, and the power of money, and reserved to ourselves only one weapon, namely, opinion. For force, it is clear, we have not reserved. What unorganised mob, however numerous, could stand against machine guns? As our national weapons of defence have become perfected, their employment against ourselves has become possible in the same proportion. We are, in short, as powerless in the face of our rulers as our enemies are. If, then, our rulers will not listen to popular reason, if they continue to rely upon their strength, upon the weapons we have entrusted to them for our defence, the only alternative to submission is the discovery of a new weapon which shall be neither opinion nor force. Herein, if we are not mistaken, lies the political, and not alone the economic, value of the general strike. In economics we contend that the preparation of a general strike is in itself the most powerful weapon the working classes can employ. It is, in our opinion, a discovery in proletariat economy of as great a value as the discovery of gunpowder in mediæval society. By this weapon, rightly fashioned, rarely used, but always used to an intelligent and far-reaching purpose (for it would be criminal to employ it merely to raise wages), the wage-earners, we believe, may one day achieve economic emancipation. But the example of Belgium has proved that the general strike may be equally efficacious in the political sphere. The *New Statesman*, after much beating about the bush, has come to the same conclusion. "The general strike," it says, "is the natural rejoinder to any attempt on the part of the State to go back on democracy." It is, indeed, more even than that: it is the sole weapon, after opinion has failed, that democracy can employ against a modern and machine-equipped oligarchy.

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The New Agriculture

From *Current Opinion.*

THE plant-breeder, the constructive botanist, promises to be the greatest creator of the twentieth century. By applying the methods of modern science to agriculture, he will double the food supply of the United States. This is the startling prediction made by J. Russell Smith, Professor of Industry at the University of Pennsylvania. Agriculture as it exists to-day, he remarks in *Harper's Monthly*, chiefly depends upon the work of the primeval woman. We are indebted to her for the greatest of all economic services. She tamed the young of the more tamable animals, and gave them to her savage husband. The wife of the nomad became the wife of the farmer, and she made a farmer of her son by placing in his hands the precious seed of the grains, the present basis of agriculture, the bread of man, the food of his domesticated menagerie. Where, Professor Smith asks, did the ancient mother get these precious seeds?

"In many cases we do not know, and cannot even guess. She found some plant with one or two rich seeds, planted them, and then generation after generation her descendants picked over their little grain patches, selecting seeds to be preciously preserved from the harvest festival to the next spring-planting festival, which we now call Easter. By this process, running on through unknown generations of men, the plants became so changed by the artificial application of Darwin's law of selection that now no botanist dares suggest what plant or plants were the wild forebears of some of the present grain from which the world to-day obtains its bread."

We owe our daily bread to this tent or cave-dwelling ancestress. But, Professor Smith goes on to say, shall we accept her work as final? Can science do no better than follow along the path she has laid out? When the nomad's wife began picking and storing seeds to raise a little vegetable food to vary the monotony of her dinner, she did not scientifically examine the resources or the plant world and pick out and develop the stocks that would ultimately prove to be the best and most productive for the human race. The poor creature lived from hand to mouth, and, as she gradually evolved a garden with her own backtiring labour, she inevitably moved along the lines of least resistance. That, the Professor declares, is what ails agriculture now when it is still following in her footsteps. When she wanted to raise a crop, she wanted quick returns. It is hard to imagine a savage planting a walnut and waiting ten years for the harvest! Our first gardeners naturally began with quick-growing plant annuals, which had the advantage of quick returns—plant in the spring and eat in the fall.

"The nomad wife had for thousands of years been feeding her family on walnuts, chestnuts, acorns, almonds, apples, and cherries. There they stood, these trees, then as now the great engines of nature, producing to-day as no grains can produce. At their feet stood a few feeble plants with one or two fat seeds. These feeble ones have become the food and the agriculture of mankind, not because they were especially certain or especially productive or especially good or especially nutritious, but because, being annuals, they appealed to the nomad's wife by giving quick returns. Therefore, we have improved them. Therefore we all eat bread made of grains. In depending upon these puny props we give ourselves great and often needless labour, and because of the weakness of our plant servants more than half the productive possibilities of the world are unattained.

"The grains are weaklings all. They are so feeble that they must have the earth specially prepared for them. The ground must be ploughed, which is, in itself, an act of violence against nature. Special care is often necessary to protect them from the overpowering strength of those more vigorous plants we call weeds, and when the harvest comes it is often a small handful in comparison to yields of tree crops—the engines of nature which have for ages been giving man the most astonishing object-lessons of production and inviting him to improve them rather than the feeble grains."

The rocky chestnut fields of Italy yield approximately the same return per acre as the rich wheat fields of the United States. The wheat lands must be ploughed for each crop. The chestnut orchards, source of bread and food for thousands of mountaineers, have not been ploughed in ten thousand years. Even this tree crop is representative of ancient change rather than modern science, and could be vastly enriched. The agriculture of tree crops is the agriculture of great yields. Professor Smith instances one particular acre in apple trees that yielded 44,000 pounds of saleable fruit in one year. But the methods followed in producing tree crops have been as unenlightened as those of the nomad's wife in selecting grains for planting.

Mr. Burbank, pioneer, used the facts of science before the scientists had worked out the law. Now, at last, science has caught up with his experiments. We need no longer depend on chance. We understand the laws of plant-breeding. As a result "the agriculture of great yields"—tree crops—will receive a larger measure of our attention. At present fruit-bearing trees cover only a fraction of soil of the earth as compared with the area given over to less productive grains and grasses. Scientific plant-breeding will "transform agriculture as the steam engine has transformed transportation," for it will enable us to harness the trees, "the great productive engines of the plant kingdom."

"For two centuries the white man has been felling the forests of America to make fields. Many an Eastern field now of low fertility and scanty harvest has or has had upon it the acorn-bearing oak, the nut-bearing walnut, chestnut and hickory or shellbark, the seedling apple, the seedling peach, the red-heart and black-heart cherry (wild mazzard), and the fruitful persimmon and papaw. Yet for three centuries all these astounding possibilities of crops have been negligently cut down and burned up to make room for wheat and corn.

"Analysis shows that the efforts of unaided nature have produced richer foods in the nuts of trees than in the kernels of grains. If nature unaided has done this much, what may we expect if we start scientific plant breeding upon bases of possibility as astonishing as those afforded, let us say, by the hickory-nut family? I have before me as I write a hickory-nut from Indiana. It is a sample that was offered as typical of bushels. It is 1.65 inches long, 1.40 inches wide, and 1.10 inches thick; it weighs 310 grains, after having been off the tree for nine months. There, for a beginning, is size. From Kentucky I have the report of hickory-nuts with shells so thin that they can be crushed in the hand as we crush English walnuts. We all know the delicious flavour of the shellbark and the pecan. A princely group of qualities, these. Yet, further, there are several varieties of this hickory genus, including the pecan, that are hardy from Canada to the Gulf and West to the Mississippi."

Professor Smith seems to expect the most promising results from the cultivation of the hickory nut and the acorn. The fresh acorn, he tells us, is surprisingly close to white bread in food content, and it fattens tens of thousands of Iberian hogs without the intervention of human labour. We Americans are too industrious. We would rather carry starch from the cornfield to the piggery than turn the pig out into the oak orchard. We seem to be incapable of far-seeing constructive work. We build battleships for a war that may never come, but we cannot take a tithe of the price of a battleship to breed new crops, to utilise kingdoms that are idle now and to fill stomachs that cry for bread. The farms of New England, the deserts of the West, will blossom forth if we permit the wizards of agriculture to wave their wand over our fields.

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WILSHIRE'S

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Upton Sinclair Against the One-Leg Dance

UPTON SINCLAIR is always protesting against a man's living his own life. How many of us would still be quietly masticating our analine-dyed Chicago sausages if the "Jungle" had not interfered with our contentment?

In his new novel, "Sylvia," we get another warning from Upton. It is not pig flesh now, but upon human, that he dwells. The purchase of human flesh, particularly of the female sex, whether for life outright or for a short time, brings us into greater dangers than any flesh that he ever found lurking in a Chicago packing-house.

Reginald Wright Kauffman is also backing up Upton, or Upton is backing up Reginald, whichever way you like to put it, in this awakening of the world to the realisation that the daughters of joy are anything either to themselves or their patrons rather than what their name might indicate. What they may be to their owners is apparently a question of percentage. Reginald calls his book the "Sentence of Silence," and he lets us know that he has only lifted the corner of the curtain this time. When he writes his next one and shows us what's what, and then when Upton also comes along with his next, which, I understand, has 606 pages, we may look for the world to become so virtuous that John D. Rockefeller, Junr., will disband his Vice Commission.

Meanwhile, the only ray of comfort that has fallen on all this dark path of vice is from English Walling, who, in his "Larger Aspects of Socialism," assures us that this fuss being raised by Sinclair and Kauffman comes from heated imaginations rather than from any first-hand scientific knowledge of the matter. I join with Walling in giving them the benefit of the doubt.

However, there is reported to be 40,000 new victims every year in London alone, and there is to be a Royal Commission appointed. Then we may know who is right, anyway, upon the subject. Pending accurate information the world will no doubt wag as formerly, also afterwards. So what's the use?

But all the foregoing is not to the point. I should not have published such an extremely diverting preface to what I fear is rather a dull discussion. Upton Sinclair writes me the following letter:—

Letchworth, England, August 9.

My Dear Wilshire,—I see by the New York papers that the Paterson strikers have had to acknowledge defeat, and go back to work. Here was a practically unanimous strike of 25,000 silk workers; they tied up a whole industry, and they have got nothing save the blacklisting of 2,000 of the more active of them. I was in the United States and saw something of this strike. It was lost because all the powers of government were on the side of the owners; because the police suspended the Constitution and the courts abolished the laws, and men were sent to jail in batches for simple picketing. Now some of us fool Socialists are going to persuade the 23,000 strikers who are left to vote out the owners' Government, and vote themselves into control of the police.

I wonder what you are going to say about it? The usual blind anti-political stuff? I see the Spanish Government has declared the workers' organisation in Barcelona an illegal one. They almost did that in Paterson; they were ready to do it in the Rand. How a man as sensible as you can propose to throw over all the rights that we have gained through a thousand years of struggle, I can't understand. All that I can say is that if you succeed in persuading the working class to give up the government to their enemies, it will take them another thousand years to win their rights. The capitalists have not yet begun to show their hand—there is no limit to what they would do, to what they *will* do, if only you and the rest of the pure-and-simple industrialists can free them from the fear of working-class *votes*. They will jail every leader, raid every office, confiscate every paper, attach every dollar of funds, and break every strike—and all they want as preliminary to the doing of it is to have you succeed in persuading the working class to give up politics.

Now, of course, you'll turn this round to mean that I want pure-and-simple Parliamentarism—that I'm defending Ramsay MacDonald. That's the way the argument is kept going to the great pleasure of our enemies. Why not for once discuss the real question—the advantage of walking on both legs instead of on either one?—Yours for the ballot *and* the strike,

UPTON SINCLAIR.

My heading referred to the One-Leg Dance. Rather far-fetched, I admit, for Upton's sedate and modest reference to walking, not dancing, on two legs. Probably made you look for Upton's ideas on The Tango? I am sure you would have been more interested in that than in his ideas on voting, or mine either. The heading was merely illegitimate bait to gain your attention to something that otherwise you might have missed.

Upton says: "If you succeed in persuading the working class to give up the Government to their enemies." By this he means to say, no doubt, that he fears I will convince them that they will never get the "government" by mearely voting aye for it. Of course, Upton really can't mean that I could persuade them to give up something they have never had—the government.

Now let me explain once again. I say by all means let the workers get whatever they can get by voting. If they can get control of Paterson, or any other place, by voting they would be fools not to vote. But the point I am trying to drive in is this. That even in case they do elect a Mayor of Paterson, as they did of Haledon, the adjoining small town, they would be eternally fooled if they would expect then to be

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safe, inaugurate a strike, and think by having the police in their hands they would win hands down.

In the first place, it would be no time at all before the State of New Jersey would take the police power out of the hands of Paterson and vest it in the State. We have seen this happen before with the Ripper Bill in Pennsylvania, and in the Ohio when the police power was taken from Mayor Jones, of Toledo, and placed in a State Commission.

Does Upton forget how quickly the Socialist sheriffs were kicked out in Colorado and West Virginia when the State troops went into the strike districts?

It can't be possible that, in the light of Upton's declaring that "there is no limit to what the capitalists will do," he thinks they won't again do what they have already done. I agree there is no limit.

Now Upton is confessedly a Revolutionist, a Utopian: a man who wants Socialism and wants it now. He is not "a fool Socialist persuading the workers to vote themselves into control of the police" merely to get such control, but in order to use that control to get nearer Socialism.

Now I ask Upton if he knows that getting the control of the local police will be a most evanescent affair. That is, the control will only be held until the situation becomes so strained that the State takes away that control to itself. I say if Upton admits this, then I ask him would he dare go before the late strikers of Paterson and say: "Well, boys, the thing to do is to vote yourselves into control. True you won't be in control long even you do get a majority, but you will have the satisfaction of making them take away your present nominal political power. You will have made them show their hands"?

If he would so dare, the Political Committee of the Socialist Party would not dare let him go on their platform. They would never get any votes. The position taken by the Socialist Party leaders is a false one. They are either ignorant and don't know that they are asking their people to vote for power which will never be given them, or they are too cowardly to frankly admit that the voting is of no practical consequence, and that the only value of politics lies in the chance for the revolutionary propaganda it affords.

But, as I have before explained, the programme of "politics for propaganda only" is merely a programme fit for the Party when there is no chance of success. The moment Socialists are successful and elect their men, then they are immediately irresistibly thrown into the dirty game of politics, and all the early enthusiasm which fired the best of their leaders inevitably vanishes. The Party then becomes at best merely "progressive."

It's a case of be damned if you don't elect, and be damned if you do. Upton's fundamental mistake is in thinking that the power of the capitalists arises from their control of the Government. It arises from their control of capital.

When the workers through their industrial solidarity control Capital, then that very same hour they will control the Government. The "rights gained through a thousand years' struggle" were not rights as men, but rights as Capitalists. The men who control the bank vaults are the men who control the ballot boxes. It's dollars, not men, that count, and dollars mean economic power.

Economic power is what the workers need.

How to Bring about the Social Revolution

HOW to bring about Socialism is certainly the question of questions for Socialists. No matter how much we may allow that certain reforms are good, yet we all insist that no reform can be of much good compared with the great good involved in the total abolition of the wage system and exploitation.

The *Christian Commonwealth* of London, a journal much more revolutionary than its title might indicate, recently conducted a symposium upon "How to Bring About the Social Revolution." Among many others who contributed was myself, and here is what I said in their issue of June 25 last:—

To bring about the revolution involves the expropriation of the capitalist class by the working class for the benefit of society as a whole. The first thing on the programme is to develop within the workers as a class the desire to accomplish this expropriation, for at present no such desire exists. To develop this desire it is necessary that the power to satisfy the desire shall be called into being. To-day there is practically neither desire nor power. Both must have a simultaneous development, and there must be not only consciousness of power, coupled with a desire to expropriate, but a consciousness of the ability properly to utilise and operate the capital to be expropriated. Any desire which may arise prior to the ability to take and use after having taken is sterile.

The capitalists to-day hold possession of property apparently by virtue of their command of the State. I say apparently, for the view is an inverted one. As a matter of fact, the capitalists command the State owing to their possession of property. It is due to the Socialists and Anarchists having the inverted view instead of the true one that both direct their attention to either capturing or destroying the State, erroneously thinking they will thus be able to expropriate the capitalists. But the true way to expropriate the capitalists is by direct action. Going after the State is as futile a performance as that of the dog on the bridge going after the reflection in the water.

THE METHOD OF DIRECT EXPROPRIATING

is by the strike. The organisation which gives power to win the strike is the organisation which at the same time will give the workers that consciousness of power for a general expropriation of the capitalists by means of the general strike. Business both financial and industrial is ever concentrating in larger and larger masses. The old-time craft unions are inadequate to meet the modern developments of capital. To meet massed capital we must have massed labour. Modern automatic machinery is displacing skilled workers and throwing them into the ranks of ordinary labour. All this makes, in the end, for the solidarity of labour. It means that the trade unions of the future are to be formed upon industrial lines rather than upon craft lines. We see, for instance, the workers on the railways are now uniting as railway workers and not as engineers, pointsmen, etc.

Industrial Unionism, when it further develops a knowledge of its own powers and realises its possibilities, will finally become Revolutionary Industrial Unionism or Syndicalism. That is, the workers will first organise to control the product, and their success in such control will lead them to look beyond a mere

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bettering of wages to the absolute expropriation of the capitalists, and to the complete abolition of the wage system itself.

No one questions that with sufficient solidarity the trade unions have the power to stop the wheels of industry and practically to force any terms they choose upon the capitalists. In no other manner than by economic solidarity can this power of Labour be developed. Obviously political solidarity gives no power to the workers. At best voting is merely an indication of what they want. This present discussion is not to consider what the workers want, but how they are to get what they want.

A SUCCESSION OF WIDESPREAD STRIKES

will develop solidarity and self-consciousness among the workers such as no other activity can possibly accomplish. With the self-confidence developed by economic solidarity there will not only come the desire for a social revolution, but the confidence that labour has the power within itself to bring it about. What is also most essential will also come into being—namely, the consciousness that Labour can operate and manage the industries involved without the aid of the capitalists. To-day this consciousness does not exist; on the contrary, the workers feel—and feel rightly, too, considering their present state of development—that even if the industries were turned over to them, they would lack the technical knowledge to operate them without help from the capitalists. This deficiency must be remedied, and it can only be remedied by the development of Revolutionary Unionism.

Direct Action or Syndicalism is not an attempt at making a short cut to the Revolution. On the contrary, it is evolving as a theory of action simply because Syndicalists realise that there is no royal road to the Social Revolution. It is absurd to think, as do the Parliamentarians, that the capitalists will stand still and voluntarily allow their property to be voted out of their hands by a Parliament having Single-tax views or Socialist views. The only thing to which capitalists will ever surrender is superior force, and the only way for the workers to develop this force is by developing sufficient class solidarity to

CONTROL THE NATION'S ARTERIAL INDUSTRIES.

Then when the day for revolution comes there most probably will be no necessity for a general strike, merely because the capitalists will surrender to the obviousness of the workers having the power to gain the victory.

Property in the future must be owned by the community, but its control must lie with the various organisations of the workers. That is, any economic rent that may arise from the nature of the industry shall fall, not to the particular workers within that industry, but shall go to the community as a whole. On the other hand, the workers, by virtue of the power of their economic organisations—which will not surrender their existence after the revolution—will always be able to determine for themselves the conditions of their labour in terms of equity.

However, the particular kind of organisation under which the society of the future will function is not worth debating about compared with the dissemination of the theory that industrial organisation will alone give Labour the power to accomplish the Social Revolution. The question is one of methods more than ideals. The general strike is a weapon that may never be used after being forged, but the discipline and education involved in the forging of it is an absolute necessity to the triumph of Labour.

In continuation of this symposium the *Christian Commonwealth* printed the following on July 30:—

In answer to the correspondent who asked how the Syndicalists propose to provide for the workers while they are wageless and, consequently, foodless during a general strike, Mr. Gaylord Wilshire, whose article in our issue of June 25 certainly stimulated discussion, writes:—

"Your correspondent evidently has a picture in his mind's eye of the workers folding their arms and matching their ability to go without food against the rich, who will always manage to get food for a period somehow or other, strike or no strike. With unlimited time for the starving match, of course, the poor man running short of food first would certainly starve first, and therefore the result would be a foregone victory for the rich. But the general strike does not mean such a simple method of wholesale suicide by the working class. The essence of the theory is that, inasmuch as society is an organism, any refusal to function by a vital part of the organism means death to the whole. Let a man's lungs become inflamed and refuse to function, and the man himself will surely die, and he knows it. Therefore a man with pneumonia will sacrifice practically everything to restore his lungs to health. For the workers to win it is necessary for them to be intelligent enough to stop work at vital points in such a way that they will greatly interfere with the working of the whole social organism, and at the same time injure themselves so little that the pain they receive will not discourage them from continuing the strike.

"Suppose the railway workers and the miners become so highly organised and intelligent in their action that they should to a man stop work for, say, two days and then go back to work for a week, then strike again for a couple of days, or three days, or a fortnight, as they might decide. This would be most efficacious in creating disturbance to society with little discomfort to the men. Such a course would not involve any starvation, for they would always be returning to work when funds ran low, and inasmuch as we premise they are well united and organised, there would therefore be no danger of outsiders being employed to take the places, nor would the employers dare institute a lock-out against such a large and powerful group of men controlling two vital industries.

"The power of the capitalist class to-day does not rest upon bayonets, but upon the lack of class-consciousness of the workers. Upon this point I think all are more or less agreed, but whereas the Parliamentarians think that class-consciousness may be aroused by political action, the Syndicalists say that nothing but Revolutionary Unionism will develop it. It is the old song over again: 'Mother, may I go out to swim?' 'Oh, yes, my darling daughter, hang your clothes upon a hickory limb, but don't go near the water.' You can't teach swimming by text-books any more than you can teach revolutionary action. Both are the result of physical practice, not intellectual gymnastics. A man will never learn to swim in the revolutionary sea by sitting in the gallery watching Ramsay MacDonald make a speech in the House of Commons."

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The Highway of Error

IT is when an intelligent inquirer after truth puts searching questions to you on your philosophy of Syndicalism that you realise how far apart basically Syndicalism is from Socialism. I feel, however, that we really require a re-defining of Socialism. I find myself constantly using the word (1) to mean a nebulous Future State where economic equality has been established on an indefinable plan, but equally agreeable to both Socialists and Syndicalists; (2) to mean a Future State of society wherein the Democratic State is the sole owner of industry, where the ordinary ideal as presented by the Parliamentarian Socialists has at last been realised; (3) to mean not the end, but the means of getting our future ideal society—viz., through voting for the Socialist Party.

It is in the first sense that I used the word when I said that "both Socialists and Syndicalists are out for Socialism," and to which Mr. Pearson refers to in the following interesting letter:—

Hindhead, England.

Dear Mr. Wilshire,—Now to explain my little difficulties. In your April number, which I liked so much that I distributed and redistributed all my copies until now I have not one left to refer to, you said something like this in your reply to someone: "We are both out for Socialism. It is the method of getting there that we differ about. So-and-So says, 'Do it by converting the majority, by propaganda.' I say, 'So-and-So's an ass' (or if you did not say that you probably thought it). 'Do it by educating and organising the more intellectual minority of workers up to well-planned direct action.'" This is probably rather an inaccurate version, but I remember being very interested by your saying, "We both want Socialism"; and I suppose that your idea of Socialism would be joint ownership by the people, *but with ownership in groups*, the workers of each industry owning the industry that they work. But these different industries would each have to submit to partial control by their fellow-industries, through the medium of your central elected body; and this partial outside control of each would, amongst other things, have some say as to what prices the various industries would be allowed to charge the rest of the community for their goods or services. Thus partial control means partial ownership. If the community can dictate through its central body at what price the millers must grind our corn for us, that is equivalent to ownership by the community. But as the community will only have a *share* of the control of price, that is equivalent to *part*-ownership.

So that the crowd of organised workers that the Syndicalist central body is ultimately elected from is the same as the crowd of State workers that the Socialist chamber or chambers are elected from. In both cases it is the whole adult population; and the chief difference that I can see is, that under Syndicalism elections go according to trade, instead of haphazard and merely according to number as in Socialism. And another difference is that, whatever you do you must not forget yourself so far as to call the total organisation of the Syndicalist crowd a "State." Perhaps we shall be called "The Syndicalist Crowd of Great Britain and Ireland," or "The Syndicalist Association of Great Britain and Ireland."

I understand that the use of the word "State" will be restricted to barbarous countries! However, the matter of elections according to trade rather than haphazard merely according to number does seem to me more sensible. Then page 8 of your May number—"The Syndicalist Ideal." "One difference between the Syndicalist's ideal and that of the Socialist's is——," etc. This I cannot agree to. I think they both want equality in participation of both production and product. The rest of this article seems to me as much an argument for Socialism as for Syndicalism, and makes me think there is not very much difference.

The next article in the corner of same page amused both my partner and myself; likewise page 5—"John Spargo says Syndicalism is a vain Dream"—etc. Likewise Berger's Mutual Aid Bonds (in April, I believe). June I can skip. It interested me very much, but there are no questions I wish to ask.

July, page 8, 3rd par.: "The whole tendency of modern industry is toward larger and larger units." Then why not as big a unit as possible? Joint stock of all industries in as big an area as possible?

It seems to me that Syndicalism is only a good development of Socialism, *but* with a method of getting there attached to it which the original Socialism never had. If this is so, it would seem to me that although we ought to recognise and to be very grateful for the great good that the Syndicalist movement has done and is doing, yet we may say justly that it would have done quicker and more good if it had proclaimed itself as a development (and a very great one) of Socialism, and had not taken for itself quite a different name and caused unnecessary dissension in the ranks of the rebels.

Page 5. G. R. S. Taylor, foot of column. "It is hard to see why," etc. My reply would be, that State Collectivists have no more and no less confidence in the officials elected by their scheme than the Syndicalists have in theirs. Both require officials.

You can judge nothing against State Socialism by present-day State Government. You *can* judge that huge differences of the economic power of individuals and parties carry with them huge differences of political power—and corruption. And you can also judge that the old-fashioned Socialists' *method* of obtaining the revolution is wrong.—With very kind regards, yours sincerely,

R. MEYNELL PEARSON.

The psychological chasm between Syndicalist and Socialist lies in the answer to the question, "Do we act because we think, or do we think because we act?" The man of reason, the Socialist, will say: of course we think before we act. The man of instinct, the Syndicalist, will say, on the contrary, we think because we act.

This difference in theory explains why the Socialist calls on men to think and vote while the Syndicalist relies upon their acting, striking first and thinking afterwards. The Socialist would educate by books, while the Syndicalist, following Signora Montesori, would educate by activity. The Socialist says the brain educates the hand, while the Syndicalist says the hand educates the brain.

The Syndicalist says if you would learn how to swim you must drop your text book and go in the water.

Mr. Pearson quite mistakes the Syndicalist position when he says that I suggest "educating the workers *up to* direct action"; not at all, the thing is to educate them not "up to," but "by" direct action. Education comes by and after the direct action, not before.

Then, too, he is worrying over the difference in meaning between the words "control" and "ownership," when, as a matter of fact, they are synonymous from the Syndicalist standpoint. Walter Lippman, in the *New Review*, has the same worry about the I.W.W. and Odon Por declaring for the mines for the miners and the railways for the railwaymen.

From the Socialist standpoint there is a great difference between a future society in which the community owns the railways and one where the railwaymen own them. Since State Socialism does not imply any organisation among railwaymen, ownership by the State will obviously make it all powerful as against the men. Socialists assume the State will be just, that with industrial democracy we must necessarily expect as a corollary a benevolent industrialism. But the Syndicalist declares that there must be guarantees, and that the only guarantee of the power of the individuals to resist the State is the organisation of Industrial Unions.

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Under a Syndicalist society the theory of justice to the individual will be the same as the theory held by the Socialist, but the great difference is that under Syndicalism the individual will be able to enforce his meed of justice if it be not given him voluntarily. Therefore, under Syndicalism it is a matter of indifference to the individual whether the railways are to be owned by the community and controlled by the railwaymen, or whether the railways are to be owned by the railwaymen and controlled by the community, for it will amount to exactly the same thing to him in either event.

The railwaymen will, under Syndicalism, through their unions, be in a position to demand fair treatment, and that is all they will, in theory at any rate, ever demand. If they should ever happen to demand more than is justly due them, then the Central Body, to which Mr. Pearson refers, will argue the point with them and endeavour to show them that anything they take in excess of what is just simply diminishes to that extent the share which should fall to the workers in other industries. I think there will be no trouble in arriving at an amicable conclusion to any such disputes. The difficulty to-day in settling industrial disputes affords us no criterion, inasmuch as the whole theory of the wage system admittedly is based on injustice. The basic plan is for the employers to give the workers just as little as they can compel them to take. The workers of to-day also know that whatever they may gain by striking for higher wages does not come out of the other workers, but out of the capitalists.

Another point that the Syndicalists enlarge upon, and Mr. Pearson unduly minimises, is the importance of elections going by trades rather than by territories. The point is, that the cells of an organ know better than any cells outside the organ can know what is best for the organ.

If I have a cinder in my eye, the cells in the eye call a mass meeting and insist upon its expulsion. The cells in my right thumb may be quite indifferent to the complaint of my eye cells. Possibly if there were a referendum called of all the cells in the body upon the question of ejecting that cinder, the eye cells might be voted down by a heavy majority. But that is not the way Nature goes about things. The only voters called into action are the eye cells, and they make more racket than a bunch of Suffragettes after a Cabinet Minister. The eye cells don't care anything about majority rule, but defiantly declare that they will hold up the whole body until their grievance is attended to. Like the English Suffragettes who declare that they don't care whether there is a majority for or against suffrage, they are going to fuss till they get it. Quite right they are, too! The conscious minority of eye cells can always bring around the unconscious majority of the rest of the body cells to their way of thinking once they are inflamed enough to think it worth while to make a kick.

In a perfect society not only is electing by unions "more sensible," as Mr. Pearson admits, but it is an absolute necessity.

As to Socialists having the same lack of confidence as Syndicalists in officials as they are elected to-day, whether they be Socialist officials or others, I would say that the Socialist viewpoint of officials is such that Socialists must necessarily have more confidence in officials than Syndicalists, as otherwise their whole scheme of Socialism falls to the ground.

The essence of Socialism is to choose your leaders and experts and trust them to run the Earth for you. The essence of Syndicalism is to educate yourself so that you can run the machine yourself.

The Socialist Party must necessarily develop a tradition that the Victor Bergers and the Ramsay MacDonalds are heaven-sent. If they do not develop a reverence for leaders they cannot progress, therefore it is imperative that they should do so, and they do. True, there are some who may question the divinity of certain popular leaders, but it is merely because they reverence different priests.

Syndicalism applies the dictum of a sound mind in a sound body not only to man as an individual, but also to man in the mass. We must educate all men socially, physically, and mentally: educate them to know themselves and to know each other, and to do this we must in them develop a mass thought by mass activities.

It is a tradition that the professor of political economy of the University knows about as little of the real economics of industry as a wooden Indian. Why? Simply because he is removed from the current of life. He has relied upon books rather than men to gain his views. It is likewise just as impossible for the Socialist Parliamentarians to gain a true knowledge of labour conditions by standing on a street-corner and expounding Marx to the passers-by as it is for the college professor to gain it by talking to his students.

It is simply impossible for a man to remain a Parliamentarian Socialist and at the same time be involved continually in a series of labour strikes and trouble. No matter what his theories may have been before he went into the fights, he is bound to come out a Syndicalist. In proof of this, the examples of Haywood and Tom Mann are significant. The logic of events, not the reading of books, compels men to become Syndicalists.

Finally, I would say that because a man is a Syndicalist, and acts on Syndicalist lines, is by no means a sign that he is pursuing the right course for the time being. Generally speaking, he should certainly be right, but inasmuch as admittedly he acts on instinct rather than reason he is bound to be often wrong—at least, to appear to be so. No doubt both Mann and Haywood back many mistaken strikes, and no doubt they would be the last to claim infallibility. But, on the other hand, it is much better to occasionally lose your way when on the right track than to never lose your way when on the broad Parliamentary highway of error.

The Book that Won the Prize

"Socialism." By O. D. Skelton. Constable, London. 6s. net.

This is a book brought forth by a series of prizes for economic essays offered by the American clothing firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx. It is the sixth in the series, and is tabulated as "The Case Against Socialism," but I note that it is published under the title of "Socialism; a Critical Analysis." Presumably the sponsors considered a critical analysis of Socialism would be equivalent to presenting a case against it.

While the book is confessedly written against Socialism, it is a first-rate compendium of the subject, and does the author great credit for a painstaking and thoroughly good production. I don't know of any book which gives a more faithful account of the history of Socialism and of the men connected with it, and the very fact that it is not written by a Socialist makes its points in favour of Socialism all the stronger.

The bibliography is especially good.

The American publishers are Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

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That Rand Provisional Government

THE interesting thing about the late strike on the Rand was not the fact that the strikers surrendered at the very time when solidarity would have put the country at their mercy, nor that Lord Gladstone shot them down like sheep when he had them at his mercy. All that sort of thing has happened often before, and will often happen again. The new thing about the strike was that the strikers had a vision of what they would do if they should win, which included more than the winning of a few paltry concessions. Concessions good enough no doubt in their way, reasonable concessions that would no doubt reduce the fearful tuberculosis death rate, so that among the Rand miners it would not be more than, say, three times the normal rate in other countries.

The strikers looked beyond the wringing of concessions, and dared to visualise a victory that would give them entire freedom from the Wernher-Beit-Eckstein plutocracy.

No wonder Lord Gladstone thought it was time for machine guns.

True enough the strikers failed, but nothing was more significant than that they had such a daring vision.

To say that their plan was chimerical is not to the point. All aiming at stars is chimerical to the blind.

Lord Gladstone indicated what he thought about the idea when, in his official cable report explaining why he ordered the shooting, he said in extenuation that the strikers had actually drawn up a plan for a Provisional Government to be put into force if they had succeeded.

Quite time for bullets, thought Gladstone, and I quite agree. When the workers organising a general strike have in view a Workers' Provisional Government to assume the reins of power when the strike shall succeed it is up to the plutocracy to play their last ace—the bullet.

But in the game of Syndicalism, although the capitalists hold the high cards, the guns, the workers hold the trumps, their labour. A small trump may capture a big ace.

Nuts—But No Coon

THERE has been a lot of talk about the slump in Socialism. Recently, at the annual meeting of the Fabian Society in London, Mr. C. K. Ensor said that Socialism had gone back more in the past year than it had gone ahead in the last five. If we are to consider merely the political Socialist movement there is much truth in what he said, but the fact that the political part of the Socialist movement is losing may be merely a mark of greater education on the part of the Socialists if the Syndicalists are right in their contention that Socialism cannot be brought about by proletarian voters storming the ballot-box.

Any dog is liable to occasionally bark up the wrong tree, but if he continue barking up the wrong tree too long we regard him a fool. I myself did some barking up the wrong tree for a while, but I must say that my bark was more to call attention to the fact that there was a coon up some tree than that it was necessarily up my particular tree and no other tree.

In other words, I was out for politics for propaganda only, as we said in those days. But we are now not allowed to say this, for Section 6 of the Constitution of the Socialist Party restricts us to "practical politics."

However, when we send a tiger-cat Hillquit up our political tree, and the fall elections have caused the leaves to drop so we can plainly see him exploring in vain all the branches for the capitalist coon, it seems to me that it is about time for us to cease hypnotising ourselves thinking there is a coon there. There may be reform nuts on that tree, but certainly no revolutionary coon, and we are after coons not nuts.

Debs's Report of Hatfield

Of course Debs made a mistake in whitewashing Governor Hatfield in his report on the West Virginia strike—in fact, Debs has since acknowledged his error—but to say that he erred consciously is ridiculous.

Debs has been too long honourably identified with the Socialist movement to be thought guilty of anything more than an unfortunate mistake due to his carelessness in not comparing dates with events. If he had done so he would have seen that Hatfield was guilty of about all the arbitrary acts of a Czar of Russia without the excuse of being the hereditary autocrat of all the Virginias.

As for Berger's joining in with Debs in the whitewashing job—well, nobody nowadays expects too much of Berger anyway. Nobody that knows.

Berger, warming up in the sun of Washington politics, discovered that old Joe Cannon was not such a bad fellow after all. Probably not.

Death of August Bebel

ALTHOUGH for the last few years Bebel had taken no active part in the Party management in Germany owing to his ill-health, nevertheless his death will prove to be a great disintegrating force for the German Party. As a matter of fact, the Party is not nearly as solid as appearances indicate, and a shock such as the death of its great leader will have a much more serious effect upon it than if it were based upon more solid foundations. Syndicalism has not as yet made any great dent in German Parliamentarianism, but this not because there is not a fertile soil for it there, but merely because the psychological hour for it to arrive has not yet struck. When it does come, then will the great Party which Bebel formed become split in twain over night, half going to the Opportunists and half to the Syndicalists. The day is not distant either.

The Audacity of Parliamentarianism

"Syndicalism." By John Spargo. H. B. Huebsch, New York. $1.25 net.

SPARGO'S book, considering it is so obviously the work of an unsympathetic pot-boiler, is not half as bad as it might be.

He regards Syndicalism as a parasite on political Socialism, and admittedly it is hard to be enthusiastic about a parasite especially when you think you yourself are the host. And if Spargo be right, he certainly is the host, for if there be a pure specimen of the politicus socialimus it is Spargo.

However, I doubt if Syndicalism is a parasite on Socialism. I am rather inclined to think it may be the other way about.

True enough just now when there is a strike the strikers are often in receipt of funds from the Socialist Party, but strikers are not necessarily Syndicalists. The Socialist Party has money in its treasury, and it is the only organisation that

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is urged to give both by its sympathy and its policy. If there were no strikers there would be no Socialist Party; the more strikes the more members, and the more members the more money in the Party treasury.

This has been the rule in the past, but that it will be the rule in the future remains to be seen. There certainly have been enough strikes in the past year, but notwithstanding the strikes the dues paying membership of the Party has fallen off over one-third—viz., from about 125,000 to less than 75,000. If this keeps up it will soon afford small pickings for Syndicalist parasites, and in the ordinary course of human events both parasite and host will be committed to a common grave dying of inanition. But Syndicalism is no parasite on Socialism. Syndicalism is rather the legitimate child of capitalism, and as it grows to maturity will inherit the earth rather than usurping illegitimate Socialism.

The true parasites on the revolutionary movement are those men who have the places of profit and honour in the Socialist Party, men who if it had not been for Socialism would never have had the ability to make the place in the sun which they now occupy to their own comfort and delight.

We all know hundreds of men in the Socialist movement who have all the attributes of the true parasite. They have abandoned their customary mode of work, and compared with the standard of life prevailing among the working class, from which they sprung, they live a life of ease and luxury.

Whatever may be said of Syndicalism there can be no question but that, purely from the material standpoint, its leaders have not benefited by its advocacy.

When Spargo talks about "a degree of audacity and daring that is almost sublime" being essential for the "Socialist in politics," and when one visualises the daring sublimated in heroes like the gallant Victor Berger, it is to smile.

Can there be a Genuine Revolutionary Political Party?

By REV. ROLAND D. SAWYER.

IT is the claim of the Socialist Political Party the world over that it is a revolutionary party. Other political parties are scoffed out of court as being mere reform parties, the Socialist Party is for the revolution. For five years I swallowed this, preached it—but now it at last dawns upon me that there can be no such thing as a revolutionary political party. To amount to anything a political party must secure political power; this political power can be secured only by causing a plurality or sometimes majority of the voters to support your theory.

The right to franchise is so manipulated that you might have three-fourths the people with you, but not a plurality of the voters. Now, frankly, is it a possibility for a revolutionary group with limited means and a small press, is it psychologically possible to convert in the limited time at your disposal a majority of the voters in the face of education and appeals against you by unlimited means and educational and propaganda means? I believe not. In this country it has been found impossible, and the men who get elected to power, like Berger, Lunn, et al, have had to abandon revolutionary policies and become frankly opportunist reformers, no better, no worse, than La Follette, Wilson, Kern, Sulzer, and the rest. But, again, suppose by a sudden upheaval of public sentiment like a strike, there should be seated a delegation of revolutionary members in any Parliamentary body, could they avail anything for a revolution? No. Parliaments are the places of compromise, dickering, trades—such a group might aid in reforms, but they would have no revolutionary power. Again, in America there are constitutions over-lapping terms of the Parliaments and the like, and, above all, the veto power of the courts, that would make impossible any revolutionary action in any city, state or the nation, even if a majority of the voters arose and voted for Socialism.

I still believe we can accomplish many reforms for the workers by means of elected men; I shall continue to vote, to take part in politics, but I do this with my mind disabused of the thought that I can bring about a revolution by my vote. I vote for reforms not for revolution. Those who spurn reforms and want revolution must cease to vote, and throw their activities into the revolutionary unions; but those who want reforms, or are willing to accept them, can do much through voting; but no one has any right to tell intelligent men that he is a member of a revolutionary political party—revolutions do not come, cannot come, through political parties.

***NOTE:** Mr. Sawyer was recently "removed" from the Executive of the Massachusetts Socialist Party for his Syndicalism.*

The Servile State

George D. Herron, in *The Metropolitan.*

IF I mistake not, the most immediate and critical issue before the Socialist movement is its relation to what is known as the State. Decision and definition are here imperative. The attitude of the Socialist toward governmental institutions must be made clear to the world; and the Socialist must be made clear about it in his own mind. For, first amid outer and seeming sympathisers with the Socialistic movement, then in that broad fringe of indefinite reformistic sentiment that borders and cumbers the movement, there is the crude and corrupting conception of Socialism as proceeding through a mere extension of the functions of the present political State. Even among Socialists, there too largely prevails the notion that a governmental direction of industry is the goal of the Socialist conquest of political power. It is indeed appalling to read the monstrous misconceptions of certain recent Socialist writers—writers who are desperately concerned that the Socialist movement should be clothed in the faded and shabby garment of a decadent Puritan gentility, and who seem far more fearful of freedom than of the varied yokes of capitalism; who tremblingly hasten to assure the world that Socialism does not really mean freedom at all, but a universal compulsory self-denial, a universal barracks, a universal industral conscription, with New England custodians set over society's morals, and a pale and emasculated neo-Catholicism for society's ultimate religion. And in movements where the Socialism is not sincere or fundamental, where it consists of but little more than a mixture of middle-class measures and banalties—as in the Labour Parties of England and Australia—a place is given to the State that was never contemplated by the Socialist pioneers or their philosophy. It is a faithless and malific influence that impinges the Socialist hope solely upon the conquest and transformation of existing political institutions. Nothing can be more mischievous to the movement; nothing can more surely misinterpret the Socialist fathers; nothing can be more contrary to the genius and the prospect of the revolution.

The Powers of the State

Now the mere expansion of the powers and functions of the State over commerce and industry is not Socialism. Indeed, it may be quite the reverse. It may be merely the further unfoldment of effectual capitalism. Government ownership of this or that common utility, even the extension of government over the whole field of industry, need not have anything to do with Socialism—except to hinder or postpone its coming. We ignorantly speak of the postal system, for instance, as a step towards Socialism. Yet in this, our pretended republic, the postal system is increasingly the bureaucratic and irresponsible servant of a despotic capitalism. It may be used to establish a lawless espionage over the private correspondence of individuals, and to hamper and suppress Socialist publications. Though the people are pitiably unaware of it, our American postal bureaucracy is developing into an omnipresent capitalist spy; and, to the contemptible office of the spy, it is adding the ignoble functions of capitalist policeman. So the Government ownership of railways, under capitalism, may be converted into a military system that makes the striker a mutineer, subject to execution or imprisonment. Or take the extensions of Governmental control masquerading as social reforms—proposed by Lloyd George and Ramsay MacDonald in England, and by Theodore Roosevelt and his followers in America. We stupidly imagine these proposals to be an advance of democracy, and to make for the emancipation of labour. They are indeed but an amplified absolutism. They are no more Socialistic than the crown of the Russian Czar or the heart of the German Kaiser. They are measures put forth for the stronger entrenchment and securer development of capitalism. Their fundamental purpose is to so perfect the system of wage-slavery that the slave will be brought into harmony with capitalist perpetuity. The political servants of the financiers know what they are about; they know that their programmes, nominally Socialistic, have no other end than the prevention of Socialism. But the workers who support the politicians do not know. Alas! that they do not. *For the larger the power the workers put into the hands of the capitalist State, the more certainly do they provide for their own harder economic servitude, their surer political impotence, their deeper spiritual degradation.*

The rise of Syndicalism is a warning—a demonstration—that a merely political or Parliamentary Socialism will never possess the confidence of the workers, or become the organ of their emancipation.

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Andre Tridon on Syndicalism

"The New Unionism." By Andre Tridon. H. B. Huebsch, New York. Paper, 25 cents; cloth, $1 net.

ANDRE TRIDON has given us quite the best handbook on Syndicalism that has been published in English or any other language.

He covers all countries and all men, and what he says is authoritative and correct. I am glad there is such a book to recommend and that it is sold at such a reasonable price.

Tridon is a Frenchman by birth, but has been a resident of New York ten years. He is a highly-educated man, a journalist and lecturer by profession, and one whose work is seen in the best magazines and newspapers of America and France. He was for a long time a member of the Socialist Party, and may be yet, for aught I know, although I should say that he has become a bit too revolutionary for the New York brethren.

His book is thoroughly up-to-date, even chronicling the recent recall of Haywood from the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

The author finds Syndicalism in all countries, but under a different name in each. He also finds that the orthodox Socialists in each country, following after the manner of the bourgeoisie, tell their faithful followers that no true American, Britisher, Italian, or whatever he may happen to be, will degrade himself with having anything to do with the vile foreign importation.

My own experience is that while the name Syndicalism seems to throw my Socialist friends into a kind of hysteria, the most of them now are inclined to assert that it is merely orthodox Marxianism masquerading under a new name.

I have no doubt that Syndicalism will be gradually and quite unconsciously absorbed as a theory by those whom we label Revolutionary Socialists and who really are such, while the Parliamentarians will either adopt a new name for themselves or they will force the Revolutionary Socialists to call themselves Syndicalists. Certainly there must develop a name to differentiate the two schools of thought.

It is quite customary among the Parliamentarians to classify Syndicalism as merely neo-Anarchism, but Tridon shows the error by quoting Edouard Berth:—

"Syndicalists admit that civilisation began, and had to begin, with some form of coercion, and, furthermore, that such coercion was beneficial and creative, and that if we look forward to a system of liberty without the tyranny of the employers or the tyranny of the State it is owing to the capitalist system of coercion which has disciplined mankind and made it gradually capable of rising to labour freely and voluntarily performed. Against this system of coercion, anarchism has constantly protested; it curses civilisation which requires so much effort and gives us so little happiness in return; we might say that this protest of the Anarchist merely voices the revolt of the lazy individual, of the primitive savage, of the mature man against a system which tried to break him to the discipline of labour. . . . Such a protest is purely negative, nay, reactionary. . . . For society is a co-ordination of efforts, not a juxtaposition of egos seeking mere enjoyment. . . . Anarchism is merely exaggerated bourgeoisism. An Anarchist is often a decadent bourgeois; his eagerness for a return to nature is very similar to the tired bourgeois craving for a fresh-air cure in the country."

Personally I am not so sure that Berth is right in making such a differentiation in ideals between Syndicalist and Anarchist. It is rather, I suggest, a fuller realisation on the part of the Syndicalist that in order to have accomplished any kind of a revolution we must have had the tyranny of capitalism to have welded the workers into a solidarity sufficient to give them strength to meet the bourgeoisie. Both Socialists and Anarchists, for instance, have always great reliance upon the strength of revolt in the unemployed. Now the Syndicalist ridicules the idea of an unemployed mob having any strength against an armed force of the State one-tenth its size. The Syndicalist looks to the employed folding arms, whereas Socialist and Anarchist look to the unemployed drawing arms, but the trouble is that the unemployed have no arms to draw.

Tridon gives an unusually good account of the personnel and the sketch of the lives of the leaders of the Syndicalist movement in France.

The book is particularly good in its early history of the I.W.W. To conclude, I again recommend it fully to anyone desiring a most compact and accurate compendium of the mightiest movement in the history of man.

Where Practice Does Not Make Perfect

"The Sentence of Silence." By Reginald Wright Kauffman. Latimer, London. 6s.

You always feel in reading Kauffman's books that here is a story by a man who is writing whereof he knows. Perhaps Kauffman has not had the experience, perhaps he has merely been an attentive newspaper reader, but, anyway, he gives you the illusion of reality, and that's all you can expect.

The story is of a boy, the son of a well-to-do merchant in a Pennsylvania village, who having caused a servant girl to fall into an interesting condition finds it is conducive to his own interest to suddenly depart for other pastures. He lands in New York, and while his adventures there are not particularly different from those falling to many an other young man with a well-developed instinct to indulge himself, they are noteworthy from the very frank way in which the author reveals them in detail.

Our hero Dan falls a victim to that form of disease which is now so much discussed in polite society, but which a couple of weeks ago was quite taboo. The disagreeableness of the disease itself was only exceeded by the mortifications he experienced in trying to raise money to liquidate the bill of the quack doctor to whom he resorted. He recovers, however.

Finally, Dan gives up the Broad White Way life and marries a girl whom he knew to have in theory quite as broad a way of looking at things sexual as he did himself—in a way, broader. But Dan believed that Judith was merely a theorist, so when after the marriage ceremony he found out that she had supposed that he of course knew she had actually eaten of the apple of knowledge—well, Dan, he was fearfully shocked. The story must be read to fully appreciate how deeply Dan was really shocked.

Nationalisation of Railways

Editorial, the *New Witness*, London.

WHAT has happened in France and Australia, where the lines have been owned by the State? The railwaymen know to their cost. They have been cowed, beaten, and humiliated, and made to accept conditions that they denounced as shameful, and just as to-day in England the Government workers at Deptford Yard, and in the Pimlico Clothing Factory, are sweated, so to-day the State employed railwaymen of France and Australia are underpaid and overworked. In France they were shot. In Australia they were disenfranchised. Why should the State in England be more considerate? It is infinitely less democratic than in either of the other countries, and its officials are infinitely more hostile to Labour.

Again, let us say that it is no answer to this condition to refer us to an England not yet existing, when the State shall be instantly responsive to the popular will, when the officials will all have been born again, when equality is enthroned, and when the electorate controls Parliament. Such an England may one day exist, and then nationalisation will be a discussable proposition But in the world we live in to-day the railwaymen would find the little finger of the State thicker than the loins of the companies; and let them be perfectly sure that the State could count on an amount of public sympathy and support in the ruthless suppression of a national strike such as no railway company ever elicited. The railwaymen, at any rate, have nothing to gain by nationalisation. The weapon of the strike, which they can use in difficulty against the companies, would be almost impossible if directed against the community; and as for the other weapon they have in the past relied upon to secure fair conditions, that of Parliamentary representation, that is so generally discredited as scarcely to require any comment whatever.

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A Butterfly Net for a Rhinoceros Hunt

A Continuation of the Upton Sinclair-Wilshire Debate

IT would appear that all debates, whether on paper or on the rostrum, give the impression that the contestants never get together. It always seems a mere fencing for points—never a knock-out blow. Sometimes we may think that only one of the contestants is a dodger, and sometimes we think both are; that's about the only difference observable between one debate and another.

And it is always the case that each debater thinks the other a dodger; or, at least, he tells the audience he thinks so, and the audience no doubt believes both, or the partisans of each contestant firmly believe all he says about the other fellow.

Upton Sinclair now writes me another letter which is quite an exemplification of all the foregoing. I am a dodger, but not an artful one, for he mitigates the charge by admitting that my reply to him "was about as poor a thing" as he ever saw from me.

Now I am not going to follow his lead, for I at once declare without hesitancy that Upton made the second-best presentation of the strength of Parliamentarian Socialism in his first letter that I have ever read. However, he reserved himself for the following letter I now publish, which absolutely is quite the best. Hillquit, Berger, Ramsay MacDonald, Spargo, Robert Hunter, and all the rest, are quite out of the running. Having said this, it is evident that if I overthrow Upton's arguments then I have accomplished something worth while. It is no "poor thing" that I am encountering.

Upton Sinclair's Reply

My Dear Wilshire,—I think your answer to my letter in the September number was about as poor a thing as I ever knew you to write. You tell me that if the people of Paterson succeed in electing a mayor and so getting hold of the police, the State of New Jersey will take the police-power away from the mayor. Of course. But the people also have to elect the Governor of New Jersey, and ultimately the President of the United States. Surely you can't think me so foolish that I need to have such things pointed out to me! When you talk about striking at a certain mill, I don't waste your time pointing out that while the people in that mill are on strike, the work will be done by some other mill in some other State. I know that you mean to broaden the field of your strikes so as to meet modern conditions and the tactics of the enemy; and you must give me credit for as much sense in political matters. You may object that it will take a long time to capture the State of New Jersey. I answer, possibly. It all depends upon how much and for how long the working class can be made to listen to well-meaning, "pure and simple" unionists like Sam Gompers and Gaylord Wilshire.

I quote you again:—"Upton says: 'If you succeed in persuading the working class to give up the Government to their enemies.' By this he means to say, no doubt, that he fears I will convince them that they will never get the Government by merely voting for it." I mean nothing of the sort; I mean what I say. The working class have the Government to a certain very definite and vital extent; and it is in failing to realise this that you Syndicalists slip up. The working class have the Government in the sense that, while they cannot compel it to pass many laws that they want, still they can keep it from passing many laws that they *don't* want. But if you persuade the working class to withdraw altogether the threat of political action, then instantly would come a deluge of laws which would completely put you and your propaganda, your strikes and your boycotts and your sabotage, utterly and hopelessly out of business. What about a law providing a death-penalty for sabotage? What about a law forbidding the boycott—such a law as we have now in America? What about a law forbidding striking, compelling arbitration, requiring so many months of warning before leaving a job? What about a law out-lawing any organisation formed to disobey or threaten such laws? Confiscating the funds of such an organisation, putting the leaders in gaol? What a simple matter it would be to pass a law forbidding the instigation of industrial unrest, and putting in gaol *incommunicado* anyone who by writing or speaking disobeys such a law? Where would you and your Syndicalism be then? Your papers and your unions? Such laws are absolutely certain to be attempted, anyway. Take the workers out of politics, and they will be both passed and enforced. And therein lies the folly of your teaching. You and your whole propaganda exist and can exist only because of the liberties the working class has won by centuries of political fighting; and these liberties they can keep only so long as they are in arms and ready on the political battlefield. Let them lie down to sleep, and instantly the enemy's invasions will compel them to awaken again; and that in spite of any anti-political dope that you can administer to them.

So come on now, and answer my real arguments. Remember—I grant you that the workers will never win by politics alone. The masters would take away the vote just as quickly as they would the right to strike. But why not fight *with both sword* AND *shield!* Or, as you prefer

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it, why not dance on two legs? I want to try to get you to discuss this question, which, it would seem, no one of your school can be got to consider—that of *both* political and industrial action, carried on, each in its proper time, and each supplementing the other—each *protecting* the other. I am no more of a pure and simple politician than you are. I have no remotest interest in seeing Socialists get into office, in order to show that they can run Capitalist government more efficiently than the Capitalist politicians. I am even willing to admit that perhaps the only purpose of Socialists in office is to hold off the police and the courts, while the workers take possession of and re-organise the industries. But what I am contending is that they will never in a thousand years be able to reorganise the industries while they leave the Capitalists in undisputed possession of the police and the courts.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

Now we will take it for granted that what Upton means by "re-organise the industries" is to re-organise them by freezing out the Capitalists. He says we can't do this in a thousand years if we leave the Capitalists in undisputed possession of the police and courts. I would reply that we will never do it as long as we leave the Capitalists in possession, undisputed or otherwise, of their Capital.

The crux of our discussion is whether the Capitalists control the courts and police by having the votes or by having the dollars. I say dollars, Upton says votes. We will admit that so far the Capitalists have managed it so that they have both the votes and the dollars. The question is, supposing they lose the votes, and that the Socialists should elect their Presidential candidate, would this mean that the Socialist candidate would be seated and thus by his control of the armed forces of the Government be able to expropriate the Capitalists?

The question largely hangs upon whether he would be seated or not. Upton is bound to declare that he would be seated. I declare he would not be. It seems to me absolutely absurd to think that the Capitalists would walk out of their Capitalist shoes merely because the vote had gone against them. When Upton admits that they will go the limit in defence of their position, why does he talk about their abdicating when the Presidential vote goes against them?

Upton has made a careful study of the Lincoln campaign which led up to the Civil War, and he knows how the Southern black slave-owners recognised Lincoln as President. They declared war. Why does he think the Northern white slave-owners would submit any more gracefully? He may reply: Yes, the South rebelled but it got licked, and the black slaves were freed.

I would retort that what defeated the South was the superior wealth of the Northern Capitalists, not their superior number; and that the freeing of the negro was merely freeing them to sell themselves by the job instead of for life.

As far as forms go, Castro was elected President of Venezuela, but "election" did not keep him in his seat any more than "election" kept Porfirio Diaz in his seat in Mexico.

Elections are merely guides determining in a rough-and-ready way how strong are the comparative strength of the Capitalist sections of the community. Upton regards an election as a test indicating the comparative strength of the Capitalists and the Workers. Not at all. We know their comparative strengths without any counting of votes. The Capitalists, by virtue of their ownership of Capital, have all the strength and the workers have none.

At least, they have none when economically unorganised. To the extent they are organised they have strength, for to that extent they control Capital; to that extent, while not owning a dollar of Capital, yet by virtue of their control of Capital they are themselves Capitalists, so to speak. When their economic organisation becomes perfect and all-powerful they will at the self-same moment come into full control of Capital, and will have expropriated the Capitalists without any "election."

When this occurs the workers automatically come into possession of the State, the Government, for then they are the Government. They have not come into economic power through gaining control of the political power, but they have gained political power by coming into economic power.

It is a familiar sight in Paris to see immense and powerful forts abandoned and dismantled. On inquiry you find it has been done because, with the increased power of the modern guns, they are commanded by forts on the heights further out, and that they are therefore indefensible. If the enemy should capture the outer forts the inner forts must fall at once.

It will be the same way with the "Government" which Upton talks about voting himself into control. When the workers have developed their economic power the Government will be automatically abandoned by the Capitalists because they know that their position has been rendered untenable.

As for "laws" being passed by the Capitalists against the workers unless they use their votes, I would say that "laws" are passed against them even when they do use their ballots, and the only reason why more severe laws are not passed is because they could not be enforced. Moreover, just as the workers gain in economic strength they become more and more invulnerable to law. We already know how invulnerable to law the Capitalists are. Why? It is simply because the Capitalists control Capital. Let the workers control Capital—and economic strength is merely control of Capital—and we will see them as invulnerable to "laws" as the Capitalists are now.

About twenty-five years ago Mr. E. L. Harper, then President of the Fidelity Bank of Cincinnati, figured out that he could buy up enough wheat to fill the Chicago elevators; and that, then, any surplus wheat that speculators had sold to him would not be "good delivery," because the rule was that only wheat "in elevator" constituted good delivery. He would thus catch the Bears napping, and be able to force them to pay him a fortune to let them off their impossible short contracts. It all worked out very beautifully just as he had anticipated, and Harper considered himself about ten million dollars to the good. The only trouble was that the Chicago Exchange made a new ruling to the effect that wheat "in transit," which meant in cars waiting for transfer to the elevators, was also good delivery. Mr. Harper was made a bankrupt; he, like Upton, did not count on a change of rules.

Just now the rule is that when a man gets a plurality of votes in the electoral college he is made President. There not being very much at stake when men like

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Wilson, Roosevelt, and Taft run, we can count upon the successful man being seated. But does Upton suppose that if by some psychological landslide that Debs had been the successful one that he ever would have been seated? He knows perfectly well Debs would have never been seated, and he moreover knows that unless he had a very large slice of the Capitalist class in his camp that Debs would be quite unable to make any effective protest at being kept out of his seat.

There is no such thing as "political power." It is a misnomer. There is "military" power, and there is "economic" power, but no "political" power. Indeed, we may say that there is only "economic" power, because "military" power depends on "economic" power. Political power so-called is merely a reflex of economic power; it has no more real existence than has the image in the mirror. Upton would not scour the mirror if he wished to wash his face, but he might scour it if he wished a better reflection. Voting is scouring the mirror; it has its uses, maybe, but it won't wash your face.

If voting merely consisted in the worker going up to the ballot-box and quietly casting his vote for Socialism it would be no harm, and might be good as far as it goes. But it means more than this. It means forming a powerful party with heaven-born leaders. It means telling the workers that their salvation lies through the ballot.

It means the occasional election of good men to office, who almost invariably soon become covered with the slime of politics and are lost to the cause. It means the workers handing over work to these leaders instead of their doing the work themselves, and thereby gaining the strength for themselves that naturally comes from the exercise of any function. You can never make an athlete of yourself by hiring a proxy to lift dumb-bells.

Socialist politics means telling the workers to ask for something they will never get by the asking—Capital. Then why fool the workers with false promises? If Upton admits your Socialist mayor when elected will be removed by the Capitalist Governor, and your Governor when elected will be removed by the Capitalist President, and your President when elected will never be allowed to take his seat, why, then, does he talk about the gaining of "political power"?

If the Socialist politicians were as honest as Upton, and told the Workers what they know to be the truth, they know they would never get the votes. Sinclair, as I said before, would never be asked to support a candidate if he told the voters that they were merely allowed to vote because their votes were valueless. That if they really ever did decide to vote for Socialism in numbers sufficient to embarrass the Capitalists, then their votes would either not be counted, or their man would not be seated if elected.

It is obviously impossible to form a political party upon Sinclair's plan of admitting that you will be counted out when you are successful. You must make your followers believe that they have just as good a chance of seating their candidates as have the rest of the parties, otherwise you cannot get their votes.

Some six or seven years ago Robert Hunter called together a meeting of magazinists prominent in muck-raking, which was so fashionable in those days, and a number of well-known Socialists. Victor Berger and I had a debate at that meeting on this very point, I taking the stand that we were in politics for propaganda only, and that we could never expect to seat our President even if we elected him, whereas Berger insisted that the Socialist Party was just like any other party, and that Socialism was just like Free Trade or Protection, and that when the Socialists elected their ticket their men would be seated and proceed to introduce Socialism, just as the Democrats would introduce a Bill to regulate the tariff.

Berger is to-day the head and front of the Socialist Party, and this is the policy that Upton must make his own or leave the party. There is no compromise.

Personally, I would like to think Upton was right and that I was wrong. Political Socialism gives a man like me a field much better suited to my temperament and taste than Syndicalism. I rather like getting on a soap-box and explaining that all we have to do to get Socialism is to ask for it—to vote for it. The trouble is, I now see that it is such a silly delusion that I have not the face to say it. On the other hand, there is not much fun in talking strike and getting batted over the head by a fat policeman.

Politics and Socialism give me something to play with—amusing, but useless. Strikes and Syndicalism are not half so amusing, but certainly infinitely more inspiring, just as all useful work under proper conditions is more exhilarating and inspiring than any kind of sport.

The question for Socialists to decide is whether they are in for play or in for business.

Rather a "Sick" Reply from Wilshire

UPTON thinks he has solved the problem of why I dodge and play for time. I am sick, sick of the non-revolutionary politicians like Ramsay MacDonald and Victor Berger. Not at all; no more sick of them than I am of Roosevelt and Lloyd George. I never did go in for anything but what Upton calls "revolutionary politics," and therefore my attitude and opinion has never undergone any change as to the Bergers and MacDonalds. In fact, I think they are doing about all that can be done at the political game, just as much as any of the so-called "political revolutionaries" could do. Whom would Upton suggest would have done any better in Congress than Berger? True, Berger may be more or less of a dunder-headed Dutchman, but basically I have no quarrel with his native stupidity; it is with the stupidity of his theory that politics can be revolutionary, and I am not sure on this count but that Upton would be more guilty than Berger, for Berger never talked much about revolution anyway except when he had that absurd nightmare about the necessity of every working man having a musket under his bed to be prepared for the day when his vote was taken away.

Upton Sinclair's Final Rejoinder

Dear Wilshire,—I appreciate your compliment, and I would return it if I could; but I can't, sincerely—and I still feel, just as I did before, that you answer a man of straw, you do not answer me. You talk about political action alone, you think of political action alone, you can apparently not be got to do anything else. You have a

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perfectly easy time knocking out the "pure and simple" politician, so easy that I wonder you are willing to take the trouble to go on doing it. You ought to go after a man of your own size—myself, to be precise!

Take your third paragraph, for instance. Surely that is not meeting me. You say, "Upton is bound to declare." Upton is bound to declare nothing of the sort. On the contrary, Upton has clearly indicated his doubts on the point. Upton said, "Remember, I grant you the workers will never win by politics alone. The masters would take away the right to vote just as quickly as they would the right to strike." Now, why not come up to the mark and fight on the ground laid out? I'll tell you, in all sincerity, why I think you don't—because you have no argument, because the truth is, you *do* approve of political action of the sort I mean—Revolutionary political action backed up by, and proceeding step by step with, Revolutionary *industrial* action. But you don't like to say so, because you have been made sick by the sight of non-Revolutionary working-class politics, so sick that you've said, "To hell with the rotten game of politics." But that is no more sensible than it would be if I got sick of the crookedness and cowardice of non-Revolutionary labour union officials, and so decided to throw over industrial action.

I can only tell you again that I wait for you to answer my arguments. You have made a perfect answer to the man who wants the working class to put all its eggs in the politician's basket. But you have made no answer at all to the man like myself, who wants the working class to organise itself and educate itself *both* politically and industrially, to vote one day and strike the next, and vote again the day after, and strike again the day after that. I want to vote for Revolutionists and then strike to get them the offices, and to strike again to prevent their "laying down on their jobs." Above all, I want to take away the power of police and courts from the Capitalists, so that the workers can definitely establish a labour monopoly. (They can never do it otherwise, I feel sure—on account of the unemployed, who cannot be organised.) But if the workers *can win on the picket line*, then they have a monopoly, and then they can confiscate. But they can never do this while they leave the Government as much under the control of the Capitalists as it is to-day—to say nothing of the insanity which you propose, giving up politics altogether, and letting the Capitalists run the Government without even a threat of opposition!

You say they would not dare to pass any more drastic laws than at present, because such laws could not be enforced. You say that is why they do not pass such laws as it is. But I say you are mistaken in this, and you can easily prove it. Go down to your National Liberal Club and get into a chat with any ruling-class politician, and ask him why he does not pass, for instance, a law forbidding any sort of Labour organisation, or a law forbidding the advocacy of confiscation. The answer will be that the Government which proposed such laws would be turned out of office at the next election, and the laws would be *repealed*. That was what happened in the case of the Taff Vale decision; and if you were not blinded by your present anti-political bias, you would know that that is the psychology of the entire present-day political struggle. I asked Südekum why the German Emperor did not abolish universal suffrage, and the reply was, "Because he knows it would mean a general strike." I asked Lansbury why Asquith didn't pass a law compelling the arbitration of coal mine and railway strikes, and he answered, "Because he knows it would drive the miners and the railwaymen to vote for Socialists." And so it goes—always one kind of action backing up and defending the other, and neither able to get anywhere without the other.

I ask you, why not fight with a sword and a shield? You answer, in substance: Because you can't kill a man with a shield. Of course not—I know that. Then you answer again: Because you *can* kill with a sword. But I know that also. It happens, however, that in this case the enemy has a lance; he can kill you before you get near with your sword—that is, unless you can stop his lance with your shield. You will see that in this case the lance is the police and the army, the shield is Revolutionary politics, and the sword is "direct action." But I don't want to tangle myself up in a metaphor, and have you settle me with some kind of a joke. I want you honestly to meet my argument, to discuss with me the question I have set—the advantage of the two kinds of action, working hand-in-hand, as I have outlined. (When you have written your reply, I ask you to go over it and cut out every word which has nothing to do with "pure and simple" politics—and which, therefore, has nothing to do with me.)

Nor will it do any good if you say, "Very well, if Upton feels that he has a talent for politics, let him go ahead." That won't satisfy me. What is wanted is co-operation between the two forces; simple neutrality is better than open war, but it won't win the victory, it won't get the workers out of hell. What is actually happening in the labour world to-day is simply treason to the workers; it is horrible working-class suicide. I sent you an article from the New York "Call," by a Paterson Socialist, telling how in the big strike there the I.W.W., which is industrial, had used, bled and then deserted the Socialist Party, and repaid its efforts with contempt. That is treason—that is simply all it is; and the workers will suffer till its leaders cease their hatred and contention, and get down to co-operation in the big fight. The workers in Paterson were beaten by the police and the courts; and now they must make political war on those police and those courts. That work is just as important and as necessary as was the strike; and those who helped in the strike should all be helping in the political war. The fact that they are not helping, but hindering, means simply that the second fight will be lost, as the first one was. The workers will be left utterly hopeless, and the movement in and about New York and Paterson will be put back years.

You wrote me that you didn't see what bearing the clipping about Paterson had on our dispute—that it contained "no argument." I am trying now to make you see what the argument is. The Paterson fiasco is simply your theories translated into fact; and the same kind of translation will go on until you industrialists learn to respect and co-operate with your political allies in the class war; and until, on the other hand, the politicians in the Socialist Party come to understand that the working class cares nothing about old-age pensions (or, at any rate, ought not to), but that the purpose of a Revolutionary Party is to back up the Revolutionary unions while they reorganise the industries.

You say, "We will take it for granted that what Upton means by 're-organising the industries' is to re-organise them by freezing out the Capitalists." I am happy to be able to close this letter upon a note of agreement with you. That is precisely what I meant.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

No, I am not sick on account of the failure of the opportunists, for I never had any faith in them or their policy from the very start.

In fact, I admit that as far as politics go the opportunism of Berger appeals to me more than the revolutionism of Sinclair, as it is obvious that revolution by politics is absurd, whereas there may be some reform value possible in politics. The price paid is probably too high, but the goods are there.

Upton says that I don't meet his point about the question of joining voting with striking. I have already said that "by all means let the workers get

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all they can by voting." I further said, "If they can get control they would be fools not to vote." But this admission is not enough for Upton. He wishes me to say that they can get Socialism by voting, voting backed up by Revolutionary Unionism. I have said they can get anything they want by Revolutionary Unionism, so my position really is that voting simply delays the progress by advising the workers to trust in a frail reed which will prove a more than useless weapon in real war.

I wonder if Upton instead of Byron had written "Marco Bozzaris" he would have had the line read, "Vote for your altars and your sires"?

If a man goes out rhinoceros-hunting he doesn't take a rifle in one hand and butterfly-net in the other. Butterfly-catching is all right in its place, but the place to do it is not when you are momentarily looking for a rhinoceros to charge on you.

A butterfly-net would be about as much of a shield against a rhinoceros as the ballot is a shield against the police. Of course, if voting were a shield against the police the workers would be fools not to vote; but I would ask how much of a shield would the Chicago police have been to Debs when President Cleveland sent into Chicago the Federal troops, notwithstanding the protest of Governor Altgeld, at the time of the Debs railway strike?

How about the local police when Roosevelt sent in the Federal troops to Goldfield, Nevada?

Upton in one breath admits that the local police will be superseded by the Federal troops, and then in the next breath he talks about the ballot being a shield.

It is no reply for Upton to say, "Then we must elect our President and so control the Federal troops ourselves," inasmuch as he has admitted that the only reason that State Socialist candidates are seated when elected is the knowledge that they are under the final control of the President, and therefore merely exercise the powers of their office subject to his discretion. The President is the supreme power, and it is obvious that where the Capitalists would allow a Socialist Governor to be seated they would never think of allowing a Socialist President.

The ballot is about as much of a shield as a Japanese parasol would be against a Bengal tiger. Upton may say, "Well, why not carry the parasol, anyway, for it does keep off the heat of the sun?" Yes, but if the hunter has been led to trust in it by Upton it may cost him his life.

The main reason for not going in for voting is a psychological one. You cannot go in for it in a half-hearted way and admit that you know it's no particular use because the moment it might do anything for you it will be taken away from you. No, to attain any success you must go in for it wholeheartedly and proclaim with the faith and fire of a Suffragette that the vote is the broad highway to Freedom. It won't let you out by declaring, as does Upton, that you, too, are in favour of both voting and striking. All the Parliamentarians say this, and no doubt mean it, too.

Upton's talk about "pure and simple politicians" is meaningless; such birds are extinct as the dodo. Let him name me one single "pure and simpler." He may think my replies poor things, and that I am too sick to reason logically, but certainly he can't think that I have conjured up from my imagination a "pure and simple Socialist politician." No, when I say Parliamentarian I mean a man who believes, as does Upton, in both strikes and ballots, for there are none who believe otherwise.

All Parliamentarians believe in striking, but all Syndicalists do not believe in voting. Voting to a Syndicalist is a matter of individual choice, like a man's religion. Striking, on the other hand, is a social action; the man who doesn't strike with his mates is always denounced as a traitor. He votes as he pleases, and, anyway, the ballot is secret.

Upton says the masters would take away the right to strike just as quick as they would the right to vote.

It seems to me that it is right here that Upton shows us most clearly his misconception of the difference between voting and striking. He looks upon each of about the same value, just as much alike as two legs, that the capitalist can tie up one leg just as easily as he can the other.

That's Upton's fatal error. The capitalist can prevent a large body of men from voting by the use of a very small body of soldiers, but to force them to do something they do not wish to do, namely, to work, is quite a different thing.

I would not care to travel on a railway where the men had been forced to take their place by the prod of the bayonet.

I would not care to have a watch made in a watch factory where the men assembled the wheels through fear of the soldiers' bullets.

It's the old story: you may lead your horse to the river, but you can't make him drink. Upton thinks leading and drinking all the same.

It's perfectly easy for the capitalists to nullify by one means or another the vote, but it is impossible for them to nullify a strike when there is sufficient solidarity.

By the holding up of work on arterial industries such as railways, mines, etc., the workers can always force the capitalists to capitulate. In the right sense the ulterior effect of such scientific strikes is sabotage, sabotage in the scientific sense. The defeat of the capitalists is certain not so much on account of the financial effect on the capitalists directly concerned, but on account of the physical effect, starvation, upon the community as a whole. There will never be a better way of getting an overwhelming public opinon in favour of the strikers than getting the public to see that if the strikers are not settled with the public will go without fuel, food, and water.

The economic power of the workers rests in their inalienable power of striking, and with this weapon in their hands they have no reason to encumber themselves with playing with the ballot.

Finally, voting for the Revolution is manifesting a foolish belief in the continuance and perpetuation of the present State.

It is impossible to be inspired with the ideal of a future Syndicalist society and at the same time look to utilising the present State.

The present State will be no more use in the future than will last year's skin to the snake. When one realises this he cannot consistently talk of voting for Socialism.

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The Crisis in Great Britain

By C. H. Le BOSQUET.

THE dramatic suddenness with which the present working-class revolt has developed in Great Britain is one of the most curious facts of modern history. In a land where progress, if solid, has always been extremely slow, and where in particular the proletarian movement has made but little advance, the violent popular outbursts of the last three years contradict all settled notions of national character. When the phenomenal occurs strange effects are to be expected, and they are evidently visible in Great Britain to-day. The old positions in the democratic movement have been completely reversed; those who, until this precipitation of events occurred, were always the most prominent have been outdistanced by their followers: the last are first and the first are last.

For at least thirty years all genuine democratic activity has been confined to the Socialist organisations. It is true that in the first years of the century, a body of forty men, known as the Labour Party, found their way into Parliament; but as they coalesced with the Whigs almost instantly they cannot be regarded as a serious political force. Even the Whigs themselves, who command their votes, openly despise and flout them; and their existence has never affected the popular cause in any appreciable manner. That, as stated, has remained entirely in the hands of the Socialists, who, on the whole, have never neglected their charge. Numerically and financially weak, they nevertheless succeeded in founding small branches in every important centre, and conducted a fearless, vigorous, and continuous agitation all over the country. But in spite of this manifold activity, the British working classes have never responded to the Socialist appeal; when not openly hostile they remained indifferent; it has always seemed impossible to arouse them to the slightest sense of their wrongs. We—the English Socialists—have never been discouraged by this apparent unconcern. Ready acceptance of new doctrines is not the rule in Great Britain: great political and social changes have always been the result of the long-continued efforts of an enthusiastic minority. We were content with slight but steady progress; reconciled to the apathy of the mass; and confident of ultimate, but certainly remote success.

And now, suddenly, the whole position has been reversed. So far from maintaining a steady increase the Socialist movement suffers from a great shrinkage in membership; Socialist branches have disappeared; those which remain are weaker than before; and heavy lethargy reigns over all. That, in the ordinary way, would indicate at least a temporary depression in working-class agitation; but, strange to say, exactly the contrary is true. The workers, in every part of the country and in every industry, are seething with revolt. Nor does this apply to Great Britain alone: in South Africa yesterday, in Ireland to-day, we have conflicts with the masters first, with the police and soldiery afterwards. Here in England we have strikes in progress and strikes in project, the latter to eventuate shortly without a doubt; and all are being fought or will be fought with stern determination. For though indifference is characteristic of the British workman, it is equally true that once he enters into a contest be will fight as long as it is humanly possible. That at the present moment he is roused is evident enough: the situation is acute, and even men who pride themselves on their moderation have declared for industrial war.

That, very briefly, is the present position, and two highly interesting questions at once suggest themselves. How does it happen that the Socialists, who have always been in the forefront of popular movements, are altogether in the background in the present crisis? And what, again, will be the attitude of Syndicalist and Socialist in Great Britain each to the other?

The answer to the first question is simple enough. Divided effort has dissipated the British Socialist forces. To obtain a close historic parallel we must return to the days of Independency, better known to Americans than to most Englishmen. A common object held the Puritans together, but, once that was accomplished, they split up into a variety of sects: Quakers, Ranters, Fifth Monarchy Men and others. Unfortunately the cleavage in the Socialist ranks has occurred *before* the attainment of the common end. We have raised the siege of Capitalism in order to fight amongst ourselves. What is remarkable is that all the dissensions of the Socialist camp arise, not from plain economic doctrine on which we are all agreed, but from a number of fads and fantasies which unhappily have been imported into Socialism by well-meaning but mistaken individuals. Like the Quakers, Ranters and Baptists of the seventeenth century, each little group of faddists is more insistent on the trivial matter which separates them from the general body than on the essential economic tenets which bind them to it. Feminism, Religion, Atheism and a hundred other irrelevant things are what the Socialists of today are discussing with all the energy they possess. Internally the effect has been bad: externally it has been disastrous. Just at the time when, as circumstances have shown, the British proletariat would have lent a ready ear to a vigorous revolutionary agitation, the Socialist platforms were occupied by men who rhapsodised on the rights of women, the fine arts, and anything and everything excepting the economic class war. Therefore the British workman, who detests fads and eccentricities from the bottom of his heart, turned away in disgust and struck out a line for himself.

As for the mutual relations of Syndicalists and Socialists in Great Britain, the answer to the question above is, partially, at any rate, a reply to that also. The Socialist body urgently needs to be purged of all the odd extraneous matter on which its energies are at present dissipated, and brought back to the advocacy of Communism, pure and simple. Without discussing questions of method on which some difference of opinion may arise, it is evident that the genuine revolutionary Socialist should welcome the Syndicalist on the ground that the latter does certainly concentrate attention on the economic problem, and refuses to consider any other matter whatsoever. Where there is unity of thought on this, the vital principle of the democratic creed, it ought certainly to be possible to arrive at a common plan of campaign. There is sufficient energy and ability in the British democratic movement to lead on the workers to signal victory. What is needed is unity of purpose and the elimination of non-essentials, and before we treat Syndicalism as a thing to be fought it would be well if we examined the possibility of closely co-operating with it.

Near Syndicalism, but not too Near

"The Real Democracy." (First Essays of the Rota Club.) By J. E. F. Mann, N. J. Sievers, and R. W. T. Cox. 8 × 5½, 276 pp. (Longmans.) 4s. 6d. net.

Reviewed by C. H. C. O., of Oxford University.

THIS is a remarkable book, very different from the mass of dry-as-dust information unillumined by principles or the short-sighted sentimentalism which forms the bulk of the "social" literature of the day. It is a book peculiarly interesting to the Syndicalist, since, like George W. Russell's "Co-operation and Nationality," reviewed in Wilshire's for April, it is a striking example of the conscious or unconscious influence of Syndicalist ideas upon the most living thought of the day.

The thesis of the book is briefly that a determining majority at least of the citizens in the modern Nation-State must be possessed of property in the means of production, the chief form of such property to be shares in a producing body or "gild." In the "Associative State" the gilds of associated producers must form the predominant type of industrial government.

The first chapter, "The Process of Dispossession," is a brilliant and suggestive sketch of the chief historical landmarks in the robbery of the people's property, and their reduction to their present position of a proletariat. It is designed to disprove the maxim that History is a sound Capitalist, and Destiny the child of History, the replica of its parent. The causes of the process of dispossession are "not mysterious and wonderful, but ascertainable and even a little sordid." Mr. Sievers first gives an outline of the principles which underlay the Gild system in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and proceeds to explain the causes of its atrophy. He emphasises the inefficiency of Tudor government, the forces which led to an alliance between the New Monarchy and the New Capitalism, and the consequently unchecked decline of the Gild system and progress of enclosure of the commons during the sixteenth century. To the epoch of nominal regulation of industry succeeded what Mr. Sievers calls the period of delegated control through patentees: the significance of this period is that it was then that "the old ideal of control by all workers in an industry was abandoned in theory as well as in practice." Syndicalism has been defined as "the control by the workers themselves of the conditions of their work": and the authors of the "Real Democracy" are well aware of the importance of this factor. Mr. Sievers concludes a tantalisingly short and compressed chapter by showing that England was already in spirit and in fact a capitalised country, when the rule of the Whigs and the theory of laissez faire opened the door to the plunder of the second period of enclosure and to the ravages of the Industrial Revolution.

In the second chapter, Mr. Mann considers contemporary

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practice. The inequality of wealth results in the weakening of effective demand—that is, of a demand which, backed by monetary resources, can influence the quality of production. The proletariat State is therefore hostile to production, and its ill-adjustment is shown by the existence of the phenomena known as over-production. The wage system is analysed and denounced as involving a "spiritual capitulation," the surrender to the employer of the worker's right to control his own activities in production.

Mr. Mann then exposes the farce of politics, prefacing his remarks by the quotation of some telling prophecies made by Bagehot in 1872. The period since the Reform Act of 1867 has seen the growth of Collectivist theory, inspiring so-called "democratic" legislation, skilfully manipulated in the interests of capital by the coincident rise of the caucus. Mr. Mann concludes that "the power to vote, divorced from all the intimate and strengthening surroundings of voluntary association or of corporate activity, means nothing whatever unless there be a power behind the vote." Recent legislation "will give a man anything but control; free food, but not money to buy food; free baths, but not money to pay for baths; free libraries, but not money to support libraries; free medicine, but not money to buy medicine; free doctors, but not money to pay for a doctor; free everything, but no money to buy anything." The indictment is proved by a searching examination of the effects of the Insurance Act and of the Minimum Wage Act, the *Times* itself acknowledging that the latter results in giving the mine-owners "a larger measure of control over the men than they have possessed for twenty-five years." The early Socialists, such as Considerant, were fond of comparing the feudalism of land (Féodalité Nobiliaise) with the new feudalism of industry (Féodalité Industrielle). The parallel is much closer to-day than it was sixty years ago. Collectivism, says Mr. Mann, is "the sub-infeudation of industry by the capitalist." It is against this new feudalism that Syndicalism protests. "We are in fee."

In the third chapter, by Mr. Cox, Mr. Mann's examination of current practice is reinforced by a testing of current theories in the crucible of democratic faith. Representative government is discussed, and the fallacy exposed of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's theory which bids the statesman, "without mandates, and even against mandates, do what the people really want." The Collectivism of the Fabian Society is similarly tested and found wanting. "Men will, as a rule, be equal in bargaining power so far as they are equal in resources," but Fabianism offers a man no resources which will ensure this essential equality. "If the phrase wage-slavery means anything at all," says Mr. Cox, "it applies to the wage system itself, and not only to wages paid not by a public body." Again, "the average citizen cannot, as a rule, control elected persons except so far as he owns, independently of their conditioning, property in the means of production. But it is into the hands of just such elected persons that Mr. Webb invites us to put just such economic power." The Collectivist argument from the "Law of Rent," which "cannot be dodged," is based upon a confusion between "economic rent," or the differential advantage arising from differences in soils or sites, and rent in the ordinary sense of the whole sum periodically paid for the soil or site rented. Mr. Cox shows how easy it would be in the Gild State to distribute the differential or economic rent over the community. Incidentally it is significant that the reviewer of the "Real Democracy" in the *New Statesman* found it wise to ignore this demolition of the central pillar of orthodox Fabianism.

This chapter includes (p. 125) a criticism of the "Gild Socialism," championed by the *New Age*, which has led to some debate in that journal. The view advanced in the "Real Democracy" is that Mr. Orage's use of the term "joint-partnership" between State and Gild is unjustifiable. If the Gild (or Syndicat) elects its own officers and owns its own capital, the State cannot be termed its "partner." To the other two alternatives—joint-ownership of the capital by State and Gild, and ownership of the capital by the State—the objections of the authors of the "Real Democracy" are similar to those that would be urged by Syndicalists. In the first case, "neither the whole jointly-governed producing unit nor either partner is, for this particular unit, a democracy." In the second case, the control of the Gild is still more remote: its action will obviously be dependent upon and determined by the owner of its capital—the State. What the authors of the "Real Democracy" desire is the predominance in industry of comparatively autonomous producing bodies, whose members would receive from them not only a predetermined salary, but also the equivalent of part of the surplus of those values they had each helped to create (p. 133).

In the fourth chapter, Mr. Cox continues in dialogue form his discussion of Collectivism, upholding the Gild (or Syndicat) against the local unit as the chief type of industrial government. The practical working of the Gild is envisaged in its main outlines (pp. 169-172); and it is urged that only in the Gild does the normal man find "a calculable economic resource; his vote, voice and effort can all help to shape the Gild's purpose; the Gild is personal and responsive to himself; it lies at the heart of life." He finds in it "a human environment akin in its essence to the very nature of his craft."

The fifth chapter, by Mr. Sievers, deals with the organisation of the Gild or Syndical State, there called the Associative State. Three propositions are successively developed: (1) "The exercise of a franchise, municipal and Parliamentary, does not in itself afford scope for such *active* citizenship as is the end for which political societies are agreed to have been formed. Nor is a State equipped only with representative institutions adequately fitted out with the apparatus of democracy." The history and real meaning of the Representative system is considered. Not "one man, one effective vote," but "one member, one effective constituency," is, Mr. Sievers urges, the vital desideratum. The electoral groups must, in a real democracy, be also "nurseries of civic initiative," for "democracy is principally concerned with the creation not with the representation of opinion." Civic life must be "the business of the mass." Hence it follows (2) that "the Poleis or City States which, in the record of human experience, have been the political units most favourable to the civic expression of themselves by their individual members must be established *within* the nation-unit, if that unit is to be an effective democracy." (3) These re-created Poleis must be primarily industrial, societies of producers, Gilds, Syndicats. Only thus will the individual be able to exercise his citizenship not merely during his leisure, but in the very act of producing. Moreover, the corporate environment of the "Polis" is essential to the "civilising" of the individual: to the re-creation of an industrial morality. This morality, it is hinted (p. 205), will prevent abuses arising from competition between the Gilds or Syndicats. The State, moreover, will act as a regulator of inter-gild competition in the interests of the consumers. But the authors do not make it clear whether they contemplate "production for use" or "production for profit."

Mr. Sievers's chapter concludes with a masterly examination of the attempt to realise the Associative State through the Co-operative movement. Mrs. Webb's study of Co-operation is subjected to some well-merited criticism. Not the Association of Consumers, which she belauds, but the Association of Producers represents the line of true advance. Apart from their strategic value during strikes as a commissariat for the army of Labour, Consumers' Associations are futile as a means to the real democracy, for they presuppose the continuance of the wage system. It is on the producer that emphasis must be laid, because "effective demand is conditional upon the possession of effective resources." The earliest form of Syndicalism was Co-operative Production. Peculiar interest therefore attaches to the reasons given by Mr. Sievers for the comparative failure of producers' associations. Apart from accidental temporary causes, such as want of custom or credit, Mr. Sievers believes that the disasters that overtook co-operative societies of producers were due primarily to the hostile atmosphere in which they had to serve their apprenticeship, an atmosphere which in some cases reacted upon the producers themselves, lowering and perverting their standards. It is indeed high time that the history of Co-operative Production in England and France were re-written from a sympathetic standpoint. There is much of importance to the Syndicalist to be learnt from a study of the striking successes and rapid decline in the fortunes of Co-operative Production, in England from 1849-52 under the Christian Socialists; in France, after the Revolution of 1848 till the coup d'état of 1851, and again from 1863-8. In France, at any rate, there were more immediate causes than a hostile atmosphere to account for the disasters. The Administration of Napoleon III. suspected the co-operatives of Republican sympathies: while in 1868 a fatal blow was struck at the movement by the failure of the co-operative bank—the "Crédit au Travail."

In chapter six Mr. Mann considers the "process of repossession." This last chapter is the weakest in the book. The Collectivist methods of Direct Purchase and Nationalisation by Loans are indeed convincingly exposed. By the latter method "the capitalist is not dispossessed, but the State makes itself his interest-collector, puts the whole of its coercive force at his service, and goes out of its way to transform a chance economic advantage into a national obligation of indefinite duration." Three main methods of redistribution are suggested: (1) Giving a legal guarantee to the resources of the poor man; (2) altering in the interests of the poor man the conditions governing that exchange of utilities which creates wealth—e.g., by the graduated taxation of companies' profits according to the distribution

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of their shares; (3) altering the conditions governing the creation of new businesses and new sources of investment—e.g., by regulating the registration of companies, by the preferential allotment of shares in public loans, and by changing the incidence of taxation of transfers. These practical reforms, excellent in themselves, can however be effected by legislation alone, and it is scarcely consistent with a belief in the axiom that economic power precedes and determines political power to hope for such legislation from any capitalist Parliament. The same objection is valid against the proposal (p. 248) to give "legal recognition and force to the controlling power of trade unions." Is there a ghost of a chance of such recognition being granted? Mr. Mann has neglected the economic weapons which are most likely to further his end. He seems ignorant of the aims and methods of that branch of Syndicalism known in England as Industrial Unionism. Indeed, all three authors of the "Real Democracy" seem shy of applying their theories to the trade unions. A chapter tracing the development of these embryo Gilds or Syndicats into the ideal units of the Gild State would have added greatly to the value of the book. On p. 112 it is urged that it is of great importance to determine what particular changes ought to come first in time. The changes advocated in chapter six by Mr. Mann neither should nor can precede the economic methods of Industrial Unionism.

Despite the remarkable approximation to Syndicalist ideas in the "Real Democracy," its authors are not Syndicalists. They join issue with Syndicalist views of the function and nature of the State. Mr. Cox complains (pp. 120-5) that it is hard to find in Syndicalism any theory of civics. There are good grounds for his complaint: but the lack of any definite, accepted and clearly-thought-out theory of the relation of Syndicalism to democracy and to the State—though a serious omission—may be easily explained. France is the mother of Syndicalist theory: and in France historical forces of great permanence have forced Syndicalists not only into a position hostile to the existing State and to the existing organisation of political democracy, but to a denial of the very necessity of the State and to a neglect of the only possible basis of democracy—the rule of the General Will. The State is to be replaced by a Central Council of delegates from the Syndicats. But, as Mr. Cox urges (p. 121), either the delegates to this Council will be persons elected also as officers in the different Syndicats—elected by persons acting not as citizens of the whole community, but as members of a particular producing body—elected not for the purposes of the whole community, but for those of a particular body—or there will be a separate election of delegates for the Central Council. In neither case would the Ceneral Council represent the General Will of the whole community, for a General Will "cannot be constituted by any possible sum of wills comparatively particular," since the General Will is that part of the wills of particular citizens which wills a general end or good. No one Syndicat, and therefore no federation of delegates from the Syndicats, can then represent the general will of the community. It does not, of course, follow that the functions of the Syndicat need be confined to production. Like the mediæval Gilds, the Syndicat will have social and political as well as industrial activities (pp. 8, 181). Syndicats or Gilds, for instance, are obviously the proper organs of technical education. Moreover, although the Gilds should be as far as possible autonomous and self-determining, the State must exist, if for no other reason, in order to exact standards of quality, efficiency, and conditions of work, to regulate competition, and to enforce the rules or bye-laws in the articles of association or charters of the gilds.

Many Syndicalists will no doubt disagree with the emphasis laid upon Property by the authors of the "Real Democracy." There is nothing, however, in Syndicalism which necessarily denies the vital importance of property in the means of production maintained by them. The attitude of Syndicalists towards Property is still undefined. Extreme individualistic and socialistic views are both widely held. If Syndicalists are not likely to be attracted by the "poetry of property" so eloquently expounded by Mr. Cox, and are sceptical as to the existence of a right to property, based upon the creative impulse of man and his possession of free will, they will none the less be well advised if they weigh carefully the argument for property in the means of production expounded in the "Real Democracy." "A right of property is the most direct, continuous, and effective means by which a man can control both his own life and the circumstances that condition and determine it" (p. 58).

The "Real Democracy" is a book which requires careful attention and thought. Its style is, on the whole, fresh and vigorous, though not always conducive to clarity. Mr. Sievers indulges sometimes in cryptic epigrams; Mr. Mann is apt to be verbose; Mr. Cox meticulous in his philosophic distinctions and algebraical appendices. These are small faults in so stimulating a book. They will not deter anyone who values trenchant thinking, logic and originality. It is a pity there is no index.

"Sylvia"

Upton Sinclair's Latest Novel

"Sylvia." By Upton Sinclair. The John C. Winston Co. $1.20 net.

I QUITE agree with the *New York Times*, which said, in reviewing "Sylvia":—

"It may be said at once that this is the best novel Mr. Sinclair has yet written—so much the best that it stands in a class by itself. . . . That it is one which chances to be a good deal in the public mind just now is rather the author's fortune than his fault, for this is not a book which could have been scribbled off in a few weeks or even months; on the contrary, spontaneous as much of it seems, on looking back over the course of the narrative its every page is found to show traces of infinite care."

The story is of the South and one of its belles who marries a rich Northerner, a Harvard student, in order to save the family from financial ruin. In the old stories of this nature the heroine marries and discovers that he was Mr. Right after all, and, notwithstanding his wealth, everything ends happily in slow music. But poor Sylvia has no such luck, she finds her pre-nuptial aversion to her spouse only too well founded. Warned by the experience of her friend Harriet, who had contracted venereal disease from her husband, Sylvia has had her suspicions aroused before her own marriage, but she makes the fatal mistake of taking her fiancé's mere word on the matter to the effect that he was quite "safe." When will our girls learn to demand medical certificates from their happy bridegrooms brought down to the wedding date? The fact that the daughter Elaine is blind gives us a cue as to what Sinclair would have us guess Sylvia died of.

"Sylvia," in a way, reminds one of Brieux's play, "Damaged Goods," in that a young wife in each story is the victim to infection contracted from her husband. It seems to me, however, that Brieux builds up rather a more logical case for the man than does Sinclair, if it can be said that it's more logical to marry for money rather than for lust.

The point on which both Brieux and Sinclair err is in intimating that it is usually the case that the husband is infected before marriage, whereas, as a matter of fact, it more often occurs after marriage. This is really an important fact to be taken note of by those who think that the great desideratum in marriage of the future should be the insistence of a certificate of health being held by candidates for marriage. Many a man has broken off his engagement to marry, or has refrained from engaging himself, owing to his having contracted venereal disease before marriage, yet the very same man may become infected after marriage through loose association, and then, rather than confess his delinquency to his wife and risk the scandal of a divorce suit, he pursues the simpler plan of saying nothing and taking a chance that possibly he may not pass on the infection to her, or, if he does happen to pass it on, he hopes she will not realise what is the real nature of her illness.

However, we cannot expect Sinclair to give us all the phases of the dangers that wives run from venereal disease in his first novel on the subject, and meanwhile let us be thankful that he has had the courage to draw attention to the one great question of the day which has hitherto been burked by all.

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WILSHIRE'S

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STRIKING *VS.* VOTING

H. M. Hyndman *vs.* Gaylord Wilshire

A Debate in the Columns of "Daily Herald," London

UNQUESTIONABLY the debate of to-day, interesting above all others, to Socialists—and by Socialists I include Syndicalists—is that between Syndicalism and Socialism. In the last two previous numbers I gave what Upton Sinclair had to say upon the subject, and in this number I give what H. M. Hyndman thinks. Hyndman is admittedly the premier spokesman in English of the Revolutionary Wing of the Parliamentarian Socialists. If there is any one man who can authoritatively do the political side justice it is he. However, as I have before said, it is, in my opinion, the logic of events that will finally decide the issue rather than the logic of tongue or pen. To the Syndicalist all strikes are steps to the revolution. It is not what Larkin and other Labour leaders say, but what they do, that counts. The best an editor can do is to correctly interpret the events that Labour unconsciously and instinctively creates of its own natural initiative.

ADVANTAGES OF POLITICAL ACTION

By H. M. Hyndman

WHEN the Trades Union Congress met you published two addresses, both of which virtually assumed that, in all cases, economic development precedes, and must precede, political progress; that, in fact, the political institutions of a country are invariably the reflection of its existing material conditions.

This opinion appears to be founded upon the following passage from Karl Marx: "In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily resulting from it, form the basis upon which is erected and by which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that period."

That is a very general statement, and I think it would be easy to show that, even when taken by itself and divorced from the context, it does not justify such dogmatic utterances as those which I see from time to time in the *Daily Herald* on this subject of the direct correlation and interdependence of economic forms and political organisation. In my opinion, it is a very great mistake, and one which I am confident Marx himself would never have made, and, in fact, did not make, thus to take for granted what most assuredly cannot be proved.

I do not propose to enter here upon a wide historic discussion as to the action and reaction of the economic and the psychic currents upon the development of man in society. My old friend Belfort Bax, in his remarkable controversy with Karl Kautsky in the *Neue Zeit*, many years ago, seems to me to have put the truth of the matter in an abstract shape as clearly and as briefly as it is possible to put it. I am content to deal only with facts as they stand at this moment.

Our friends and opponents of the "Guild" and "Syndicalist" school, in their eagerness to throw discredit upon political action, swallow whole the contentions of the neo-Marxists as to economics being the only important matter to be considered. Race, religion, temperament, even national history, may be neglected, and politics should be entirely disregarded, so long as we devote ourselves to the spread of the spirit of revolt among the people: leaving the entire control of the military, naval, and police forces of the country, through Parliament, in the hands of the dominant class. Economics will put it all right through trade Syndicalism, the General Strike, and what not.

But in that case how do these pure and simple materialists account for the facts of to-day? Nobody can dispute that France is at least three or four generations behind this country in economic development. "France," as M. Clemenceau said to me some years ago, "is still rural France." The great factory industry is as yet quite in the background, and financial arrangements—cheques, drafts, clearing-houses, etc.—are absurdly belated.

Yet, politically, in the development, that is to say, of her political institutions, France is as much ahead of us as she is economically behind us. The psychical element in the French character has thus anticipated the material growth; as in mathematics, theorems and expansions frequently, I had almost said generally—outrun the material facts to which they are in practice applicable. France, with her theoretically reactionary peasantry and small bourgeoisie, has obtained universal manhood suffrage, a Republic, the abolition of the Hereditary House, and so on; while we of this island, possessing the most advanced capitalist economic system in the world, and

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with our agriculture reduced to a subordinate position, are still, politically, not so very much in advance of the eighteenth century.

I think it is very important that the enormous advantage of organised political action by the wage-earning class over the strike programme should not be obscured by the contemptible cowardice and imbecility of the Parliamentary Labour Party since 1906. Strikes are a necessary weapon for the working class under existing conditions. But they are a terribly expensive weapon to the strikers. Moreover, unarmed strikers, with the mercenary police and army at the disposal of their capitalist antagonists, Liberal and Tory, simply court defeat if they resort to violence. And to me it is perfectly clear that, so long as it is our own fault—the fault of the workers themselves, I mean—that our political institutions are so reactionary as they are, it is useless to talk about economics invariably taking the lead of politics, and thereupon to argue in favour of letting politics alone.

WILSHIRE'S REPLY

Economics and the Syndicalists

HAS not Hyndman, by his use of "economics" with a double signification, somewhat unwittingly confused his meaning? He first uses the word to mean the form of industry under which, at any particular time, a society may exist; but, later on, in his letter, he makes economics synonymous with striking.

Hyndman, I am sure, would not contend that Syndicalists as such have any different interpretation of history from that of the Socialists. The question of what part "religion, race, temperament, and national history" have played in the evolution of society is in no manner in dispute between them. The dispute is whether the real revolutionary weapon lies in the strike (in economic action), or whether it lies in voting (in political action).

Political "Democracies"

The political democracies of to-day are naturally becoming less and less really democratic, because the progress of the centralisation of capital has vastly increased the comparative economic power of the larger capitalists. Hence, it is perfectly true, as Hyndman points out, that in France, where capital is less developed, there is more democracy than in England, where it is more fully developed. America affords us a classic example of the same tendency, inasmuch as the political forms there have undergone no change for the last hundred years. To-day the concentration of capital there is so great that democracy, in any true sense, has almost disappeared, owing to the dominance of the Trust magnate in politics.

Syndicalists quite agree with Hyndman that unarmed strikers court defeat in resisting the police and resorting to violence. They would disagree with him, however, in his implication that it is possible to arm them either with rifles or the ballot. The worker, according to Syndicalist theory, has but one all-powerful weapon that can never be taken away from him, namely, his ability, by the withdrawal of his labour-power in arterial industries, to bring society to its knees through fear of starvation.

As long as Labour is disorganised the capitalist class can always dominate, because it can starve Labour; but the boot is on the other leg when Labour is well organised. Then it will be that Labour can starve capital, if capital does not come to terms. The Syndicalist declares that it is the economic power of the capitalist to starve Labour that gives capital its power; he would transfer this power from capital to Labour, not by vainly asking for the transfer at the ballot-box, but by taking it, without the asking, by the strike.

HYNDMAN'S FIRST REJOINDER

"Mere Revolt Quite Useless"

I CONFESS, when I pointed out that economic development did not by any means invariably precede political progress, I thought I should have seen this proposition controverted by several of those who have been so assiduously and vigorously arguing in the contrary sense—by the "Guildists" and Syndicalists to wit. Up to the present time, the only writer to dispute the truth of what I say has been my friend Gaylord Wilshire, and he gives away his whole case in the most amazing manner.

Thus, he declares that France is at the moment, and has been for many years past, more politically advanced than Great Britain, *because* she is economically less advanced. But this is in direct contradiction to everything that has been contended from his side before. Not only so, but Great Britain passed through the same, or nearly the same, economic conditions which now subsist in France. Where is Wilshire's evidence that, at a similar economic period we historically possessed France's democratic organisation? As a matter of fact, we never did. So that pretty little piece of imaginative misrepresentation goes by the board.

My statement remains completely unshaken. The democratic development across the Channel has anticipated the economic and social evolution, not followed it. Or does Wilshire seriously suggest that both France and Great Britain are doomed to go back politically owing to the combination of capital? That is the natural deduction from his argument. I, on the other hand, regard the tremendous political vote in Germany and the remarkable growth of the Socialist vote at the Presidential Election in the United States—which Wilshire predicted (*I did not.—G. W.*) would fall off—as clear proof that where the workers are educated they recognise that political action is of ever-increasing importance, and that they are wisely striving to democratise their institutions in the most peaceful and least costly way.

The Need for Arms

The people are armed with rifles in more than one country, and the fact that they are so armed will give them, as I hope, at the critical time, a fighting power which they could obtain in no other way. I am bitterly opposed to militarism; but I am still more opposed to leaving all the organised forces of slaughter in the hands of the slave-driving class, as Wilshire now asserts the Syndicalists, with their strike programme alone, are quite willing to do. To consent tamely to the control of the army and the navy and the police remaining with the capitalists, because that control can only be effectively wrested from them by political action—even after a successful strike—and political action is the accursed thing—seems to me to be fatuity wrought up to the point of downright mania! We have never yet seen the army here used vigorously against men on strike, though in 1911 we were not far from it. If and when it is, under existing conditions, I venture to assert Wilshire will change his opinion. But it will then be too late.

The main point, however, is whether the workers can bring about the Social Revolution by strikes alone. I am myself absolutely convinced that, in this country, at any rate, they cannot. At the present time the workers of this island constitute—see Mr. Chiozza Money's statistics—a minority of the population. Only a small minority of that minority is thoroughly organised. Yet "the worker . . . has but one all-powerful weapon that can never be taken away from him, namely, his ability, by the withdrawal of his labour-power in arterial industries, to bring society to its knees through fear of starvation."

Very pretty. But it will not be "society" alone that will undergo "the fear of starvation." The striking minority, with their wives and children, will actually starve. And "society" will have a word to say on its own

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account, too, whether Syndicalists, or Socialists either for that matter, like it or not. At the time of the great strikes of two years ago working-class opinion, even in the East End of London, was slowly turning against the strikers, because the non-strikers could not stand the starvation and suffering involved. I admit that if, as I have recommended for years, all those who proposed to strike laid in a food supply to last a few weeks, something in the shape of a general strike would be much more formidable to the slave-driving class than it could be now. But there is no sign of such organised effort at present, and, even if there were, nothing that I have yet seen or read of about strikes leads me to believe in the possibility of organised victory on these lines in this country.

A Dangerous Weapon

As I said before, the strike is still a necessary weapon for the workers in the class war, but it is a very dangerous and costly one, and nothing has as yet justified them in throwing over political action, or the organisation of a citizen army, in its favour.

Moreover, even supposing that, against all probability, the strikers were to win, are they in any condition to "run" the society which, on Wilshire's assumption, they will then have captured with their organised minority? I say distinctly that here in Great Britain they are not.

The greatest transformation ever seen in all human history, the Social Revolution from Competition to Co-operation, from profit-making to wealth-sharing, from Capitalism to Socialism, calls for the highest intelligence and education which can understand and therefore handle the economic conditions that are ripe for this stupendous change. Both are needed. Thorough comprehension: complete economic development. Neither can be dispensed with. Mere revolt is quite useless, unless the social forms are ready for the inauguration of the new period. There is no such thing as being able to make twelve o'clock at eleven by zeal, enthusiasm, and premature attack. If revolt and rebellion could have ensured victory, the chattel-slaves and the serfs would have been emancipated centuries before they were. And you cannot have Socialism without educated and organised Socialists. In Great Britain the economic forms are ready: the workers are not educated and organised Socialists. So long as that is so, strikes, however justifiable and inevitable they may be, are just as likely as not—more likely in my opinion—to help reaction as they are to further revolution. Whereas every step forward towards the vigorous political representation of Socialism means ground gained peacefully which will never be lost.

P.S.—Wilshire accuses me, I observe, of making "economics synonymous with striking." That is an opinion which he shares, so far as I can learn, only with himself! H. M. H.

WILSHIRE'S REPLY No. 2
What the Workers Want

HYNDMAN'S argument briefly, as I make it out, is that since, in his opinion, political development precedes economic development, therefore voting is a superior weapon to striking.

Hyndman appears to regard a nation as "politically advanced" either when it has the outward and visible signs of a Republican form of Government like France and America, or when it has a big Socialist vote like the Germans under the autocracy of a Kaiser. Now, we cannot deny the Republican forms of Government of the two nations, nor the 4,000,000 votes in Germany, but we can dispute the significance of these phenomena. The evolution of France has been from a land-owning autocracy to a bourgeois Republic which arose when the growth of the power of the capitalists enabled them to successfully combat the landowners.

In America the capitalists have grown so powerful that they no longer look to the people for support against the landowners, they have now practically established a capitalist autocracy, although, of course, the form of a Republic remains. In the days before the Revolution the landowners in France were in complete control, and Louis IV. was indeed the State. Finally, the capitalists growing stronger, the monarchy was destroyed, and we had a Republic established which lived owing to a balancing of forces between landowners and capitalists. To a certain extent this is the condition of France to-day, for the capitalists there are as yet in a comparatively primitive stage, and have not been able to dominate the State as they do in more advanced countries like England and America.

The Example of Russia

Russia, under a landowners' autocracy, where capital is to-day but little developed, is about where France was before the Revolution; America, on the other hand, which is the most industrially developed of the nations, has about passed her cycle of democracy inaugurated when the capitalists were small and weak, and is now approaching the political status of Russia. In other words, we are going round in a vicious circle, from autocracy of landlords to autocracy of capitalists; in the middle of the passage when the two forces are about equal we have a bourgeois democracy which lasts until the capitalists grow strong enough to compel the landowners to fuse with them, and thus create a new autocracy, with the capitalists as the dominating factor. This takes place as easily under a King as under a President.

What is Political Progress?

To the Syndicalist, the mere matter of the right to vote, or of the number of Socialist votes, or the fact whether we have a King, a Kaiser, or a President is of no moment. He looks to the state of industrial development of a country. Hence it is that when Hyndman points out the big German Socialist vote or the French President as evidences of "political progress," I will merely reply that the phenomena he presents are no indication whatsoever as to the state of actual or potential political or economic freedom of the French and the Germans.

The political freedom of the Frenchman under a President is in some ways more and in some ways less than that of the Englishman under a King, and the economic freedom of the German with his millions of Socialist votes is rather less than that of the poverty-stricken Dublin voter under Tsar Murphy. Does Hyndman think that the German Kaiser would tolerate a general strike in any German city such as we see to-day in Dublin? Yet, Dublin has practically no Socialist voters, and little economic development. However, Dublin has tremendous concentration of capital in the hands of Murphy, who owns the Press and the tramways; Larkinism is a reflex to Murphy.

The political status of a nation, if such a status is gauged by the progress of the Socialist vote or the substitution of a President for a King, is absolutely no gauge of its industrial development. It is quite as easy for the capitalists to govern with one form of Government as with another. As for the Socialist vote, it is admitted by Kautsky that it can cut no figure until it is a majority. When it becomes a majority the capitalists will calmly refuse to count it, or find some other simple method to nullify it.

However, as Hyndman points out, the workers of this island are in a minority, so, even if the impossible should occur and they all voted Socialist, they would still be powerless. Now, the Syndicalist frankly says that a majority is unnecessary under his programme. He admits that it would be impossible to economically organise even a majority, let alone the whole of the workers. He declares a conscious, determined minority is quite sufficient by abstaining from work to force the community to accede

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to its wishes. The eye is not a majority of the body, but when it offends we don't follow the scriptural injunction and pluck it out. Not at all ; we do everything to placate the irritated member.

Just so with any group of workers controlling the arterial and vital industries of a nation ; if sufficient of them refuse to work satisfactorily, their action may be quite sufficient to force the community to accede to their wishes. I say " work satisfactorily " ; we note now that the railway workers are to-day striking on the " staying in " plan. They will certainly win if they stick together, for they do not starve themselves meanwhile. The eye does not have to go absolutely blind and be cast forth in order to get the body to pay attention to it. A very slight pain in the eye and a very small mote in it will get something doing in short order.

Were it Not for Larkinism——

Hyndman asks if I seriously suggest " that both England and France are doomed to go back politically owing to the development of capital." I certainly do suggest that this has been, and is yet the tendency, and I say that only the economic organisation of the workers can stay this tendency. Without the concentration of wealth in the hands of a Murphy in Dublin, we would never have seen the recent brutal bludgeoning of the workers there by the police, and were it not for Larkinism there would be no reason to think that this bludgeoning would not be repeated until peace reigns in Warsaw.

The workers, even if they won by a strike, are to-day incompetent to " run society," says Hyndman. Quite agreed, but I ask if the exercise of striking and striking and striking, which implies better and better economic organisation and better and better ideas of the economic problems involved, is not a far better education for the workers than voting, voting for anyone, even voting for Hyndman. It is a cardinal principle of Syndicalism that the workers are not now prepared for the assumption of economic power, even if they were offered it, and that striking, which implies economic organisation, is an absolutely necessary preliminary education for them.

If the railwaymen had a powerful industrial union embracing every man connected with the railways, the organisation and conduct of this union, and the education it would be continually getting from conflicts and negotiations with the owners, would far better prepare the men for the management of the railways than any reading of Karl Marx.

I wish I could agree with Hyndman that " every step towards political representation means ground gained peacefully, which will never be lost." To hold ground, whether gained peacefully or by force, means to have the power to hold. The Bulgarians found this out when they had to surrender Adrianople, notwithstanding the Concert of the Powers had told Turkey to give it up. Whenever there is a strike of importance in America, where the Socialists have happened to have locally elected their sheriffs and mayors, the way those officers are summarily kicked out of office by the Governor of the State, backed up by the Militia, is a lovely object-lesson of the power of the ballot. In Grand Junction, Colorado, the capitalists did not even bother with calling on the Governor. They simply organised a Vigilance Committee, and, poof! out went the mayor, the choice of the majority of the voters, but not of the majority of dollars, and in went the chairman of the Vigilantes.

What the workers want is the education and power that comes from economic solidarity, which can only come from economic action. Voting is a far worse pastime for them than gambling on football, because, in the latter case, the workers know they are wasting their time, while in the former they delude themselves, following a chimera which leads them from green pastures.

HYNDMAN'S FINAL REJOINDER

Force of Arms less Costly and more Effective

THAT must be a very weak case indeed which induces one of its principal advocates to resort to misrepresentation and garbling. I never said that Germany was a politically-advanced nation. Everybody knows that its political forms, and particularly those of Prussia, " the predominant partner " in Germany, are quite antiquated. What I did state was that the great and growing strength of the Socialist political vote in Germany shows that the best educated and most thoroughly trained people in Europe understand that, in spite of all drawbacks, political action is the best and most effective weapon in the tremendous revolutionary movement upon which they are engaged. That is a very different thing. I could cite other travesties of my opinions from Wilshire's article. When, however, he goes so far as to quote me in inverted commas as writing "every step towards political representation means ground gained peacefully which will never be lost," without any indication whatever that he has omitted the words " vigorously " and " of Socialism," I really must decline to debate further with so disingenuous a disputant.

Nevertheless, it is well, I think, that I should put once more in general terms the views of international revolutionary Social-Democrats, who, whatever may be their defects, constitute, at any rate, by far the best organised and strongest Socialist party in the world.

Wage-Slave as a Mere Tool

Wage-slavery is the historical outcome of chattel-slavery and serfdom, and is, in its essence, little better than chattel-slavery, disguised under illusory pretences of freedom. Personally and individually, the wage-slave can talk and agitate, can change his master, can, in many cases, vote, and possesses rights of trial by jury and so on, which the chattel-slave did not enjoy. Collectively, he can combine with his fellows, can strike against oppression, or, in order to obtain higher wages, and, where trained to arms, can fight. But, alike when he is at work and when he is on strike, he is no better than a mere tool of the capitalist employer : an active human tool when at work, a passive and starving human tool when on strike. Only when he votes for himself and his class or when he fights for himself and his class he is a man.

If the workers could make a Social Revolution by strikes and revolts, nobody would be more pleased to see them do it, and to help them to do it, than Social-Democrats, the infinite majority of whom are themselves wage-slaves. But, as was truly and admirably said some sixty years ago : " No man and no body of men can make a Social Revolution. No man and no body of men can keep down a Social Revolution when it has once been engendered in the womb of society." That is true, so long as human society contains the elements of class struggle based upon economic antagonism. And that is the reason why mere revolts or strikes, though they may now and then bring about temporary improvement of conditions, under capitalism, cannot be looked to as the means of changing the existing order of things.

No Guiding Idea

So far, also, strikes have had no guiding idea whatever. No strike has ever been conducted with a view to obtaining control by society of any branch of production or distribution. It is true the advocates of a general strike have argued that this is a means of obtaining such control for the entire population, which then would consist wholly of workers, except only the children and very old people. And Socialist Congresses have not declared against the general strike as a possible means of ushering in the Social Revolution. What has been argued against it is that the workers are not nearly well-organised enough

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in any country to ensure success, and that, if they were, political action, or force of arms, would be much less costly and more effective. The old Chartists who tried, in their period of less complete industrial development, every possible form of strike and industrial revolt, and succeeded in keeping the whole of this island in a state almost of Civil War from 1842 to 1847, advocated many of them the complete cessation of labour for a month. But they failed, and I see nothing to induce me to believe that similar tactics, if attempted by the workers, would be successful now.

Even if they were sure to win by this admittedly hazardous plan—which quite obviously would lead to desperate fighting before the classes in possession gave way—why should they refrain, during the long period of preparation necessary, from combining for political action, thus weakening the power of their masters? Why, too, should they refuse to drill and arm, so that they might be able to give a good account of themselves, in the event of the dominant classes, who would be armed and drilled, with the mercenary army at their disposal, resorting to massacre? Surely, to give up two of the three weapons at their disposal from the start is bad strategy and worse tactics. Political knowledge and capacity will be absolutely essential in order to turn even a general strike victory to account. Organisation and discipline under arms are needed to retain the fruits of victory. "As if it were not as hard to keep as to conquer." Very much harder, I venture to affirm, if all the intelligence the workers then possess is what they gain merely by striking.

Ulster and Dublin

As it happens, we have two remarkable examples of the two methods before our eyes at the present moment—Ulster and Dublin. The North of Ireland men, the vast majority of whom, after all, are workers, have taken up arms to defend themselves, not having been able to succeed in political action. But they have not abandoned political action by any means; though they are determined, if pressed, to resort to Civil War, and are daily training themselves to that end. What is the result? They are forcing a large political majority to reconsider their case, and the political minority in the House of Commons favourable to them is unquestionably strengthened by the bold front shown by the Ulstermen. Nobody disputes that, I suppose.

Would a strike of the Protestant and Saxon minority and the simultaneous abandonment of political action in the House of Commons and in the country have had an equally powerful effect? I say most emphatically it would not. The Ulstermen would now have been starving for a few months; they would have reduced their own vitality, as well as that of their wives and children, to such an extent that, when it came to the pinch, back to work they would have gone, and a Catholic Parliament would have been established over them on College Green. That is how it looks to me.

Now, take Dublin. I sympathise entirely with the strikers, or, rather, with the locked-out workers. I subscribe my mite to their support. It is generally admitted, even by those who are not favourable to the wage-earners, that revolt is justifiable. Larkin has fought a splendid, though not, perhaps, an altogether judicious, fight for his class. But the Irish Home Rule Members of Parliament, with their customary cowardice, have refused to carry the struggle into the field of politics, and one of the ablest of them, of whom better things might have been expected, actually took the side of the masters for pay. Having also no arms and no training, the locked-out men can make no show against the police. What is the result there, then? But for the handsome support of the British trade unions, the wage-slaves of Dublin would have been starved into submission some time ago. Even as it is, the suffering of men, women, and children is quite terrible, and the latter may never fully recover from it. Undoubtedly, resistance to the tyranny of the employers was most laudable; their conditions even at the best of times was very bad; but, surely, it cannot be contended that this is the most effective way of conducting the active class war.

Contrast then, I say, Ulster determined to fight, in politics and in the field, for a matter of comparative unimportance; and Dublin, fighting for the very life of the people, merely by passive resistance: then choose.

Strikes and Strikers

I have seen many strikes in the course of my long life, and I have done my utmost to help not a few. But I have never advised a strike myself at any time. First, because it is not my business to do so; secondly, because I have never yet seen a strike whose success justified the sacrifices made; thirdly, because in nearly all cases a prolonged strike so weakens the workers and their children that they are discouraged and become incapable of vigorous resistance for a long time afterwards. I add another reason: Because if one quarter of the cost of strikes to the strikers were devoted to political action on definite class lines, or to the organisation of an armed force under their own control, it is my deliberate opinion that—economic development having reached the point it has in this country—enormously greater success would be achieved. Can a strike be considered "educative" when, immediately it is over, the men themselves vote for the very employers against whom they have struck, or who have locked them out, as their representatives in Parliament, thus giving their enemies, through politics, the control of the national forces again and again. I should not be at all surprised to see similar fatuity exhibited in Dublin at the next election. I could raise instance after instance in which this fatuity has been displayed in Great Britain. The fact that the Labour Party here has proved so far a great deal worse than useless is no proof whatever that political action properly used is not of the greatest value. It only shows that both voters and members were ignorant and incapable.

Three Great Weapons

To finish as I began. The workers of Great Britain, with their sympathisers (an ever-increasing number), have three great weapons in the class war: Political action, a citizen army, strikes. Of these the last is, to my mind, by far the least efficient, necessary as it is to maintain the right to use it under present conditions. It is the least efficient because it reduces the physical, mental, and even pecuniary status of the strikers from the very start; hurts them and their families far more than it does the capitalists; and tends to throw non-strikers and neutrals into the enemy's camp by the suffering which it inflicts upon these non-combatants. Furthermore, a strike in itself has nothing revolutionary or constructive about it. The object is to obtain better wages, or to put an end to some abuse. But the permanence of profitmongery is assumed throughout. All the strikes that have yet been carried on have not succeeded in raising the wages of the workers to the level demanded by the decrease in the purchasing-power of gold; whereas, everybody knows that the wages of domestic servants, a purely parasitical class with no trade union, have gone up very considerably without any strike at all, or any political action either for that matter.

No, Sir, mere strikes, "Syndicalism," rattening, sabotage, etc., are the weapons of despair. Justifiable as all revolt against slavery is justifiable, but ineffective and discouraging in the long run.

P.S.—By the way, has it occurred to trade unionists that when a really serious fight against capitalism, by means of strikes, is threatened and commences, the capitalist banks may refuse to part with trade union funds for strike pay? One important case of this sort occurred, I believe, in the North of England not so very long ago.

H. M. H.

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WILSHIRE'S FINAL REPLY

How to Fire the Thames

HYNDMAN'S trouble is modesty. Why should he expect me to include in my quotation marks referring to his advocacy of "political representation" the words "vigorously" and "Socialism"? Anyone who knows Hyndman knows that vigorously must be understood, even if it was not clearly mentioned, as it was. And as for Socialism, Hyndman's name involves Socialism as a necessary corollary, even if in my mention of the failure of political officers to hold office when elected against capital force I had not confined myself strictly to Socialist examples. The word Hyndman connotes Socialism, vigorous Socialism, to everyone. Hyndman himself, veiled by his underestimation of himself, is, I am sure, the only one who would have thought of finding fault with me for refusing to fill the pages of the "Herald" with obviously superfluous words.

Hyndman is more generous to me than I am to him. He concedes that striking is a weapon, though a poor one, while I refuse to call voting any kind of weapon at all. A well-managed general strike might have as disastrous physical consequences to the people of London as would a siege by the united fleets of a hostile world. But who can think of a general vote ever preventing London feeding itself?

A vote can only be of meaning when the voters are on an equality. It is absurd to think a small but powerful capitalist class, powerful owing to its wealth, will tamely surrender to the working class merely because of an adverse vote. Think of a wolf surrendering to a flock of sheep because of the baas!

The Vote a Phantom Weapon

As for Hyndman's other weapon, "citizen army," the very fact it has been talked up by political Socialists for years and yet there is not the slightest indication that Labour anywhere considers it a practicability rather puts it out of the realm of anything except the academic. There is nothing more costly than preparation for war, and this alone explains why a citizen army is, for the proletariat, an impracticable weapon. Even the wooden guns with which Carson's phantom troops are armed were paid for by the capitalists, and the whole Ulster revolt is merely of any consequence at all because it represents money, not men. Give Larkin Carson's financial backing and how soon would Murphy capitulate?

"I have never seen a strike whose success justified the sacrifices made," says Hyndman. I would reply that had it not been for strikes the workers of England would to-day be in an economic hell that would make Murphy's slums in Dublin seem Paradise. What, I ask, does stand between the worker and the capitalist except the worker's power of organised refusal to work?

Larkin Worth a Million Votes

Finally, I entirely disagree with Hyndman that a strike in itself has nothing revolutionary or constructive in it. All strikes, consciously or unconsciously, of their very nature, must have a revolutionary aim. A great sympathetic strike like that now in Dublin, led by a revolutionary Socialist like Larkin, is more of a menace to the capitalist system than the casting of a million Socialist votes. Anyway, the capitalists see it so even if Hyndman does not.

I have just returned from Dublin to get a first-hand impression of Larkinism in action, and I must say never have I been in a great city so obsessed with the portent of social change as is Dublin to-day. Revolution is in the atmosphere; it is not so much what one sees as what one feels.

Liberty Hall, with its thousands of idle men standing silently in the street without, waiting for their turn at the meal ticket, and with its steady line of women carrying out jugs of soup, and cocoa, and loaves of bread, is but a symptom of the general social disturbance and ferment. Larkin himself was not there, he being agitating for funds in Liverpool, but his soul was there, and without it I fear the strike would collapse, for confessedly the present situation is largely due to the remarkable personality of Larkin.

I attended a meeting to discuss the strike at the house of G. W. Russell ("A. E."), editor of the "Irish Homestead." I have never before been in a gathering where the standard of intellect and the intensity of purpose were so high. Russell in himself is a portent—painter, poet, writer of the finest prose in modern English, and imbued with the truest and profoundest social philosophy. For Dublin to produce a Russell is enough to prove that Dublin is in travail. Let Dublin lend London a few of her Larkins and a few of her Russells and the Thames will be transmuted to petrol.

The Standpoint of Syndicalism

From the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science."

LOUIS LEVINE, PH.D., of New York.

THE standpoint of Syndicalism is clear and definite. Syndicalism expressly denies the possibility of industrial peace under existing conditions, frankly proclaims its determination to carry on industrial warfare as long as the present economic system exists, and firmly believes that only the realisation of its own programme will establish industrial peace on a permanent and secure basis.

Syndicalism arrives at its first conclusion by an analysis of existing economic conditions. The fact which is untiringly emphasised in the Syndicalist analysis is the objective antagonistic position of those engaged in modern industry. The owners of the means of production, directly or indirectly running their business for their private ends, are interested in ever-increasing profits and in higher returns. The working men, on the other hand, who passively carry on productive operations, are anxious to obtain the highest possible price for their labour-power, which is their only source of livelihood. Between these two economic categories friction is inevitable, because profits ever feed on wages, while wages incessantly encroach upon profits, and because the passive wage-earners shake off now and then their submissiveness and reach out for more control over industrial conditions, while the owners and directors of industry resent the interference of the workers.

From this two-fold antagonism, rooted in the structure of modern economic society, struggle must ever spring anew, and this is the reason why all schemes and plans to avoid industrial conflicts fail so lamentably. Even the conservative trade unions, based on the idea that the interests of labour and capital are identical, are forced by circumstances to act contrary to their own profession of

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faith. Organisations, like the Civic Federation, are doomed to impotency. Boards of conciliation and arbitration work most unsatisfactorily and can show but few and insignificant results. If arbitration is once in a while successfully resorted to, it is only when the menace of a great and dangerous industrial conflict stares the community in the face. But the threat of a strike is as much a manifestation of industrial peace as the mobilisation of troops on the frontier is a manifestation of international peace.

It is preposterous—argue the Syndicalists—to atttribute the acute character of our industrial conflicts to "pernicious agitators," Socialists, Anarchists, and "turbulent" individuals generally. Would a miracle still be possible in our sceptical age, and should all these "undesirable" elements be rushed to Heaven on a fiery chariot, our world would still remain the battle ground of opposed interests. One must ignore the elementary facts of human psychology to believe that a few individuals, however gifted and energetic, could move large masses of men to action unless the conditions in which these masses lived prompted them to follow these leaders. And one must be blinded by hopeless optimism to believe that all the employers will one day become benevolent and "inspired" and will joyfully hand out to the workers all that the latter may demand, thus removing all occasion for mutual ill-feeling and conflict.

The most that can be achieved by benevolent effort as long as the basis of modern economic life remains unchanged is to mitigate now and then the violent character of the industrial struggle and to ward off a conflict here and there. But the result is hardly commensurate with the energy spent, while the principal aim of these efforts—industrial security and peace—is not attained. As is shown by experience, conflict mitigated once becomes more violent the next time, and warded off at one point breaks out at ten other points. All efforts, therefore, to establish industrial peace under existing conditions result at best in the most miserable kind of social patchwork which but reveals in more striking nudity the irreconcilable contradictions inherent in modern economic organisation.

There is but one logical conclusion from the point of view of Syndicalism. If industrial peace is made impossible by modern economic institutions, the latter must be done away with and industrial peace must be secured by a fundamental change in social organisation. At the root of the struggle between capital and labour is the private ownership of the means of production which results in the autocratic or oligarchic direction of industry and in inequality of distribution. The way to secure industrial peace is to remove the fundamental cause of industrial war—that is, to make the means of production common property, to put the management of industry on a truly democratic basis and to equalise distribution.

In general terms the programme of Syndicalism may not seem to differ in any respect from that of Socialism, and, in fact, Socialism and Syndicalism have many points in common. Yet there is an essential difference. The Syndicalist analysis of modern society emphasises a point which is not prominent in Socialism and which leads to important differences in their constructive programmes. That point is the question of control. While the Socialist lays emphasis on what he considers the exploitation features of capitalistic society, the Syndicalist lays no less emphasis on the relations of authority and freedom in economic life, on the aspect of direction and management in industry. The Syndicalist finds that this is one of the sources of industrial troubles in the present, and he is convinced that a proper solution of this aspect of the social problem is essential for industrial peace. He cannot agree with the Socialist that the concentration of the economic functions of society in the hands of the State represented by a Government elected on the basis of territorial representation is the proper and adequate solution of the problem. The Syndicalist distrusts the State and believes that political forms and institutions have out-lived their usefulness and cannot be adapted to new social relations. The Syndicalist programme for the future, in so far as it is definite and clear, contains the outlines of an industrial society—the basis of which is the industrial union and the sub-divisions of which are federations of unions and federations of federations. The direction of industry, in this ideal system, is decentralised in such a manner that each industrial part of society has the control only of those economic functions for the intelligent performance of which it is especially fitted by experience, training, and industrial position.

The Syndicalist is convinced that until his programme is carried out, industrial peace is impossible. To one who believes in the eternal character of existing economic institutions such a pessimistic conclusion could not but be a source of grief and regret. But the Syndicalist, guided by the idea of social revolution, feels differently. While he may regret the suffering and social disturbance which follow in the train of industrial struggles, he sees in the latter another aspect which is to him a source of gratification and hope. This other aspect is what he considers the organising and constructive power of the industrial struggle—its creative force.

The creative force of the industrial struggle, according to the Syndicalist, manifests itself in a series of economic and moral phenomena which, taken together, must have far-reaching results. In the struggle for higher wages and better conditions of work the working men are led to see the important part they play in the mechanism of production and to resent more bitterly the opposition to their demands on the part of the employers. With the intensification of the struggle, the feeling of resentment develops into a desire for emancipation from the conditions which make oppression possible; in other words, it grows into complete class-consciousness which consists not merely in the recognition of the struggle of classes but also in the determination to abolish the class-character of society. At the same time the struggle necessarily leads the working men to effect a higher degree of solidarity among themselves, to develop their moral qualities, and to fortify and consolidate their organisations. The stronger the latter become, the more do they assert themselves in the economic struggle, and the more evident does it become to the workers that their organisations could readily supplant the organisations of the capitalists and assume the control of the economic life of society.

It is evident that unless the Syndicalist could theoretically connect the struggles of the present with his ideal of the future, the latter would remain a beautiful but idle dream even in theory. For the Syndicalist, as has been said, does not believe in the efficicacy of benevolent intentions, nor does he think the power of mere abstract ideas sufficient for transforming society. He is bound, therefore, to find concrete social forces working for the realisation of his ideal. His position forces him to prove that his ideal is the expression of the interests of a definite class, that it is gradually being accepted by that class under the pressure of circumstances, and that the social destinies of the "revolutionary" class are more and more identified with the Syndicalist ideal. In the theory above outlined the Syndicalist believes he has solved his problem and has found the connecting link between his analysis of the present and his outlook for the future.

Having thus defined the significance of the industrial struggle, the Syndicalist is led to lay down rules of practical activity in accordance with his theory. He cheerfully accepts the conclusion that if industrial strife is creating social harmony his task is to intensify the struggle, to widen its scope, and to perfect its methods—in order that the creative force of the struggle may manifest itself as thoroughly and on as large a scale as possible. He, therefore, logically, assumes a hostile attitude towards

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all efforts tending to mitigate the industrial struggle, such as conciliation and arbitration, and definitely enters the economic arena for the purpose of stirring up strife and of accentuating the struggle as much as is in his power.

To those who are anxious to bring about peace between labour and capital on the basis of existing economic and legal institutions, the Syndicalist must necessarily appear as a disturbing factor in the situation. The Syndicalist will not deny this nor will he be forced to change his attitude either by denunciation or by persecution. From his own standpoint, the Syndicalist believes that he is merely sincere in looking facts in the face, logical in drawing the proper conclusions from them, and rationally optimistic in seeing through the mist of the contradictory present the rising sun of a socially harmonious future.

Women Who Did and Who Do Yet

"The Woings of Jezebel Pettyfer." By Haldane Macfall, author of "The Masterfolk," etc. (Published by Simpkin, Marshall.) 6s.

IN THESE DAYS of hot discussion upon how to be happy when you ought to be married but aren't, we are apt to think Grant Allen opened the ball of yarn with his "Woman Who Did." Well, possibly he opened the ball of white yarn, but it is to Haldane Macfall to whom we are indebted for the first unravelling of this black yarn.

In the West Indies among the descendants of the negro slaves, who were imported there some hundred years or so ago, it is almost the universal custom for marriages to be solemnised about ten years or so after the family has come into being. Very probably this somewhat unconventional arrangement originated on account of economic determinism; it was cheaper to do without the luxury of the ceremony. Negro wages are not any too high in those islands, and what with the cost of the licence and the tip for the parson, and the cost of the ring, it was more convenient to postpone the celebration until the children were born and become old enough to be able to help defray the expense of rendering themselves legitimate. And why not? Are not the children the beneficiaries of a legal marriage?

I understand it is the custom among certain European peasants to defer marriage until the first child is obviously under way. The West India blacks marry after, say, the fifth child has begun to pay interest on its cost. The plan works well, too. Any West Indian will bear witness that the woman is never beaten severely by her spouse prior to the legal ceremony. She has at least a guarantee of happiness during the first few years of love; and, anyway, if she is not happy with her incubus it is her own fault. It is very bad form in the West Indies for a girl to support at her washtub her spouse before she has the ring. Indeed, so strong a hold has custom upon the women that until a man legally marries he actually feels ashamed not to contribute to the support of his offspring and their mother.

Now, with a successful working experiment in marital freedom at our doors one would have thought that some of these hot gospellers upon the subject would have made the West Indies a study and reported, but no doubt it has been felt that the colour line must be drawn somewhere.

Haldane Macfall, however, has boldy plunged in the inky flood where others still stand shivering on the shore, and he plunged in, too, way back in 1898, with his "Woings of Jezebel Pettyfer," when nobody in those days ever thought of finding gold for publishers by stirring up such sex problems. But 1898 was too early for such things, and the book never became known much except to the very wise and wicked.

But with all-conquering democracy hammering at the printers' doors and demanding everything that's rare and good for everyone who has the price, a new edition has been brought out that will suffice to ameliorate the famine in Pettyfers for the time being.

The following quotation will give a taste of what's in store for the reader:—

She leaned against the doorpost and fidgeted with her fingers. "Oh, yes, I like yo', Dyle; I like yo'r spirit——"

"Dat enough!" said Dyle generously. "I is satisfied to marry yo' on dat——"

Jezebel laughed.

"Huh! marryin'? Marryin'! dat annuder pair o' stockin's," she said with biting contempt. "Where de money comin' from for de festival? I ax yo' dat! Yo' think I is goin' to have a low-down cheap weddin'? Huh!"—with scorn—"dat likely! Huh! not me! I not goin' to marry yo' and have yo' spending me money wid de help o' de law in riotous livin', just de same like yo' was a lawful married man. Huh! supposin' I marry yo'; supposin' yo' meet wid another gal—den dat bad for me. Supposin' I don't goin' to marry yo'; den supposin' you meet up wid another gal—den it all right—den I take up wid another gennelman. I isn't goin' to play second-best to no other gal."

"Den yo' no trust me honour, Jezebel?" said Dyle with pained accent.

"Huh! not me. How is I to know yo' is not loose in yo'r affections? Supposin' I get hankerin' arter some other feller *meself!* What den? And I is never quite sartin' sure, at de time being, which are de one I likes de best."

Dyle shifted his feet for departure.

"Den it appears to me," said he, "it are about time I was liftin' me feet and gittin' travellin', Jezebel; and lookin' around for somethin' to happen. I has catch'd de bad luck."

"Listen to me, Dyle!" Jezebel came to his side and put her hand on his shoulder. "Yo' has come'd along and tell'd me yo' is bound to marry me or yo' is bound to git a livin'. Dat serious. I allow dat. Yo' is in bad 'luck, Dyle, sartin' sure."

She stood silent for a few moments. Then she sighed, and said, as though making the best of things: "Well den, it amounts to dis here: I no mind livin' wid yo' here in dis house. But de marryin' it can come later on."

"Den Jezebel, yo' is agin makin' me a legitimate man!" said Dyle, rather hurt but relieved.

"De marryin' it can come later on," repeated Jezebel.

Dyle got up and took her hands in his.

"Jezebel, old gal," he said, "I is agree'ble to settle down here wid yo' from dis evenin' I has ax'd yo' to marry I. Yo' says not just yet—yo' is bound to have a proper festival wid heaps o' style—I allow dat. Dat are a holy and proper feelin' in yo' sentiments. De folks in de Scriptures dey always reckon'd to have a first-class supe'iaw weddin' breakfast. Dat are sound Scriptures. Therefore I is ready to oblige yo'. Neverdeless I is goin' to be real pleased de day yo' make Jehu Sennacherib Dyle a legitimate man."

He put his arms about her, and kissed her on the mouth. And she giggled and allowed it. . . .

The last thing that night Jezebel stood at her doorway clad in a white nightdress. Before she closed the door she flung a bowlful of corn and rice across the threshold to keep out ghouls that would otherwise enter crevices or squeeze through the keyhole, and, taking human shape of corpses, with cold and clammy lips suck the blood from the sleeping folk within the house.

Besides, it saved Jezebel rising to feed the fowls in the early morning.

Mr. Macfall was a British Army officer stationed in Jamaica, and has his knowledge of life there from actual contact. He has long since resigned his commission and is now devoting his time to Art and Literature and other inconsequentialities.

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE

GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

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WILSHIRE'S

Vol. XVII No. XI LONDON, FEBRUARY-APRIL, 1914 Price 2 Cents

The Ballot is a Shield against the Bayonet.—*Orthodox Marxian Parliamentarian.*

The strikers in South Africa are again coming in for the reprobation that is customarily evoked by the spectacle of working-class activity—in any but profit-making fields. "The Vote," says one commentator, "is a weapon requiring forethought and intelligence for its use—it is therefore taboo among the so-called labouring classes." Above is a dream-picture of the working class bursting with intelligence, and the capitalist bursting with other things. It will be seen that like a civilized and chivalrous antagonist Labour is playing the game. That is, he is fighting the fight with the weapon of Cultivated Gentlemen—the Vote—having learnt this rudiment of the art of honourable warfare from his disinterested opponent, Adjacent will be seen the State-mother, blessing her children and hoping that the best man may win, To satisfy your lust for conversational appendages to these designs I submit that

THE PROFITMONGER: "Ah, how truly, my labouring friend, the poet remarks, 'The stern delight that warriors feel in foemen worthy of their steel.' Do you not feel it?"

Cartoon by Will Dyson in London "Daily Herald."

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The Tactics of Syndicalism

I CAN understand well enough why the parasites who live off of the Socialist Party should burke discussion of the value of political action for revolutionary purposes. Naturally, if a man lives on an organisation depending for its life upon its members keeping a particular kind of faith, he is not likely to consciously disturb that faith. No tapeworm ever deliberately sets out to kill its own host.

But that the rank and file who have no immediate selfish interest in the Socialist Party, as a Party, but whose sole interest lies in the results which it may achieve, should turn such a deaf ear to the most obvious proofs of the futility of voting is something I cannot understand. Political organisation, of itself, obviously gives no power to its members; therefore, a majority vote constitutes no guarantee that the said majority will be able to carry out its desires. There is nothing new in this view; it has been enumerated for years by many critics of the Marxian position.

In "WILSHIRE'S" for March, 1911, I wrote as follows:—

"The representative system has already passed away while we are debating whether it will live or not. The hopes of the Socialist Party to grasp the supreme power in the State by the vote of the Parliamentary majority is futile, because such a majority would necessarily be determined the moment the election results were announced, and it is self-evident that the property-owning class would not calmly await the assembling of Parliament to see their property voted away as long as they were at the time *de facto* in control of the State and had the power to prevent such a vote by not allowing the newly-elected Parliament to assemble.

"For my own part, I doubt very much if in America the capitalist class will allow even a strong *minority* of Socialists to be elected to our moribund and effete House of Representatives."

But notwithstanding all the unanswerable arguments that "voting for the Revolution" is foolish, we not only see the Socialist Party leaders like Berger, Hillquit, Spargo, Hunter, and such like, going on with their same old twaddle, but we see the vast majority of the rank and file still follow them like so many sheep. Why they follow is an interesting psychological problem, the complete solution of which would be difficult.

It may be that they are so intent in their wish for the Co-operative Commonwealth that they accept the State, although they may have serious doubts about its complete suitability, as being the framework of the future society.

That State ownership and management have often proven to be miserable failures proves nothing to them, for they have in their vision a condition in which the State is controlled by the workers, and assume that all the failures of the present State will vanish with the rule of the capitalists. Hence their one object is to get control of the State, for without the State they have no framework upon which to build their Utopia. The State to them is something like those artificial combs the beekeepers put in the hives to help the bees get a start.

Bakunin, as early as 1867, showed by his destructive criticism the impossibility of the State being the organisation which would lead the workers into Socialism. He expressed this idea very clearly when he said that "the political organisation—the State—is but the legal consecration of the economic organisation." But while Bakunin urged the necessity of a world-wide organisation of capital, fifty years ago he could not point to any organisation of labour in those days that seemed to point to a practical realisation of his plan. Indeed, even to-day it admittedly takes a very robust imagination to see in the present labour unions the scaffolding on which we are to build the future society. True, the Syndicalist unions of France and Italy proclaim themselves to be the natural progenitors of the future State, yet it is obvious that they must undergo many evolutionary changes before they will be fitted for their self-imposed burden.

The trade unions of Great Britain, while in a certain way more powerful than the Labour organisations of any other country, as has been shown by their ability to engineer the late general strikes there, are still far from being revolutionary organisations. They struck to better existing conditions, with no thought of bringing on a revolution, either now or in the future; but as action always precedes thought, there can be no question but what the consciousness of their power which will have developed as the result of these strikes will tend ultimately to make them revolutionary.

It is in the United States, with its I.W.W., that we see organisation having the clearest conception and manifestation of an organisation conscious of both its destructive as well as of its constructive mission.

However, while Industrial Unionism is absolutely certain to be the form of the future Labour organisations, it may be as yet premature to form any definite conclusions as to whether this form of organisation is to be built up by forming new organisations outside the existing unions and conquering them by direct assault from without, or whether the correct tactics is to bore from within and capture them by transforming them. There are strong arguments for both plans. Probably the plan which may be adapted to the United States, where the old trade unions seem almost impenetrable to boring from within, will be found impracticable in Europe, where the unions seem to be more receptive to the ideas of Industrial Unionism. There is no principle involved in the matter: it is merely a question of what tactics are best adapted to get the workers to form Revolutionary Industrial Unions.

The Few

THERE are few who dare to climb
The mountain-tops
Where the great blue sky begins
And all space stops—
Where the winds of being blow
And wings lift free
Against audacious stars
That kiss infinity.

HARRY KEMP in Modern Society.

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The Day After To-Morrow in New York

By Arthur Bennington

The First Day.

AWAKENED by my wife remarking that it was late, and that Jennie, our black maid of all work, had not arrived. Jumped out of bed, ran upstairs and called boys, telling them they would be late for school if they didn't hurry. Wife got up, slipped dressing-gown on over night-gown and went down to get breakfast while I took my bath, shaved and dressed.

Went down to breakfast. Condensed milk in coffee. Beastly stuff. Wife said milk hadn't come or had been stolen. Paper hadn't been delivered, either. Boys ran off to school. Leaving the house to go to the office, met boys returning. No school, they said. Janitor of school told them teachers on strike.

"And there are no trolley-cars running," they cried.

Flashed over me that the general strike of which the papers had been talking for some weeks might really have come. Never believe what I see in papers, so had paid no attention to it. Walked to the corner of Greene Avenue. No cars in sight. Met Johnson and Perley, neighbours. "No cars," they said. "Me for the L," I said. "No L trains," they said.

Walked toward subway. Noticed all big shops closed. Other people walking. Lots of them. Saw Henshaw driving his car down Fulton Street toward bridge. He called to me: "Chauffeur on strike. Jump in." Jumped in. "H—— of a note!" he said; "everybody on strike." Speeded down Fulton Street. Big stores all the way down closed. Little stores open. Like Sunday, only quieter and more people in streets. "Subway tied up," said Henshaw as we passed Flatbush Avenue and saw crowds about Nevins Street station.

As car ran out on bridge no smoke in sight. Factories all closed. No tugs or barges moving in East River. No ferry-boats to be seen; all tied up in slips.

At Park Row newsboys hanging about without papers. Stopped Mose; asked him about papers. "No papers," he said. "Printers, pressmen, everybody on strike. They all went out at midnight, just as they said they would."

Henshaw put me down at office. Thanked him for ride. Went in. No elevators running. Walked upstairs. Office not yet open. Unlocked door; no clerks or office boys. Looked in mail box. No mail. Took up telephone and called up my house. No answer. Wiggled holder up and down. No response. Telephone girls must be on strike, too.

Opened desk; sat down. How do business? No business to do. Got up and looked out of window. Plenty of people in streets. Many automobiles. No trolley cars; no horses; no tufts of steam on office buildings.

Cold. Felt radiator. Cold, too. No steam.

Went into Jones's office next door. Jones stamping around alone. Mad. Swearing at everything. Said Stock Exchange open, but no ticker working; no telephones, no telegrams, no mail, no possibility of doing business. Told me he had driven own car in from Briarcliffe and left it in street.

Friends due from England. Walked up to White Star Line pier to meet them. Long wait on pier. Vessel docked slowly. No pilot—pilots also on strike. No one to tie her up—pier hands on strike. As she stopped in slip, rush of sailors, stokers, deck hands, stewards, pantrymen down gangplanks. They also on strike. Officers of ship, swearing, tied boat up. Sailors stood around watching and jeering. Passengers came ashore. Met my friends. Walked them over to Waldorf-Astoria. Had to leave baggage on pier; no expressmen to take it. No taxis at pier either.

At Waldorf crowds around desk, jabbering clerks half crazy. Waiters, cooks, chambermaids, all help, on strike. George Boldt making speech to guests. Telling them they would have to organise to wait on themselves. Ladies who could cook would be sent into kitchen. Men would act as waiters. Everybody have to do up own room, make beds, and so on. Some laughed, some cried, some swore.

Hungry. Friends also hungry. Went into dining-room. No bills of fare. Boldt going about laughing, saying: "Order simple and quickly cooked things. Go to the pantry and order them yourselves. And then wait on yourselves. And everybody clear away his own dishes."

Lots of fun. Like camping out. We ordered steaks and fried potatoes. Waited till volunteer women cooked them. Dishes cold and didn't match, but cooking good. Piled up dishes. Carried them back.

"Now wash them," said lady who somehow had taken charge in kitchen. Looked at us so nicely but at the same time so authoritatively that we obeyed her. Everybody else doing same thing. Lots of dishes smashed.

Walked downtown again. Getting tired. Broadway closed up like Sunday. At Park Row expected to find some afternoon paper had managed to get out. Not one in sight. Started across bridge. Seemed miles and miles. Sat down on bench and looked at city. Quiet as a Quaker cemetery. After rest walked on. Should I ever get home?

Getting dark as I went up Fulton Street. No electric lights in street or shop windows. Strangely dark. Quite dark when I reached home. Wife met me in tears. "Neither gas nor electric light," she said, "and we have only a few candles."

Told her my adventures. She had cooked dinner. Dinner all right. Ate it by candle light. Sent Jackie out to buy more candles. Came back and said all shops closed. Candles gave out by 9 o'clock. Went to bed in dark.

Second Day.

No milk again. Wife said first thing to do is to get milk. Condensed nearly used up and not good for baby. After breakfast started out. No milk at corner grocery. All condensed sold out, too. Same at other groceries. Tried delicatessen stores. No milk at any of them. Went to depôts of big dairies. All closed. Nobody there. Wagons standing deserted. Met other people on the same mission. Poor mothers, rich business men, boys, girls.

Went to drug store. Proprietor alone, putting up prescriptions. Soda fountain shut down. No milk. Advised me to buy some patent infant foods. Took home an armful of tin cans. Wife mad because I came back without milk. Said did not want patent foods for baby. Mad also because no bread. Baker hadn't delivered any. Bakery closed. She had wanted to buy barrel of flour at grocer's, but no way to get it home.

"Send boys with their express wagon," I said. She did. Boys got barrel of flour home all right.

"Baby must have milk," said wife. "I don't care what it costs. Go out and don't come back till you get some."

Walked over to livery stable and hired horse and buggy for afternoon. Drove over to Shantytown, where the goats roam the hills. Had no difficulty in finding Sicilian woman who would milk nanny goat and sell me a pint. Took the milk back home. Wife delighted.

"Go back and buy the goat," she said. "We will put it in the back yard and I will milk it."

I did. I tied the goat to the back of the buggy and brought it home with me. Called on family physician. Asked him if goat's milk good for baby. Assured me it was. Told me I was lucky. Tens of thousands of poor people with no milk for babies.

Third Day.

Wife said I have to get some meat and other things. Gave me long list to take to grocery store. Sent boys with me to carry stuff home. Butcher alone in store. No meat. All sold out. Not even a cold storage chicken left. Went to another butcher's. He's almost sold out. Few pieces of meat left. Would not sell them. Said he must keep them for regular customers. Offered him a dollar a pound. Nothing doing. Went to delicatessen store. Everything in the way of meat sold. At grocer's found proprietor alone. Nearly everything gone. No fresh vegetables. No fruit. Stock of canned goods running low. No butter. No cheese. No crackers.

Came back and told wife. She said she would go out and try.

Walked into town. Big crowd in City Hall Park. Proclamation by Mayor pasted on pillars of City Hall. Martial law proclaimed. Conference with leaders of strikers announced for evening. Committee of citizens to meet them and discuss ways and means of ending strike.

Met Walker, in his Seventh Regiment uniform, hurrying across City Hall Park. Asked him where he was going.

"National Guard ordered out by wireless from Albany," he replied. "I can operate a telegraph key, so I have been assigned to man a wire at the Postal Telegraph offices National

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Guard in charge of all telegraph offices and regular army soldiers getting mail moved. Governor got all amateur wireless operators at work with each other sending messages. National Guard of all States ordered out to man wires. Some wires already working. Goodbye."

Went into telegraph office. Instruments clicking as usual. Men in National Guard uniforms everywhere. Mail wagons rattle down Broadway. Soldiers driving. Pulled up at Post Office. Soldiers unloading it.

Ran into McCarthy, a printer, I used to know at college.

"How are you making it?" I asked him.

"We are all right," he replied, laughing. "How do you like it as far as it has gone?"

"We have not suffered yet," I said, "but the city is only a few days from starvation. This will mean civil war."

"Nonsense!" said McCarthy. "We labouring men will not starve. You know we have been preparing for this for months. We gave you fair warning, but you would not listen to us. We stocked our homes with provisions; we have food enough for a siege. Your capitalists may starve for aught we care. When you have seen your little ones suffer hunger then you will come to our terms. There will be no compromise. We mean just what we say—the turning over of all business to the men who make business possible. We have proved to you already that you can do no business without us. I give you to the end of the week. Before that you will give in. If not—well, we can stand it if you can. We shan't suffer; you will. Goodbye." McCarthy laughed and moved on.

I went home to dinner. Wife had been more successful than I in her hunt for provisions. True, she had failed to get meat, but she had some spaghetti with a sauce made of canned tomatoes. Cake, too. This made a substantial dinner.

"How about to-morrow?" I asked.

"We'll manage somehow," she answered, cheerily.

Fourth Day.

Awakened by ring at bell. Went down to find Johnson, my next-door neighbour. Asked me if we could lend them any oatmeal, cornmeal, bacon, eggs, bread, anything, as their larder was exhausted. Asked the wife. She said they could have some spaghetti or some flour, but these were the only things we could spare. They took the spaghetti.

Bulletin says majority of manufacturers agreed to turn over factories to labourers.

A Week Later.

All over. Nobody owns anything any more. Working men running all business. Newspapers out this morning, published by former employees. President and Congress resigned. Governors and Legislatures resigned. Army disbanded. National Guard disbanded. My clerks now my partners. Stock Exchange closed; no stocks worth one cent on dollar. Vessels of navy to be turned into merchant ships. Same thing going on all over world. They call it the millennium! We shall see.

Boiling Sir William in His Own Fat

FUNNY how the old question of soap-boiling versus pot-boiling boils up. It was first raised by the late lamented locomotive fireman E. C. Madden, who as Third Assistant Postmaster-General was ex-officio censor of the Socialist Press under Roosevelt.

Madden, some dozen years ago, it may be remembered, threw this magazine out of the second-class matter because, in his opinion, it was merely a production of my own ratiocination, and thus so distinctively individual that it was unavoidably and obviously a mere advertisement of the Wilshire brain. Madden argued that if Mr. Pears should attempt to enter as second-class matter Pears' Soap circular it would obviously be refused, since it was merely published to advertise Pears' Soap. "WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE," then the *Challenge*, was just as obviously an advertising medium for the selling of Mr. Wilshire's ideas. Soap and ideas were placed in the same category, and Madden did not propose to allow the Post Office to help either soap makers or idea makers.

It was not so very remarkable that a "Labour-politician" of the Madden stripe, with admittedly no qualification for his post except a supposed pull on the Labour vote, should have made such a ridiculous decision; but I must say that it should have been a matter of comment by the Press that Roosevelt, on my appeal, supported him. Madden might have been honest in his asininity, but Theodore—well, what was Theodore?

However, one advantage we have in America is that Theodore was not an hereditary monarch, otherwise he might have knighted Madden, and he would now be Sir Edward. The King in England has knighted Mr. Lever, whose qualifications for knighthood are entirely owing to his proficiency as a soap-boiler.

Sir William is the proprietor of Port Sunlight, a model village where he boils soap. The other day he made a speech to his hands there, in which he contrasted his own magnificent generosity with that of the niggardly methods of Robert Blatchford, editor of the *Clarion*. Sir William divides profits with his employees. Blatchford does not, but Blatchford makes the rather effective retort that the *Clarion* has no profits to divide. He continues:—

"Still, even if I advocated a distribution of the profits amongst the workmen in any business, I should not be as open to rebuke as Sir William Lever seems to believe.

"The economic positions of a soap boiler and an author are not quite identical. Sir William sells soap, an article nearly everybody wants: I sell ideas, which most people manage to get on very well without.

"There is another difference. Sir William does not make the soap he sells; but my ideas are produced by me. Sir William's employees make and pack and advertise and sell the soap; but the compositor and the printer do not make my books or articles; they only set and print them.

"These differences are trivial, but worth noting: Sir William sells alkaloids and fat. I sell brains. But the alkaloids and fat, much as it may surprise Sir William to hear it, do not come out of his head, whereas the brains I deal in do come out of my head.

"Sir William may reply that I should be more usefully employed in packing soap than in writing Socialism. I will not, at this time of day, labour the point."

I would suggest to Sir William that since the exigencies of American politics no longer require the services of Fireman Madden, he might find use for him at Port Sunlight firing the soap-boiler one day and writing anti-Blatchford essays the next.

In these days of the agitator, all soap-boilers should boil together.

"Solidarity" of London—Wilshire Joint Editor

AN arrangement has been made by which I am to assume the joint editorship of *Solidarity*, a monthly journal (yearly subscription 36 cents) of militant trade unionism, published at 10, Tudor Street, London, E.C.

I have been running rather an editorial lone hand for a number of years, and it has been obviously difficult to get the hearing in "WILSHIRE'S" that is afforded by *Solidarity*, which has the support of all the prominent British leaders of the Revolutionary Industrial Unionist or Syndicalist movement. Inasmuch as "WILSHIRE'S" is published at rather irregular intervals, I may send *Solidarity* for a while after April to all "WILSHIRE'S" regular yearly subscribers in order to square the account.

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How to Bring it About

THE battle of ideas regarding the relative merits from the revolutionary standpoint of the strike attached or unattached to the ballot rages throughout the earth wherever capital is in evidence. New Zealand, the country that Lloyd styled the "Country without Strikes," is now in the throes of a general strike the most complete affair having as its cause an industrial grievance that we have yet seen. No doubt the strike will be lost, but the lessons it will teach the workers of the necessity of better solidarity next time will not be lost.

In England the *Clarion* has been running a series of articles on "Constructive Socialism," by Fred. Henderson, the author of that excellent book "The Case for Socialism." While the *Clarion* announces that Henderson is presenting their own view of what's what, nevertheless they were broad-minded enough to allow me space for the following article in reply:—

"Boiled down, Henderson's theory is that the reason the political Socialist movement is languishing is, first, because its propaganda has been Reformism rather than Revolution; second, because we have not got proportional representation.

"His idea seems to be that all of us should be agreed that the ideal of our future society be industry owned and controlled by the present State, with proportional representation insuring a real democracy.

"Now inasmuch as the controversy of to-day is between the Syndicalist theory and the Socialist theory, and inasmuch as the fundamental difference between the two theories is based upon a vast difference in view as to the State being the heir to the land and industrial machinery, and inasmuch as Henderson nowhere mentions this divergence of opinion, manifestly he at no point meets the Syndicalist argument.

"In my judgment the settlement of the question as to what is the future organisation to own and control industry is of prime importance in any debate upon 'A Constructive Socialist Policy,' and it is a matter of deep regret with me that such an able controversialist as Henderson should have avoided it so completely. If the State is to own and control industry, then all he said in his series of interesting articles is of importance; if, on the other hand, the Revolutionary Industrial Labour Unions are to assume ownership and control, as the Syndicalists say, then practically all his argument is so much chaff before the wind.

"The organisation of the State being a fact, and the organisation of Revolutionary Industrial Unions beng largely a mere forecast of the future, it is but natural that Henderson, seeing but the one structure in plain sight, namely, the State, has plumped for it, as have all the State Socialists; but this is no conclusive reason for believing that the State is really to be the final recipient of the industrial plant of the community.

"However, if for the sake of argument we admit that it is to be, then I cannot see why Henderson should not see the logic of those Socialists who are anxious to see the State take over and nationalise all industry as soon as possible, no matter upon what terms. What difference does it make to the workers if the State does pay more for the railroads than they are worth? The workers only get a living wage at best, and if the railway capitalists make a good bargain they make it at the expense of the other capitalists and not of the workers. The nationalisation of the railways is a step toward State Socialism, no matter what the price paid. And certainly the present railway owners when they become mere recipients of income from Consols without any direct control over an industry like the railways are logically in less control of industry generally speaking, even if their income be greater than it was before nationalisation.

"Suppose all industry were nationalised and all the capitalist class was admittedly and obviously a mere idle class having no control or management of industry whatsoever by means of their direct ownership, but were merely passive recipients of interest on their Consols, would not a move to confiscate and terminate their income be more easily put through than a move to confiscate their capital prior to nationalisation?

"Moreover, it seems to me that if we admit the capture of the State carries with it control of capital, then Socialists, too, are quite right in taking a Greek view as to the capture of Troy by any means fair or foul. If the State is a gun, as Thompson suggests, then the thing to do is to get behind the business end of it. But the State is more like a faithful mastiff which no thief could steal by grabbing its collar.

"As for Socialists going out for revolutionary political propaganda and abjuring all Reformism, I would say that this advice is merely asking Socialists to return to the early days when they had no hope of electing anyone and when therefore Reformism was impossible anyway. Practical experience has shown us that all Socialists when elected are bound by the very terms of their environment to become Reformists. If they don't they are cast out to stay out.

"However, I do not propose to argue with Henderson upon any assumption that the State is to be the framework of the future industrial organisation, for I disagree with him at the start. The foregoing arguments which I have been indulging in are of really no interest to the Syndicalists, but they do form the basis of the family quarrel between the Social-Democrats. I was merely throwing a little fat into the other fellow's fire.

"But I must throw one more chunk of fine tallow before I desist. About new inventions reverting to the State, which Thompson proposed and which Henderson applauds: I would suggest that if there is any quasi-confiscation to be done that it hardly looks right for Socialists to suggest beginning on the poor man's brain rather than on the rich man's purse. What?

"But where I do disagree with Henderson is his statement that the *intent* of the political movement is the same *intent* as the industrial movement. Not at all. The aim of the political movement is avowedly and necessarily State ownership, while the aim of the industrial movement is just as necessarily—no matter whether consciously so or not—ownership by the organisation of the unions. Take Larkin, for instance. Larkin says that he is merely a State Socialist, and remains, theoretically, a believer in political action. All that may be, and it probably is Larkin's honest opinion of himself and his aims. But what does Murphy say about him? Does Murphy think Larkin a nice little Parliamentary lamb earnestly endeavouring to hand over his white fleece?

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No, Murphy says that Larkinism and Syndicalism are synonymous, and that Larkin is out for confiscation, out for the expropriation of the Dublin capitalists, not even proposing to wait for the Socialists to get their majority in Parliament, but to confiscate right now and here and now.

"I really think Murphy is a far better judge of the danger of Larkinism to capital than is Larkin himself. It is nothing to Murphy that Larkin announces no theory of confiscation by Revolutionary Unionism, no more than it would be a mystery to me what a masked man in the night with a revolver wanted when he called to me, 'Hands up.'

"The point is that Larkin with his Union has power and Murphy fears that power; true, it's only the power of an old flintlock where it might have been the power of a 15-inch gun if the British Labour leaders had not been poltroons; but nevertheless a flintlock is a better weapon in an emergency than that book of Common Prayer sometimes called the Ballot."

The Spirit of Syndicalism

IT is a commonplace that the capitalist leaders are much shrewder and much more far-seeing in organising than are the Labour leaders. And they are also much better posted as to the real meaning of any new development in the Labour movement. The capitalists are not handicapped with any Marxian theories in their due appreciation of facts.

The newspaper in London which is par excellence the leader in capitalist thought is unquestionably the *Times*, and therefore the following editorial of January 2, giving a summary of the present position of the Labour movement, is of special significance:—

"The year has begun with numerous stubborn conflicts between wage-earners and wage-payers carried over from the most disputatious period on record, and with no sign of a more peaceful temper, but rather the contrary. We say wage-earners and wage-payers, because the old division between Labour and Capital in these matters has become obsolete and a new classification is necessary to describe the opposing forces. This is one of the signs of the times. The strike of municipal workers at Leeds, the more recent one at Blackburn, other manifestations of the same spirit elsewhere, the threatened strike of postal servants—all these are outside the category of Capital v. Labour. So are the strikes of wage-earners employed by trade unions and co-operative societies. Incidentally they reveal the inadequacy of the diagnosis and the fallacy of the enormous mass of theory built upon it. The promise of collectivists that under their happy system the ballot-box will logically replace the strike is going the way of other predictions logically deduced from an inadequate field of observation. Marx's 'scientific' analysis of social economics has long been exploded by the march of events, and the amended versions are faring no better. Life is too large, varied and changeful to be amenable to any pocket formula.

"A great ferment is obviously at work and bringing change, but how it will shape is obscure. A welter of movements is going on within the world of Labour, and the only thing certain about them is that they will find some outlet. Perhaps the most salient feature of this turmoil at the moment is the general spirit of revolt, not only against employers of all kinds, but also against leaders and majorities, and Parliamentary or any kind of constitutional and orderly action. It is the spirit taught by Syndicalism. That the seed has been sown cannot be denied, and in face of the crop that has come up it is futile to pretend that none of it has taken root. Those who deny that there is any real Syndicalism in this country evidently do not understand its nature. What they mean is that there is no organised body of professed Syndicalists of any size or importance. But, at the same time, they deplore the tendency of trade unionists to revolt against their leaders, and do not see that this is a manifestation of the very thing they deny. Syndicalism means revolt, and one of its doctrines is that there ought to be no leaders. These and kindred ideas have undeniably found expression in action, and when England is compared with France in this connection the differences in national temperament must be taken into account. In France they have provided themselves with a philosophy, a set of theories and principles, and a terminology full of apt and telling phrases. That is their way. But very little comes of it in action. Here it is not the way with the people. They are not interested in philosophies or theories, nor are they satisfied with phrases. Their way is to act. All the Labour movements have originated in England, including Syndicalism, and most of them—especially those which have come to anything—without any talking. They have begun in an obscure way by the practical efforts of a few men. Thus it is quite in keeping with the national character that the spirit of revolt, which is the essence of Syndicalism, should manifest itself in sporadic action without any regular organisation or parade of principles."

It will be remarked that the *Times*, having no axe to grind by pretending that Syndicalism has nothing to do with the present ferment in the Labour camp, frankly admits that it has everything to do with it. What capitalists want is the truth of the situation, in order that they may know how best to meet it. The *Times* has done its best to enlighten them.

If our Socialist Press were as candid with its readers as the *Times*, the workers might give it better support. As it is, the orthodox Socialist organs are becoming so thoroughly discredited that they are everywhere having a death-struggle to survive.

The New Case of Moyer

THE abduction and attempted assassination of Moyer in Michigan is merely a preliminary hint of what many other Labour leaders may expect to happen to them when the Labour movement gets riper. There is no use of Labour looking to the protection of the law. The State is not an organisation to protect Labour, but to protect Capital. Labour's guard against capitalist assaults must rest in the strength of the Revolutionary Industrial Unions. If the mere threat of a strike by the British railwaymen forced the Government to liberate one of their members incarcerated in gaol, we may be sure that the same force could so much the more protect the workers from assassination.

The sooner Labour ceases to look to the State for redress of its grievances, and takes upon itself its own rightful burdens, the sooner will it emancipate itself. No doubt the thugs who assaulted Moyer will go scot free, but this is simply because Labour has not the power as yet to bring pressure for their punishment. If there were a threat of the whole State of Michigan being paralysed by a General Strike until the assassins were brought to justice, quite a time would elapse before any more such outrages would occur. When Labour is struck it must have the power to strike back.

The Ford Company's Philanthropy

I WILL not attempt to go into the motives of the Ford Company, of Detroit, in their offer to their workers. We may admit that from the purely material standpoint it is a good thing for the men; we may admit that if the company did not supervise them that the men would spend their extra money upon beer rather than books; but even so, we also must admit that any programme which involves a determination of how a worker must spend his wages to that extent enslaves him.

It is conceivable that a benevolent owner of a favourite chattel slave might spend considerably more upon

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him than he would have to pay in cash to a wage-earner for the same service, but no one would say that merely because the slave had better clothing, housing, food, and education than the wage-earner that he was therefore less of a slave. That the slave had more of the material comforts would not contradict the fact that he was still a slave. Payment in kind instead of cash is admittedly a method of controlling labour, and to the extent that the Ford Company assumes to control the expenditures of its employees, to that extent it enslaves them.

Social Revolution in South Africa

THE *Clarion*, of London, which has long been one of the particularly hopeful exponents of Parliamentarian Socialism, rather gives up the fight in a late number by admitting that "we will not have Socialism in our time or generation."

I can quite understand the logic which forces the politicals into this position. What with the slow growth of the vote, and the realisation that when you get the vote you are only that much nearer to a hopeless contest with the military of the State, it is no wonder they are discouraged. On the other hand, the very week the *Clarion* lets out its wail the London newspapers are declaring that the General Strike in South Africa is not a mere revolt of Labour, but actually a Revolution. There can be no question but that the capitalists realise far more keenly the revolutionary bearing of the Labour movement of the day than do the old-time political Socialists, who are quite off the Earth.

Adding Cole to the Social Conflagration

"The World of Labour." By G. D. H. Cole. (G. Bell and Sons.) 5s.

THIS is a book containing a vast amount of up-to-date information as to the present condition of the trade unions of England and elsewhere and well-thought-out proposals for strengthening their position through centralisation and amalgamation.

The author considers himself a revolutionist, and follows the plan of the "New Age" in proposing a kind of a hybrid social organisation half Syndicalist and half State Socialist. His plan is to have some sort of New Socialist Party which will elect a majority to Parliament and then proceed to nationalise industry. After all is nicely nationalised the Socialist State will generously hand over the industries to the Industrial Unions or Guilds. Beautiful plan, only trouble is that the author fails to show us how a New Socialist Party is going to get us any forwarder than the old Socialist Party. Nor does he show that the present State is in the least adapted to be the framework upon which to hang the industrial trophies captured by the hosts of Labour armed with that machine gun the ballot.

It seems to me that much of what I said in the following letter, published in the "New Age," will apply as a fair criticism to Mr. Cole's proposals.

"We do not accept Syndicalism because it argues for the possession by every Union of its own land and machinery. . . . We would vest all assets in the State."—From Open Letter by the "New Age" to Trades Union Congress.

I TAKE EXCEPTION to the inference that Syndicalism argues for the possession of its own land and machinery by the Unions. If you mean by the remark that such is the wish and intent of the Syndicalist writers, I would say that practically every one of them has specifically denied that construction of the Syndicalist theory. If you mean that such is the necessary outcome of Syndicalist principles, even though it be undesired and denied by the Syndicalists, I would say that here, too, I think you are wrong.

"Possession of land and machinery" certainly connotates possession for the purpose of extraction of rent for the benefit of the possessors. If certain Unions through this "possession" get rent then certain other Unions must pay that rent, for under a Syndicalist régime there would be no Capitalists to pay, and rent does not come out of thin air. It stands to reason that no revolutionary labour movement could possibly expect to gain the workers to its standard with a programme of one half of the workers to be tribute payers to the other half.

There are many trades which do not involve the use of land and machinery, and therefore upon such a programme the unfortunates in such trades would be simply freeing themselves from the Capitalists to enslave themselves to the workers using land and machinery. That would be too absurd.

On the other hand, your proposition is to "vest" the ownership of land and machinery in the "Gild" State. Now, vesting ownership is certainly putting the State into position of being the recipient of rent by virtue of the "vesting." If a man is the vested owner of land he is a landlord, or I don't know the meaning of words. If the State, then, takes rent it necessarily must pay it out as wages, and therefore you have not abolished the wage-system, which is your aim, as I understand it.

Furthermore, the very term "vested ownership" implies economic power, and if the State is to have this power then the Labour Party are quite right in striving to obtain political power in order to gain control of the "Gild" State. By your plan, in fact, there is no other way of gaining such control. You deny it to the Unions and place it in the State. What controls the State? The Unions? If so, then your phrase "vesting ownership in the State" should be modified by "subject to the control of the Unions." And if you admit this you make "vested ownership" a misnomer.

If you say the State is to be controlled by the electors then you are denying that axiom, "economic power precedes and dominates political power."

It seems to me that the words "ownership," "possession," "vesting," and such like, are all implications of compulsion and force being normal to the future State, whereas I think the voluntary principle will be the prevailing note.

If the railway men are to "own" the railways they are admittedly in position to coerce the community, and if, on the other hand, the State is to have "vested" rights in the railways, then the State is in position to coerce the workers to the extent the "vesting" is valid.

I take it that in the ideal society there will be neither ownership by Unions nor by the State, but that property will be considered as for use by the community with no thought as to who "owns" it.

I really can't see that it makes any difference anyway. To me it is merely a question of words. Suppose we have society organised, if you please, under the Gild Socialist System.

The railways "vest" in the State. The railway men, for some reason or other, have a grievance which cannot be settled except by the Railway Union going on strike and forcing the Gild State to allow the Union better terms. What use would it be for the Gild State to say to the Union, "Fie, fie, you naughty, naughty Union, do you not know that the railways are 'vested' in me and not in you?"

Do you think the Union would be the least influenced by the fact that the State had been allowed to satisfy its State pride by calling the railways its own?

On the other hand, suppose that the Union had been allowed to call the railways its own, do you think that the rest of the community would reconcile themselves with any better grace to being held up by the railway men by reflecting that the railways "belonged to the Unions"?

[*Note: The "New Age" replied that my statement of their case was a "wild and silly caricature."—G. W.*]

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Notes on Books of Interest

"The Tour of a Socialist Around the World." By W. W. Moodie. (A. C. Fifield.) 5s. net.

IT is strange how two people may see the same thing and yet arrive at totally divergent results. If there is one thing which has always impressed me in my travels in Europe it is the cleanliness of the outskirts of towns as compared with America. Yet I find the author of this interesting book remarking. "I have not seen so far those hideous backyards filled with rubbish one sees so often in entering a town by rail in the old world."

However, this was on his entry into the United States from Montreal to Boston. No doubt he changed his mind before he reached Denver. As a whole the book is a very acute summary of impressions from a Socialist viewpoint, and as so few Socialists have made the world trip the book is well worth reading.

It's rather funny that though he views with the usual disgust the Representatives at Washington making their windy speeches, with no one listening except the stenographer and the near-by opened-mouthed spittoon, yet, strange to say, in one of his dreams of the future he has arranged to have the debates of Congress conveyed to all homes by a perfected long-distance telephone. If there is one thing all Syndicalists idealise in their future it is the extinction of Parliamentarian debates. Mr. Moodie evidently has a different view of what constitute the delights of life. However, he really did not mean it, and this is not a fair sample brick of his house.

"The Fraud of Feminism." By Belfort Bax. (Grant Richards, Ltd.) 2s. 6d.

BAX, the redoubtable philosopher of the British Socialists, essays to prove that women in their effort to obtain the franchise have over-emphasised what they suffer by not having the vote as well as what they will gain by getting it, and Bax has a comparatively easy task. But he will convince no feminists by his arguments, for they are too eager in their crusade for any mere man to impress them, nor will he bolster up any Antis in their views, for they are too indifferent to read up the question. An Anti is an Anti from convention, not reason.

That the women of England are going to get the vote no one can question; it is merely a question of time. But they are going to get it not as a matter of justice, but rather because the [illegible] realising that in giving the vote they are giving something which is equally no loss to men nor gain to the women. It's a bauble not worth enduring even the slightest nuisance by the withholding thereof, let alone having your oratory interrupted.

As Bax says, the argument that women's wages would be raised by the vote is absurd. Wages are raised by trade union organisation, and, as Bax points out, this was effective in England years before the men had the franchise. He might also have pointed out that the vote has not protected the men from a fall in real wages during the past ten years, notwithstanding the election of 40 Labour members to Parliament.

As for making women's wages equal to men by law, the effect will be, as has been recently exemplified in the New York schools, the substitution of men for women to the extent that they are regarded as more efficient. There may be an argument as to whether men are really better than women, but there is no argument that the employer will take men for choice at equal pay.

The woman movement is good to the extent that it indicates the new spirit of revolt, and it is harmful to the extent that it tends to throw the social conflict into the field of sex and politics instead of industry.

"Social Forces in American History." By A. M. Simons. (Macmillan Co., New York.)

THIS book, by a well-known American Socialist, is a [illegible] history of the economic development of the United States, showing the resultant effects upon social and political evolution.

When one reads it, he sees the reasons for many events in American history which before that were often but simply unrelated facts. He is particularly illuminating in his history of the giving of the franchise to the blacks after the Civil War, and very clear in exposing the fallacy that the mere right to vote gives any power unless it is coupled with the power to put into effect what the voter wants. If Mr. Simons were as logical in his reasoning about the white voter as he is about the black one, his last chapter might be more convincing. He says that "Labour is fighting for political power, and will use that power to obtain control of the instruments instrumental to the lives of the workers."

I should say that he has rather put the cart before the horse, for the programme is, in my opinion, for Labour to first get control of the instruments by the power of its economic organisations, and then the control of the political power will follow as a natural corollary.

"Men and Rails." By Rowland Kenney. (T. Fisher Unwin.) 5s. net.

CONDITIONS for railwaymen in America are none too good, even though the engineers do get $200 per month, for this amount is obviously paid in order to establish an aristocracy faithful to the owners as against the other employees. But in England there is not even the leaven of such a price of manhood. There are 100,000 railwaymen who actually get less than $5 per week for risking their lives. About 500 of the total of 600,000 are killed every year, and almost 30,000 are injured, hence it can be imagined that the railwaymen are none too well satisfied with their lot. In August, 1911, they went on a general strike, which terrified England more than any event that has happened since the Napoleonic scare a hundred years ago. The strike, says Mr. Kenney, gave the men something like $7,500,000 a year increased wages, and there is no doubt if the men had had good generalship they would have done much better.

Mr. Kenney has written a valuable book, but it is a pity he is so much up in the air as to the remedy. He admits that nationalisation promises nothing to the workers, nevertheless nationalisation is the only remedy he offers, although he does insist that after nationalisation the State should kindly hand over the railways to the Railwaymen's Guild. He, too, like Mr. G. D. H. Cole, has been bitten with the "New Age" programme, and both authors announce very sententiously they are no Syndicalists. They don't seem to realise that the railway workers will never get any substantial benefits until they are well organised, and when they are well organised it's a matter of indifference to them whether the capitalist or the capitalist State may "own" the railways, for they will be strong enough to get their due from one "owner" just as well as from another. When the highwayman demands your watch at the muzzle of his pistol he is not to be put off by your telling him that the watch you carry is a borrowed one.

"The Little Wicket Gate." By Algernon Petworth.

IN the old days, when we thought that the method of bringing in the ideal State was converting the middle classes by painting the future, such sketches as that of Mr. Petworth seemed to have a utilitarian view which no longer obtains. There is not much novel in this last Utopia, nothing much that is not found in either Plato, More, Bellamy, or Morris. It's the old idea of a happy State when wealth is held in common and three and a half hours' work from each is quite sufficient. The author, however, is quite orthodox, not to say conventional, in his views, for the labour is to be compulsory, if compulsion is found necessary, and the marriages are "vows for life." The scientific necessity, not to mention moral and æsthetic necessity, of a purely voluntary association for the future does not seem to appeal to him.

The Revolutionary Almanac for 1914. Edited by Hippolyte Havel. (Published by The Rabelais Press, 27 New Bowery, New York.) 50 cents.

THIS is a sumptuous affair of coated paper and half-tone illustrations, with articles by the great living revolutionaries upon their predecessors who have passed away. That by Kropotkin on Bakunin is quite worth the price asked for the whole book. It seems too bad that so much money should have been invested in the form of an evanescent almanac. In a few months it will be unsaleable. It would have been quite as good as a memoir of the dead as an almanac, and then would have been a good seller for years to come. However, who would now say the box of precious ointment was an extravagance?

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GAYLORD WILSHIRE, Editor

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Logan Wilshire and His Poems

WHILE the education of youth must largely be a matter of contact with the actual facts of the day rather than with the reading of books on the past and therefore it is really a matter more or less beyond the power of control of parents, nevertheless to a certain extent some influence, even though it be but a negative one, may be exercised. If we can only prevent our children from having their brains stunted by too close a contact with unthinking minds and give them a chance for a free and untrammeled development we will have done much. Of course even this is difficult for ordinarily the child from infancy is almost bound to be more or less associated with conventional blockheads and then finally to have his native originality crushed out of him by modern methods of education. For most parents financial conditions usually allow but one channel for the education of the child, the public school. There is no other choice. On the other hand while the well to do parents may have the means to give their children a free environment they usually fail to see its importance, with the result that if anything the mind of the child of the rich is often even more stunted than the child of poor.

It is not what a child knows which counts, but what it thinks. There is a vast difference between the two. When it comes to real thinking the average farm hand often has a better mind than the ordinary college professor. It is nothing to have knowledge, the main thing is to know how to use your knowledge. A savage with a bow and arrow that he can use is a better soldier than a civilized man with a machine gun that he does not understand and can't use.

I take it that the main thing in the education of a child is to give its mind a chance to expand in a favorable environment. Treat the child as you would a rose bush. If the plant is of the right stock and has good soil and sufficient water and if the ground is well cultivated and if it is not interfered with by other plans or by noxious insects the chances are it will bear good roses. If it doesn't then you can do nothing more for it. You can't scent it with an artificial odor nor dye its petals.

You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, but on the other hand you can make a pretty good imitation of a sow's ear out of a silk purse if you mix in enough mud. However, with all one's theories about education, results are very uncertain. We are much more certain of what is the wrong way to bring up a child than we are of the right way.

My own child, a boy of eight, is a good instance of how a child may develop who has been totally neglected as to conventional education. He neither reads nor writes, hardly knows his letters, and yet I think those who know him personally will say that in the matter of conversation he is much more intelligent than most boys who have had the conventional schooling. And certainly his literary product, a few samples of which I will give later on, indicates a very high degree of originality. It is impossible, absurd in fact, to say that it is all due to the freedom of his early environment that he has his poetic conceptions. But it is certain that if he had had a conventional training these would have been crushed out of him. One superlative advantage he has had from birth has been the close care of a loving, intelligent mother; he has never had a nurse. For a child he has traveled a great deal. When a year old he was taken in an automobile from New York to Maine. The next year or so he was taken with us to the Bishop Creek Mine at the top of the Sierras in California and then later on he went down with us to South America and had a long trip up the tropical rivers and over dangerous waterfalls much like those which Roosevelt has recently so glamoured with terrors. We made it a point that he should make friends and play with the Indian children. Since then he has had the advantage of spending a summer in Italy and France and visiting the art galleries. He is now living with his mother in England on Hampstead Heath and I hope both will soon be with me in California. I go into these more or less tedious details for they will be of interest to those making a study of child psychology. His first introduction to the reading public occurred through the publication in the Poetry Review edited by Stephen Phillips of last April of the following article by Mr. G. C. Ashton Jonson:

THE "BEAUTIFUL WORDS" OF LOGAN WILSHIRE

PROVERBIAL wisdom teaches us that poets are born not made. This truthful saying comes to one's mind with new meaning, when one reads what little Logan Wilshire, a boy of seven years old,

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calls his "Beautiful Words," words dictated to, and taken down by his mother with the most scrupulous exactitude, when he was between the ages of five and seven—words that take the form of prose poems, that are, except for the absence of form and metre, poetry of a high order. The problems of child psychology opened up by the writings of this little boy are so numerous, that they might well form the subject of discussion in a long volume by one or more experts, and these few words in no way pretend to deal adequately with the subject, but are intended only to serve as an introduction to the readers of The *Poetry Review* of work which is of enthralling interest from many points of view. The ideas, thoughts and innate knowledge displayed in Logan Wilshire's work are as much beyond the ordinary mental capacity of a child as were the achievements of Mozart, in composing and playing fugues at the age of four. Logan says things which carry our minds back to Wordsworth's famous ode:

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting
And cometh from afar,
Not in entire forgetfulness
And not in utter nakedness
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home:
Heaven lies about us in our infancy."

I have seen a record of what Logan said early one morning to his mother, but it would be almost sacrilege to print so wonderful and intimate a communication. The child has never been told of the theory of re-incarnation, and had never heard any conversation on such lines, and yet he said, "And this form I have now is seventeen hundred years old." He speaks of "My Real Self, my Soul," not "My Spirit."

He has, in accordance with modern theories of education, not yet been taught to read or write. His prose poems are dictated to his mother when the inspiration comes to him. "Mother," he will exclaim, "I want to say beautiful words to you," and then with his eyes looking into the far away, in a level measured tone, he will dictate such a prose poem as

THE CRYSTAL

"The Crystal lay between Heaven and Earth, and the rainbow filled it with light. Then the Sun and the Moon and the Stars and the Universes one by one made it gifts of their substances.

So the Crystal had the glow of the ruby and the glitter of the diamond, and all colors and powers, and with wings of gold it roamed through the sky.

When the Mortals on Earth saw it, they covered their eyes from its dazzling light. They felt faint and staggered. But the Crystal said, 'You shall be able to see my light and you shall be able to see my glory.'

So the Crystal went down to earth and lived with Mortals and by taking a peep now and then, the Mortals got so they could look at the Crystal and see the glory, and that was how the World was made good.

The crystal has always had a great attraction for Mystics. Peter Sterry, fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, published in 1683, "The Rise, Race and Royalty of the Kingdom of God in the Soul of Man," in which he speaks of the Adamah, or dust of the ground, out of which Adam was created. "It signifieth in its root a sparkling lutre and ruddiness like that of the best Rubies, a sweet and glorious light shining through a dark shade like a rosy morning—The Light of the Godhead sparkling in a Shadow of Himself—Thus man is a living Crystal in which the entire form of all the world, visible and invisible, is seen transparently in the whole Glass."

We all know how children love to invent marvelous romances and adventures, but the child must be a poet who can have "a Journey" like Logan Wilshire's.

"Once, as I was journeying in my winged chariot, I saw a great Crystal. I thought what a beautiful gift it would make for a friend, so I waved my magic wand and turned it into a crystal palace. Then the dragon that guarded the crystal came out and objected, so I gave him another crystal. With my fairy bow and arrow and quiver I rode through the air on beautiful bird tracks." [Isn't that delicious! What other roads are there in the air but "beautiful bird tracks."] "I roamed the high mountains where there was sweet fruit, calm air and calm delights. So on I went to good fairy-land. Oh how beautiful it was! But as I looked, I saw the bad fairies were warring with the good ones. Then I began sending love darts which struck the bad fairies, and love gushed into them and the darts came back into my quiver. But one bad fairy threw a javelin into my side. I pulled it out, it hurt like a gad-fly. Then I went up in my winged chariot beyond range of the javelins and with the spring of the light of my heart made violent dashes with my love darts dipped in treacle and made the bad fairies good. When I saw that, I drank shells of nectar." [Out of what else can one drink nectar but shells! and doesn't the childlike love of treacle flutter deliciously across the beautiful poetry of the ideas and description.]

A word about the personality of the author of these "Beautiful Words."

There is nothing abnormal or priggish about him: he is just a dear beautiful little human boy, with a genius for dancing, and a spontaneous gift of graceful gesture and a wonderful turn for mechanics. His favorite toys are models of aeroplanes, and modern engineering terms occur even in his prose poems, as when he visited Olympus and found Jove trying "to crank up his thunderbolt machine." That he is a genius there can be no doubt, but in what direction his genius will develop it is too early to say. Will Will the "clouds of glory" be dissipated? Will he be a great writer or poet or an inventor? [Already stabilizing devices for aeroplanes absorb a good deal of his thoughts.]

Evidently he has a definite conception of genius. Genius is to him sometimes a Goddess, sometimes a God, as in this lovely prose poem called:

A DREAM

"The God of Dreams came to me last night and I had a dream of the World when the World was a child. And in this Child World there were two Gods; the God of Nature and the God Genius.

"The God of Nature provided all the materials, and the God Genius took them and made them into wonderful things.

"Nature gave Genius a pair of leaves and Genius made them into wings—wings for the birds, wings for the butterflies, wings for all the things that fly. Such a beautiful dream! Such a wonderful World! the World when it was a Child."

The child has a penetrating sense of beauty. He was taken recently to an artist's studio and on returning wrote the artist a letter.

"But you—when you get a good picture ready, must be glad and say to yourself, 'It is a good thing to be an artist.' Besides, I think you could do anything in the love of beauty. And to get your work in love and beauty is the only thing the artist wants. I never had a feeling to learn artistry before, but now! At my first beautiful glimpse of your studio my heart filled with delight. How beautiful the studio, how beautiful the paintings, the palette and the tubes of paint like jewels. People who hate the arts are people who do not know the wisdom of the world. I think famous artists ought to have thrones of gold and castles in the sea."

A book of tales from the Grecian mythology had been read to him, and immediately, like another Keats, the child's imagination drank of the classic "fountain of immortal drink, pouring unto us from the heaven's brink." His childish fancy plays deliciously with Jove, Mars, Vulcan, Cupid, Venus, and Minerva and all the hierarchy of Olympus, but with what exquisite insight does he gauge the uselessness of wisdom without love, in

A MESSAGE TO JOVE

"First I saw Minerva on her throne, and I told her that in Fairy-land there was a Judge that was wiser than she. She asked me how that could be, because for ages and ages she had got wisdom, and no one had so much. But I said, 'He is wiser in Love, and his heart is bigger.'

"Then I saw Minerva as a low beast in a cavern, and I said, 'Why have you taken this form?' And she said, 'Because I cannot die, which I would do if I were not immortal. I will be a low beast if I cannot be the Goddess of Wisdom.'

" 'Now Minerva,' I said, 'don't be discouraged. Take your courage and come

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with me. I am the God of Plans and I have a plan for you.' So I went and she followed me to the Crystal Island where there were many caves. I took her to one cave full of hearts, and I fitted heart after heart over hers until her heart was bigger than the Fairy Judge's. Then I took her to a cave in which there was a great Crystal Ball which would give her the magic of using her love with her wisdom. That made her wiser than the Judge. Then we went back to Mount Olympus with Minerva in her own form and we placed the Crystal in front of her throne.

"And, Jove, it is a beautiful Crystal, and if you go out to see Minerva you will find it as I have said. And, Jove, my greatest regards to you and I hope you will get over your ways, because I want to invite you to my Castle when you have stopped your rumbling and thunder and lightning."

Here is a description of a dance which would make a lovely episode in a ballet. ("A little cruelty from Mars, but only towards fully armed people!" No need to tell this child of the folly and cruelty and false glory of war.)

A DANCE

"I will tell you a dance of a little child who collects gifts from the Gods before he goes to live on Earth.

"The little child comes from Mars, who gives him a little cruelty, not cruelty towards animals, because they have no spears, but only towards fully armed people.

"He then goes to Cupid, who gives him love, and to Venus, who gives him a certain amount of beauty. Then to Bacchus, who gives him the joy of life, and dancing, and taste.

"Then to Minerva, who gives him of her wisdom, and last of all he goes to Genius, the highest God of all, who gives him Wisdom out of everything, which is feeling or soul, and who taught him such things as the dragons underneath the earth raving about the great men who have died."

There is delicious humor, also in Logan Wilshire's fancy, mixed with beautiful ideas as in

MAGIC

"Wouldn't it be wonderful if we had such magic that cartridges wouldn't explode, that swords wouldn't draw out of their scabbards, that cannons wouldn't let the balls go out and soldiers couldn't pull triggers?

"Then the little bullets would run around and titter, the swords would jig and smile and smile, the cannon balls would dance and laugh, the uniforms would run out of the tents, so the soldiers couldn't get them, the tents would fall down, and out of the sky would come a streak of lightning and smoke would come over.

"Then the clouds would open, showing the King of the Fairies, and his good Fairies rushing down to earth, with a message to the soldiers not to kill each other any more.

" 'I will change you into good fairies,' the King would say, 'so there will never be any more killing on earth, and you will learn how to save people's lives instead of taking them. I will change all your weapons into love. That will be wise and sensible.'

" 'All right,' the soldiers would say."

In "A letter to Cupid," he says in a delightfully chatty strain, "I can't say that Mars is what you would call a good man. I like him in a way, but he's not fine in a nice way. He is good to give you powerful darts which you can soon get the poison out and use for love."

In another prose poem we read, "All the Gods were excited when they heard about me getting the better of Mars. Jove sent me a letter on sheets of silver with the message made of every kind of precious stone. The sheets had gold rimmings and were changeable colors and were fastened together by a huge diamond and ruby. Among all the gifts from the different Gods was one from Diana who sent me a bone of Hercules shaped like a cup from which I could drink strength and goodness and health, and from Bacchus a golden case filled with little pots of wine that had no drunkenness in it."

There is one tale of Perseus and the Water Dragon in which we read that "Perseus stood on his rock very quiet and thoughtful, looking at the sea. He was very solemn, because he had no ladies to rescue."

In another called "The Rock Dragon," "Perseus was sitting on his rock smoking his pipe and talking to a gentleman who was a Knight. Presently he heard a shriek, and said, 'That sounds like a rock dragon, I hope it won't take my wife.' "

Recently the child seems to be striving towards a more definite poetical form as in this couplet.

THE SUNSET

The Sun it says good-bye to its little baby planets,
And then it softly lullabyes itself into soft clouds.

Or this blank verse poem on:

THE SOLDIER

"Ah! every soldier has his courage,
And his courage is his dauntless heart
Although he marches over ground of life
Death has got its claws on him.
Then to their beloved ones the few come back
And nevermore they roam away to army
And Death he dies for want of death."

The last line has a ring of Shakespeare about it, "And Death once dead, there's no more dying then."

One delightful little story about an imaginary elemental that he calls a "Regentspank" reads curiously as if it had really occurred, just as he tells it.

THE REGENTSPANK

"I saw a Regentspank when I was a little baby. It was once when you left me alone in my crib: you sometimes did leave me alone didn't you? and he flew right over my crib and said 'What are you?' and I said, 'I, Why I am a BABY,' and he said 'What is a BABY,' and I just looked at him, thinking he would know that I was one. 'What is a BABY,' he pleaded again. Then I said, 'I AM A BABY' "just like that), and then he knew. And that was the way he learned the word."

And Logan Wilshire has that touch of divine love and compassion that is the inheritance of all great poets.

Once when he had been saying something extraordinarily deep to a lady, she asked him: "When did you ever hear such things? have you ever heard your mother talk of them?" "No," said the child, "I just know them. I know them here." He laid his hand upon his breast. " I know everything here," he repeated. "That is why I am so sad sometimes, when I think of the little children who suffer, who burn up or get drowned."

The development of such a child will be of extraordinary interest to all lovers of poetry, since his work, apart from its psychological interest, has an intrinsic poetic value and inherent charm.

The publication of Mr. Jonson's aroused a surprising amount of interest. Not only did the British papers give copious extracts from his "poetry," but on the continent papers of all tongues, Hungarian, German, French, and Italian gave extended accounts. Mrs. Mollie Price-Cook, director of the largest and best known Montesorri school in Los Angeles, also had a very appreciative article in *The Dawn* of Santa Barbara. She says "surely our vision must be quickened when contemplating the beautiful thoughts and compositions of Logan Wilshire." I quote from her:

"One day Logan and his mother were discussing the hatching of the chicken from the egg. Of his own accord he broached the question of the cat and kittens. He was much impressed with the beauty of the kittens' birth.

"Isn't it beautiful," he said, "that the mother cat gives up her blood and her flesh for her little ones? Of course she loves them." Then, suddenly turning, he exclaimed: "Why, mother, I must have come out of you!" (He was overwhelmed with the beauty of her giving up her life to him.) "Don't you remember, mother, when I was lying within you? You must remember! I remember! I remember feeling your heart beat! And then don't you remember, mother, when I moved? You must have loved me then! It was when I first became conscious and knew that I was to emerge into the great world and become part of it—and I danced for joy! Oh mother, you must have loved me! You must remember that."

This curious, penetrating, near-mystic delving into the depths of life must make us feel the latent possibiiities within the human brain and soul."

Current Opinion for July re-

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fers to what it quotes from him as "beautiful and naive prose-poems."

We have often been asked what is our future program for Logan. We have but one idea and that is to do all we can to allow him a free development, free from superstitions of all kinds, free from intellectual coercion. At present we are simply sending him to a school where he is taught nothing but Russian ballet dancing. We feel that the right way to educate a child's mind is through his body rather than through his brain and that the rythmic control of the body which a child gets through Russian dancing affords an ideal way of carrying out our theories.

Especially will he never be taught "morality"; no more need of that for a child than to teach his heart to beat.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN LOS ANGELES

WHAT is interesting in the development of the Labor Movement in Los Angeles is its evolution, so to speak, from a deductive philosophy to an inductive one. Something over twenty-five years ago when I entered into what we then called the Labor Movement in Los Angeles, it was really not a labor movement at all but merely a collection of more or less inspired cranks all having new and various plans for the redemption of mankind largely based upon what we would do when we got the Referendum and the Initiative, or rather the Imperative Mandate, for that was what we called the Initiative in those prehistoric days.

We started a paper, the California Nationalist, we called a Convention in San Francisco and had a famous split over the academic question whether or no we would ever, under any circumstances, protect property at the expense of human life.

Job Harriman and a strong minority bolted and went off on the side of property and the rest of us stood staunch for human life, although how we were going to sustain life without property, property being defined as the Earth, I never could quite understand. But anyway we voted against Job and so he took up his toys and dusted out of the Convention hall. We thought that split meant the setting back of the Revolution at least 100 years, and may be it did, for it's not in sight yet after twenty-six years. In 1890 I was nominated Socialist candidate for Congress from Los Angeles. If there was another Socialist candidate in the whole of America in that election I did not know it—don't yet, in fact.

I conducted the well-known whirlwind variety of Socialist campaign, would go into a town unannounced and think I had a wonderful meeting if six men and a dog came to the street corner while I expounded the Inevitability of the Trust and the Futility of Anti-Trust laws. Even after twenty-five years my old speeches are very up to date compared with Teddy's. I landed about 1000 votes, all being "scratches," for we had no method then of getting our names printed on the ballot. The day after election I left for England, although I tarried en route long enough in New York to go through a campaign there in 1891 with Daniel DeLeon, he being the Socialist nominee for Governor and I for Attorney General. The ticket polled about 15,000 votes in the whole state.

In 1896 I returned to Los Angeles and in 1900 I was again the Socialist candidate for Congress and polled that time about 3500 votes. After the election I repeated my retreat to London via New York, but this time it took me fourteen years to finish my round trip back to California. What strikes me now in Los Angeles is the much closer contact there is between theory and practice than in the old day. It used to be all theory and now it seems to be tending to all practice.

We used to discuss Marx and Pellamy, now we cheer MacNamara and Ford and Suhr. Then we took up collections for the dissemination of literature, while at the meeting I attended last week in Los Angeles a collection was taken up to send fifty I. W. W. men to Wheatland to organize the hop-pickers, to disseminate men instead of literature as it were. In the old days we decided upon what kind of a Utopia we were going to have and then laid out an ambitious program to use the "power" of the ballot to "capture" the State. We were then to inaugurate Heaven on Earth under the direction of our elected ones whom we were to control by "signed resignations held by the Party."

Nowadays we are setting out to organize labor on industrial lines with a revolutionary aim and let the finality come out in the wash. We have switched from the deductive to the inductive or to the pragmatic, as Walling might say.

Its all interesting and I must say I like the red-blooded men who seem to be the leaders here of the New Movement, but I must confess there seemed more fun in the thing for me personally as a middle-class participant and candidate in the old days than there is now in being merely a rooter on the bleachers. However, it is better to root for what you can get than to vote for what you can't, what?

President Wilson's theory that the trouble with business is merely psychological is pathetic but on the other hand, the theory of the financiers that the trouble lies with Wilson and his anti-trust activity is equally unthinking. Business cannot improve until we can find a market for our goods. The natural channel for distribution to the workers being blocked by low wages, our only hope for "prosperity" lies in stirring up a big war—say between Germany and Austria—which unquestionably would give considerable relief to the non-participating nations.

War is one of the relics of barbarism, but nevertheless it is an absolute necessity for the perpetuation of the Capitalist System.

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WILSHIRE'S

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WAR: ITS CAUSE AND CURE

THE present war was an inevitability. It was merely a question of time. Germany has been growing and growing in economic power for forty years or more, ever since Sedan. Her development began after the other nations had appropriated most of the earth's surface, and it was but natural and inevitable that she should feel she was entitled to a more equitable share. The mere matter of her not having grown up enough to have sat at the table when the pie was first cut should not constitute a permanent bar to her "having a place in the sun."

Like the Syndicalists who have no faith in "voting," she very sensibly arrived at the conclusion long ago that "diplomacy" would never give her any such place and that "force" was the only way. The natural corollary was to build up a war machine. The machine was built, and she has long been waiting for a good opportunity to use it. Last summer seemed opportune. She thought Russia, weakened by the Japanese war, and England, with her small standing army, would be unable to give France much help, so, making an excuse of the Servian situation, the Kaiser attacked France. Paris was to be taken in three weeks, and then Russia was to be battered up in the following two months. France was to sue for peace, which would be graciously granted her upon the payment of a crushing indemnity and the ceding of enough of her coast line along the English channel to include Calais, from which port England would be invaded and the British Empire crumpled up. Canada would thus naturally fall to Germany, and the next step in the evolution of the German Empire would no doubt have been the annexation of the United States, and other such trifles.

With France, Japan, Russia and England disposed of, the United States would be in no position to resist Germany.

However, all this dream of world domination has been shattered. The valorous resistance of the Belgians at Liege gave the British time to land an expeditionary force to help the French resist the German attack on Paris. The unexpected improved quality of the Russian army has forced the Kaiser to divert half his army to his eastern frontier. Instead of Germany conquering Europe, it now looks as if German defeat were inevitable. The fight is by no means over, however, and there will be many a good man made into a corpse before Armageddon is decided.

When the war first broke out last summer, the attitude of the ordinary American was to take no sides, but calmly await the profits which were thought would surely begin soon to flow to America. However, as the war continued and the expected profits showed no apparent inclination to materialize, and, in fact, on the contrary, immense losses were encountered by producers of cotton and copper and other commodities which could find no market, the American began to take more interest in the genesis of an affair which did him so much ill. When a man is well he doesn't look about for the cause of his good health with anything like the interest he displays in looking after the cause of his ill health when he is not well.

It was not long before most Americans saw clearly enough that the war had been brought on by Germany in order to take her place in the sun. The American is a strong believer in the right of the existing proprietor to hold to his possessions, no matter how he happened to be the *de facto* proprietor, hence he has no sympathy with the German plea of right being merely a question of might. Anti-German sentiment in America began to grow and is still growing rapidly. For not only is the American opposed to the general idea of the strong taking what he has the power to take, but he also has a particular objection to an autocracy like Germany doing the taking. The American is still democratic enough to dislike an autocracy.

From the point of view of abstract justice, the Germans are quite right in their contention that theirs is a nation of such strength, size and wealth that it should have corresponding colonial possessions. But abstract justice doesn't reign in this world—not yet, anyway. If it did we Americans would hardly consent to allow a few millionaires to own America, making the rest of us pay tribute. If we had the grit and determination of the Kaiser, we would demand a place in the American Sun for Americans. But that is another story.

There is no country in the world today where the freedom of the individual is so completely and scientifically curtailed for the benefit of the state as in Germany. If the individual's freedom were limited in order that the state might devote itself to the betterment of its people, there would be justification of a sort, but when freedom is given up simply to build up a military despotism, aiming at bringing all the world under its Prussian heel, we can see nothing but evil in it. True, all despotisms attempt to crush the individual for the benefit of the state—Russia, for instance. But the great difference between Russia and Germany is that in the case of Germany the state is under the control of a highly educated and scientific body of men, and the individual has no chance of escape, no more than a mouse from a cat on a bare floor. Whereas in Russia the state is such a clumsy affair and so badly managed that it is as if the mouse were chased by an elephant. On paper the individual German has more liberty than the Russian; in reality there is no comparison.

It is the very "kultur" and science which the Germans so freely offer to their Kaiser in the organization of their state which constitute the menace to the world. If Germany were to emerge victor in the present war, there is a logical danger of the Prussianization of the world. The Kaiser has among his German subjects the brains and the organization to make a world empire. On the other hand, Russia, with her vast hordes of uneducated, barbaric subjects, has quite enough to do to govern her own extended empire, with no thought of any further extension, unless it may be the finding of a natural trade outlet at Constantinople on the Mediterranean. To think of Russia dominating and governing France and England, levying permanent tribute on them, is an impossible conception. Russia has no science and culture

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competent for such a task. Germany, once in the saddle, not only could dominate Europe but also if she wins this war she will certainly prove her capacity to levy tribute on her foes.

However, we are now dealing with present problems rather than future ones. No one can well say that there is today any menace to the world from Russia, whereas the German menace is a very real and pertinent one. We can take care of Russia when the time comes; in the meanwhile our attention must be given to Germany.

Germany's power and competency to govern the world is the very reason why those who treasure the present measure of freedom seen in such democratic countries as England, France and the United States are terrified at the thought of German domination. If Germany were incompetent to take such full advantage of a victory, the United States would have no cause to fear; but Germany is competent and has the will, and therefore we fear her.

It is sometimes said that Capitalism is the same under every government, and that to the mass of the people it is a matter of indifference whether they live under the autocracy of the Kaiser or the Republic of the United States, for in any event they must give up practically all they produce to the capitalist and landlord. It is true that under capitalism the condition of the worker is no reflex of his political freedom, but on the other hand, however much this may be true, it is not open to dispute that a nation must first be free of external domination by another nation before it can hope for any considerable internal development of either political or industrial freedom.

With Germany victorious we would see the Kaiser actually making France and England raise the money to pay standing armies to hold themselves as his vassals. This has been the past history of conquests by despots, and we have no reason to assume that it would not occur again. In fact, right now Belgium is being forced to pay tribute to the Kaiser for its own subjugation. And if such a condition did come about, it is obvious that there could be no labor movement of any consequence in France or England during the period of their servitude. In the first place, Germany would allow no labor organizations to exist in England or France, and, secondly, labor would be so much occupied with plans to oust the foreigner that it could give no attention to what are now its immediate concerns.

On the other hand, if the allies are victorious—and I think there can be no question that this will be the ultimate—there will be a great advance in political democracy and freedom of the individual throughout Europe. Germany will be forced to disarm permanently, and this disarmament will allow France to disband her huge army which has been made necessary by Germany's menace, and England could cease her huge expenditure on her fleet. Even the United States may be released from her heavy military expenditure if arrangements can be made by which she is released from fear of Japan.

As a matter of fact, although it is not generally recognized, the United States has almost as great an interest in the defeat of Germany as has England. If Germany defeats the allies, it is but a short time before she must and will invade England, and if the invasion is successful it will be but a question of time when she will cross swords with us, for the United States will be the only power left between her and world dominion.

The very first effect of German victory over the allies would demonstrate the obvious necessity of the United States building a navy competent to meet the German navy and to raise a standing army sufficient to render the country safe from German invasion. Germany would annex Canada as the result of defeating England—the Monroe doctrine would be another scrap of paper—and the United States would have to build a line of forts from Maine to Oregon and keep a standing army of two million men on the border line.

Hence we Americans, by pursuing a policy of neutrality, are merely standing aside and allowing France and England and little Belgium to fight our battle for us. If we really wish to end the war and save the hundreds of thousands of lives which will be lost by its continuance, then there is no quicker way than for America to throw herself unreservedly with the allies against Germany.

I am not advocating America joining with the allies against Germany through any animosity against the Germans as individuals, but because of my repugnance to the feudal autocracy which her victory would surely impose upon the rest of the world, America included. If Americans wish to retain their present liberties, then the time to strike for them is now, when they will have the help of France, Russia and England. If America waits until the danger may become more real to her through the extremely unlikely but yet barely possible defeat of the allies, she would then have to fight her battle unaided against the German autocracy, and as things are today, America is no match for the German war machine.

However, I have little or no hope that America will depart from the foolish, cowardly policy set out for her by her politicians. But at least I shall have had the satisfaction of having delivered myself of my own opinion upon a very vital subject. As for America not having any cause for intervening, I would say that if some technical excuse were desired for entering into the struggle for liberty, the violation of the neutrality of Belgium by Germany is quite sufficient.

This war has enlightened Socialists as to the futility of the merely political Socialist movement. The German Socialist party cast four and a quarter million votes at the last election. These votes were presumably cast by men who were for peace at any cost, for the fundamental plank of the Socialist party, not only of Germany but of all the world, is: "Workers of the world, unite; you have a world to gain and your chains to lose." Now, certainly, with such a formula ingrained into the four and a quarter million German voters, we would have hardly thought that practically every last one of them would have impetuously rushed to the attack on France at the crack of the Kaiser's whip. It is no answer to say that the French Socialists were just as eager to repel Germany's attack, because this simply is further evidence that a mere Socialist political organization has no real influence over the activities of its members; and, anyway, the justification of repelling an attack is far greater than for the making of the original attack.

Today the state everywhere is the central and supreme organization uniting man to his fellow men, and as long as it holds this supremacy we may be sure that man will give up his life to preserve the state if he feels its life is threatened. Patriotism is today just as much, therefore, a fundamental instinct among men as is the instinct to protect the body at the expense of the parts. Neither Pacifists nor Socialists can be blamed for forgetting their Socialism and remembering their patriotism. I myself never expected anything different. In Wilshire's Magazine for July, 1913, for instance, I said that men could no more refrain from acting on their patriotic feelings than could the heliotropic crustaceans in Professor Jacques Loeb's jar refrain from heading to the sun. I added that it was all buncombe for the British Labor Pacifists to orate against war, because, "let but one German bomb drop in England, and the man who talks peace will be lucky if he escapes hanging at the nearest lamppost." With the state supreme, patriotism is inevitable, and the mere fact of the workers not owning property and having no stake in their country is not in the least any guard against their being just as patriotic as the rich. As a matter of fact,

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the poor are always the first to offer to go to the front, and this, too, without any economic compulsion.

Nor can we rely upon taking a popular vote before we decide to wage war, because the voters may be so obsessed with the patriotic feeling that their vote will not bear any direct relation to their real interests. No doubt, if Germany had taken a popular vote before the war, the Kaiser would have had a huge majority back of him.

The rich are, in the very nature of things, bound to control the modern state, and involved in the control of the state is the control of that feeling called patriotism, which impels the people to support the state, right or wrong. Hence all plans to prevent war by any plan of referring declarations of war back to the popular vote are futile. And, anyway, as long as a nation is in danger from another nation, she cannot wait for the taking of a popular vote if attacked. Delay might be fatal.

It has been suggested that a general strike would prevent war. This is perfectly true, if it were possible to call such a strike with conditions as they are now. But it is impossible. In the first place, it is obvious that the strike must be equally effective in both belligerent countries, otherwise the country in which it was most effective would simply be laying itself wide open to the invading armies of the enemy. It would manifestly be asking altogether too much of human nature, with its coals of patriotism always ready to flare up, to go on a strike which would cause one's country to fall under the domination of another nation.

But the main reason why a general strike would be ineffective is because man must attach himself to some central organization, and a general strike today is simply a negation, and no man can swear fealty to a negation. The general strike as a preventive of war is as futile as are the International Peace Conferences held in Carnegie's Peace Palace at The Hague, and certainly every sane man today must recognize the futility of the Carnegie plan.

Nor is secret diplomacy to blame. In war you must adopt all the weapons and means of preventing your enemy knowing your plans; in other words, "secret diplomacy" is most imperative. Would France have been safer from attack if Germany had known her plans of defense? There is but one way to insure the world against war, and that is to make patriotism at one and the same time unnecessary and impossible. The present state is based upon an organization of certain individuals who happen to live in a certain geographical part of the earth's surface. This relationship of the individual to the state is such that the individual has little or no control over the state, whereas the state has a very great control over him. He may have a vote, but even so, the control he may exert is not materially enhanced. The individual can only exert any effective control over the state through the property interests under his control. This practically means that the rich control the modern state. The only time the workers ever exert any real control over the state is in those rare and exceptional intervals when, by combination, they combine and withhold their labor from certain vital industries, and at such a critical period as to force the capitalists to react upon the state. But this is a most uncertain and transitory method of control, and the frequent exercise of it would surely lead to such measures on the part of the capitalists as would either tend to make its continued use next to impossible or would lead to a social revolution. The capitalists are quite right in declaring that such control by the workers is a menace to the very life of the state, and therefore they must go to any extreme to prevent it.

However, the workers, having once had a taste of the supreme power which lies potentially within themselves, will never be deterred by capitalist activities from organizing industrial unions of such power as, when combined, will create the basis for a society.

In this society of the future the individual's fealty to it will be led up through perfectly natural gradations, from his immediate industrial union up through the various federations of such unions to society as a whole. As his fealty to the new society develops, his fealty, his patriotism to the state, will fade. His relationship to the new society will be so perfectly natural and automatic that he will respond as instinctively to its needs, and it to his needs, as do the cells of the body respond to the needs of the body and, vice versa, the body respond to the cells. There will be no class rule, neither a dominant capitalist class as is seen in America, nor a dominant feudal military caste riding the capitalist class, as is seen in Germany.

War between nations of the new society will naturally cease, inasmuch as there will be no private interests desirous of war, and especially because the workers will be in such complete and instinctive control of society that a war would be as impossible as for a sane man to intentionally mutilate himself.

War cannot be ended until we end the state (this is the Syndicalist position), and we cannot end the state until we have developed another organization ready at hand to take its place. The Syndicalist finds the nucleus of this new organization in the new spirit federating and inspiring the labor unions of the world. But he declares that until we have prepared the way for the further development of such a spirit by freeing man from fear of the world-wide military despotism foreshadowed by the activities and growth of the German autocracy, we cannot hope for progress.

The Syndicalist, more than any man, is for peace, but he is not for peace at the expense of his liberty, nor is he one of those who would stand by as a neutral and allow others to battle for his freedom. Fight your own battles, says the Syndicalist, be it by rifles or by strikes. Those who would be free must exercise eternal vigilance. The man who fails to have a keen enough outlook to see the menace to the world's present small measure of liberty in the growth of the German autocracy is wanting in that eternal vigilance which is the price of the flower of freedom.

The annihilation of the German military organization will not mean any sudden transfer of power from the capitalists of the world to the workers, but it will mean the preparation of the soil wherein Revolutionary Industrial Unionism will find an opportunity for growth, development and final fruition.

THE FUTURE OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

By Gaylord Wilshire in the San Francisco Bulletin

That the Socialist movement of Europe has been eclipsed by the war is obvious. The question one asks now is, What of the future after the war? Will we see the hosts of labor patiently building up the movement again until they once again can boast of polling over four million votes in Germany and nearly half as many in France, not to mention the smaller votes in other countries? I doubt it. We were told before the war that the Socialist movement had already made war an impossibility. It was impossible to conceive of France and Germany going to war with each other, when for years the International Socialist Conference had been held, with both countries sending delegates thereto, embracing each other with loving arms and swearing that nothing would ever induce them to take up arms against each other. Yet at the first breath of a disagreement between the governments of Germany and France we find these erstwhile Socialist brothers only too anxious to kill each other to show their devotion to their respective fatherlands. The dream of a political Socialist party preventing international war has collapsed.

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And if it cannot prevent war it has no utility as a revolutionary weapon, because whenever it may be thought to have become dangerous to a government the remedy is at hand—stir up a quarrel with your next-door nation and you have killed Socialism.

The ballot is merely the contemptible "scrap of paper" which the Kaiser called the treaty which was supposed to protect the neutrality of Belgium.

As long as it was not to the interest of the Kaiser to violate the treaty obligations, he did not violate them, but the moment he found it to his interest to violate and he thought he had the power to violate, he violated. I am not criticising the Kaiser for the violation, because he merely has done what always has been done in the past and always will be done in the future by those who have the power to break their oaths for their own interest. It is not a peculiar failing of kings to break treaty obligations. A labor union will break its treaty with employers just as quickly as did the Kaiser, if it sees it has the power and has the interest to break it.

A Roosevelt will take his seat in the presidential chair after swearing to honor and protect the constitution, and yet when it comes to such a trivial thing as a case like that of illegally imprisoning the men for passing Confederate bills as greenbacks, he will boast of disregarding their constitutional rights in imprisoning them.

And a state legislature in Colorado, sworn to obey the state constitution, will disregard with equal alacrity the majority referendum vote of the people demanding an eight-hour bill.

It's all a question of the desire for a thing and the power to take it with impunity. Labor at present in most countries has the "right to vote itself the property of the rich," and the assumption of the Socialist party is that as soon as it becomes intelligent enough to so vote, it will immediately be given what it votes for. Passing by the question of whether it could, through the machinery of a political modern state, successfully operate the machinery after it may have had it handed over by the capitalist class, we must ask ourselves if the capitalist class would ever respect its treaty obligations and bow to the desire of a majority vote. The assumption is that a majority, merely because it is a majority, is more powerful than the minority, and that therefore the minority, recognizing its defeat to be inevitable in a physical contest, will gracefully surrender.

This would be true enough if the minority did not know that in measuring up the power of men for a physical contest, mere numbers are not by any means the only factor of strength.

When we see a hundred policemen disperse a mob of a thousand, we have a concrete illustration of the illusion of the power of the majority. We here in America have been so accustomed to see the minority acquiesce to the expressed wish of a political majority that it is almost impossible for us to realize any other sequence of events. True, we had the lesson of the attitude of the South when something really vital—slavery—to a section of the capitalist class was attacked, but as the majority of the nation finally triumphed we have considered that this incident merely confirmed the soundness of our faith in the power of the majority. We have taken the Civil War as a token that never again will a minority contest the will of the majority.

We neglect to consider that what really beat the South was not so much the superior numbers of the North, as the superior dollars of the North.

If by any chance the Progressives of America should come into political power and develop a strong Socialist policy, which would really threaten the ownership of wealth by the capitalists as a whole, I see no more chance of the capitalists calmly surrendering their dollars than did the South calmly and peacefully surrender its slaves. And, furthermore, if the Progressive threat was not merely against the big capitalists, but against all capitalists, both big and little, we would see the whole of the capitalist class rally with united front, and under their banner we would see the flower of the working class, just as we today see the flower of the Socialists under the banner of the Kaiser. The Progressives might have a numerical majority of the voters, but they would have all the dollars against them and a huge minority of the voters as well, for we cannot hope that all the workers will be made into revolutionists by any mere political propaganda.

There will always be a big conservative minority ready to lick the hand of the masters, exactly as the great majority of the negroes worked and fought for their masters during the Civil War, although they knew that they merely had to desert to the North in order to become free men. Men are far more slaves to custom and instinct than we believe, whether they be white or black.

The future social revolution is to be an industrial revolution, not a political revolution, nor a military revolution. Therefore it demands neither political nor military weapons to give power to the working class to bring it about. It requires industrial power, industrial solidarity. That this solidarity is hardly in sight as yet, let alone within measurable distance of accomplishment, may be granted; but that it is a supreme necessity for labor in order to gain its ends is obvious.

Not till labor is organized on a revolutionary industrial basis shall we have the end of militant political Kaisers in Germany and militant industrial Kaisers like Rockefeller in Colorado. Until this solidarity is accomplished we shall see the earth periodically drenched in human blood shed by workingmen who will rise from International Socialist Peace Conventions and rush to die in the trenches of Czar and Kaiser and Presidents, slaughtering each other in blind patriotism.

HARRY KEMP'S COLLECTED POEMS

THE CRY OF YOUTH, by Harry Kemp. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York. $1.25 net.

KEMP'S poems breathe the spirit of revolt against current economic conditions. We see in them the high-spirited but unemployed American youth, imbued with the highest ideals, coming up plump against box-cars, hand-outs, brake-beams, county sheriffs, chain-gangs, and all the other pleasantries our free country offers the man out of a job. Young America, according to Kemp, has the option of a humdrum life of, say, employment selling ribbons behind the counter of a department store or of "seeing America first" by tramping across the continent, working at any old job offered, and when it isn't offered, then getting food any old way from begging to looting a freight.

The author chose the adventurous life, and his poems are the expression of his experiences. There is something sinuous in poetry. It visualizes things of which prose at best gives you but an obscure and faint impression, and thus Harry's work has an historical value as well as an aesthetic one.

Here is something from him on war, which is particularly apropos of the hour:

> I sing the song of the great clean guns that belch forth death at will.
> Ah, but the wailing mothers, the lifeless forms, and still!
> I sing the clash of bayonets and sabres that flash and cleave.
> And wilt thou sing the maimed ones, too, that go with pinned-up sleeve?

Harry has put me in an imperishable house of fame by dedicating this volume to Gaylord Wilshire.

WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE
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